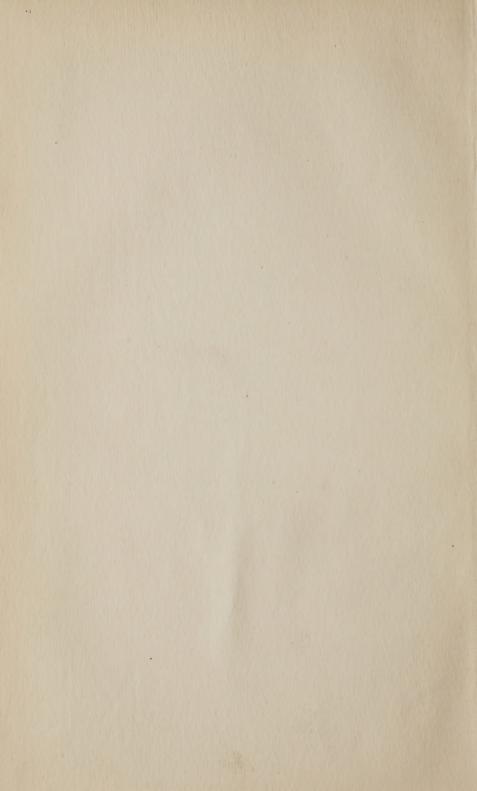




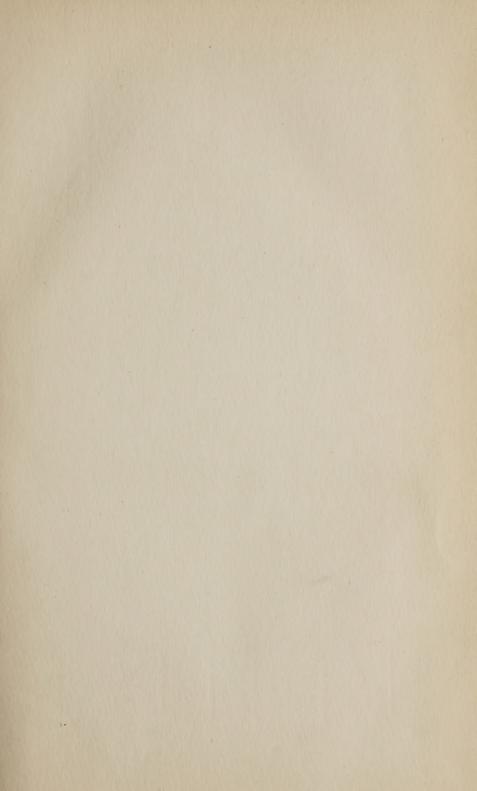
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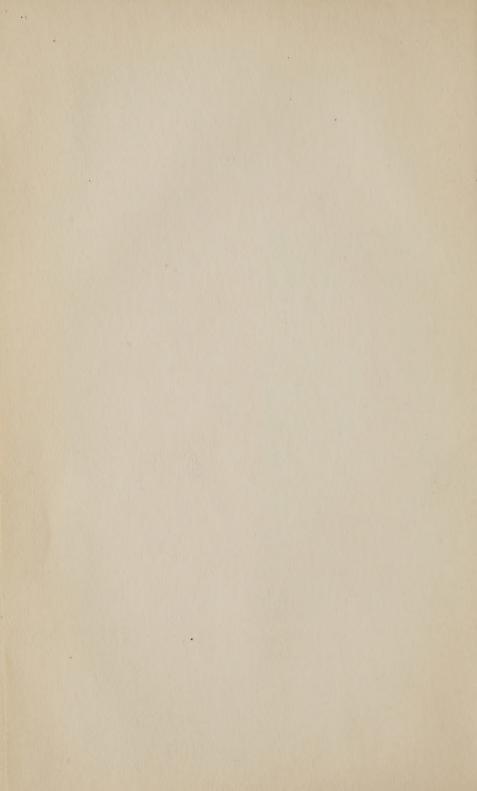












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- ART. I.—1. Symbolik oder Darstellung der dogmatischen Gegensätze der Katholiken und Protestanten (Symbolic or Exposition of the Doctrinal Differences between Catholics and Protestants); nach ihren öffentlichen Bekenntniss-schriften, Von Dr. J. A. Möhler, ordentl. Professor der Katholischen Facultät in Tübingen. Mainz. 1st ed. 1832; 4th ed. 1835; 5th ed. 1838; 6th ed. 1843.
- 2. Eine Protestantische Beantwortung der Symbolik Dr. Möhler's (A Protestant Reply to the Symbolic of Dr. Möhler), von Dr. K. J. Nitzsch, Kön. Consist. Rathe, ordentl. Professor der Theologie und evangel. Universitäts-Prediger an der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität, &c. &c. Abdruck aus den theologischen Studien und Kritiken, nebst einem Anhange, Protestantische Theses. Hamburg. 1835.
- 3. Der Gegensatz des Katholicismus und Protestantismus (The Antagonism of Catholicism and Protestantism), nach den Principien und Hauptdogmen der beiden Lehrbegriffe, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Herrn Dr. Möhler's Symbolik. Von Dr. F. C. Baur, ordentl. Professor der evangel. Theologie an der Universität zu Tübingen. Tübingen. 1st ed. 1833; 2nd ed. 1836.
- 4. Neue Untersuchungen der Lehrgegensätze zwischen den Katholiken und Protestanten (Further Examination of the Doctrinal Differences between Catholics and Protestants). Eine Vertheidigung meiner Symbolik gegen die Kritik des Herrn Professors Dr. Baur in Tübingen. Von Dr. J. A. Möhler, ordentl. Prof. der Theologie an der Universität München. Mainz. 1st ed. 1834; 2nd ed. 1835.

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5. Erwiederung auf Herrn Dr. Möhler's neueste Polemik gegen die Protestantische Lehre und Kirche (Reply to Dr. Möhler's more recent Polemics against the Protestant Doctrine and Church), in seiner Schrift: Neue Untersuchungen, &c. &c. Von Dr. F. C. Baur, ordentl. Prof. der evangel. Theologie an der Universität Tübingen. Tübingen. 1834.

Considering how few men are capable of rising above the level of the events which happen in their day, and taking a bird's eye view, so to speak, of their own age in connexion with other ages past and to come, through the lapse of which those two great problems, the development of the human race, and the edification of the Church, are in progress of solution, we cannot feel surprised that Rome and her adherents should have sounded the note of triumph, at the remarkable advances which Romanism has made of late years, both by the civil position which it has attained for itself in a constitutionally Protestant empire, and by the theological importance to which it has again risen in a church, which has justly been considered by Rome herself as the strongest bulwark of the Reformation. And it must be confessed, that, apart from all party prejudices and sectarian sympathies, the facts themselves, as they stand incontrovertibly before our eyes, are sufficiently striking and important to engage the attention of thoughtful men, to cause them to watch the progress of events with considerable perplexity, and to be anxiously "looking after those things which are coming on the

Under these circumstances it is far from uninteresting or uninstructive to cast a look abroad, and to observe the position of Romanism and Protestantism in that country which the latter recognizes as the land of its nativity, and in which, as far as outward circumstances are concerned, the two systems have ever since the Reformation been pretty equally matched, and the antagonism between them has accordingly been kept free from many adventitious causes of irritation and alienation. Their remarkable juxtaposition in Germany not only affords many opportunities, but entails the necessity, of a closer mutual acquaintance; the fruit of which, under the fostering influence of that general movement of mind which characterizes our age, has recently been brought to maturity in the controversy, the leading documents of which we have enumerated at the head of this article¹. The

¹ Besides the authors whose works are quoted at the head of this article, the pens of a number of other writers have been set in motion by this controversy. On the Roman Catholic side the following are most deserving of notice:—A series of letters entitled, Der letzte Symboliker (The last Symbolician), by Anton Günther, a priest of the Roman Church at Vienna; an anonymous tract, which appeared

aggression came from the side of Romanism, putting Protestantism on its defence; a circumstance which of itself shows which of the two parties is at this moment more confident of its own strength. But what is far more remarkable, is the tone of mutual respect and forbearance in which the controversy was commenced, and up to a certain point carried on; a tone which the Romanist champion formally announced that he intended to take, when he first entered the lists, and for which his Protestant opponents give him considerable credit, at the same time that they complain of his having failed to act up to his irenical professions. In order, however, to understand the novel character which the controversy between Romanism and Protestantism has thus assumed among our German neighbours, it will be necessary for us to go some little way back, with a view to trace the changes in the position and the relative strength of both parties, up to the point when they came into conflict with each other.

It was the misfortune of Germany, that at the time when the impulse for an ecclesiastical reform, the necessity of which had long been felt, was given by the ardent and impetuous Luther with a force which proved irresistible, the political ties by which the numerous states of the empire hung together, were loose and feeble, and in the hearts of the people themselves provincial sympathies preponderated over the sense of national unity.

The result was, that the German state and nation was divided between Rome and the Reformation; and so equally were the parties balanced, that while the restoration of the original ecclesiastical regimen was abandoned as hopeless by the Romanist party, the Lutherans had to content themselves with the assertion of their own liberty of worship. All ecclesiastical connexion between the different states composing the German empire ceased; in some of them the Romish, in others the reformed doctrine

originally in the journal "Der Katholik," and was afterwards published separately under the title, "Möhler's Symbolik und ihre protestantisch-symbolische Gegner," (Möhler's Symbolic and its protestant-symbolical opponents); a review of Dr. Baur's book, by Dr. Staudenmaier, in the journal, "Jahrbücher für Theologie und christliche Philosophie;" and an anonymous review of the controversy in "Freimüthige Blätter über Theologie und Kirchenthum," edited by B. A. PFLANZ; to which may be added, "Das Resultat meiner Wanderungen durch das Gebiet der Protestantischen Literatur, oder die Nothwendigkeit der Rückkehr zur Katholischen Kirche, ausschliesslich durch die eigenen Eingeständnisse Protestantischer Theologen und Philosophen dargethan (Result of my Travels through the territory of Protestant Literature; or, the necessity of returning to the Catholic Church, demonstrated exclusively from the confessions of Protestant Theologians and Philosophers themselves,) by Dr. Julius V. Hoening-HAUS.—On the Protestant side we have to note, besides the works of Nitzsch and Baur, Dr. Marheinecke's "Recension der Möhler'schen Symbolik" (Review of Möhler's Symbolic), which appeared first in the "Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik," and was afterwards published in a separate form; and a series of articles on the whole controversy in Dr. HENGSTENBERG'S "Evangelische Kirchenzeitung."

became the established religion; and the sympathy and intervention of their brethren in the faith procured for both parties civil toleration in those parts in which their opponents were in the ascendant. Thus came those two irreconcilable foes, Romanism and Protestantism, to dwell peaceably by the side of each other², without any of that political significance which they have acquired elsewhere, and to develope their energies strictly within the limits

of ecclesiastical and literary action. Meanwhile a great change came over the religious mind of Germany, and not of Germany only, but of all the more civilized countries of Europe. To produce this change, both Romanism and Protestantism contributed their share, though in opposite ways. The principle of private judgment which during the first epoch of the Reformation had been kept in check by the force of circumstances and by the commanding influence of master minds, began to unfold itself with increased freedom, in proportion as the enthusiastic fervour engendered by the Reformation gradually cooled down, and the faith of its adherents sank more and more to the level of a formal adherence to the dead letter of the Protestant symbols. Knowledge and unbelief went hand in hand, and, overrunning the whole territory of civilization, shook to their very foundation the religious convictions of mankind. German Protestantism was destitute of all power to arrest this mischief; its ecclesiastical system was without life or energy; and the puny efforts of a sentimental pietism which arose by reaction against the growing impiety, were altogether inadequate to stem the mighty torrent of irreligion, whose waters were fed and swelled by the richest effusions of genius in every branch of literature.

Romanism, it is true, had no direct share in producing this

² Not only are the two systems domiciled together in some of the universities, as, for instance, at Tübingen, where this controversy took its rise, by means of two theological "faculties," one Roman Catholic, the other Lutheran; but even buildings used for public worship are sometimes divided between the two confessions. Divine service is in such cases performed alternately by the respective clergy; the Roman Catholics occupying the church for early mattins, high mass, and vespers, the Protestants having their morning service in the intervals between the first and second, and their afternoon service between the second and third Roman Catholic services. The extent of latitudinarianism to which such a close juxtaposition must lead, both in the clergy and the laity, may be easily conceived; a striking instance of it is the fact, which we have on unquestionable authority, that at the centenary of the Reformation the Roman Catholic clergy, in one of the principal towns of Germany, attended in their robes the service performed in honour of the Reformation in an exclusively Protestant church, the walls of which were decorated for the occasion with the portraits of Luther and Melanchthon. A nearer external approach between Romanism and Protestantism can hardly be conceived; and yet the character, and even the tone, of the controversy to which Dr. Möhler's book led, shows that the two parties are as far removed as ever from a return to ecclesiastic unity. This may serve as an instructive lesson to those who mistake latitudinarianism for charity, and compromise for peace.

overflowing iniquity; but, in an indirect manner, it ministered to its progress to the full as much as the intellectual license to which its opponent had given birth. The pretensions of the Roman Church to infallibility and supremacy, the deep doctrinal fallacies and falsehoods interwoven with her creed, the abuses and superstitions inseparable from the practical working of her system, and the moral depravity which had extensively gained ground among her clergy, acted as so many provocatives to the spirit of infidelity.

But the scourge appointed for the punishment of the godless nations was at hand; the horrors of the French revolution, and the woes which followed in its wake throughout the continent of Europe, gave terrible demonstration both of the pernicious tendency of irreligious systems, and of the truth, that there is a God in heaven to whom vengeance belongeth, and who knows how to recompense into their bosom the iniquities and the blasphemies of the nations. And it is a singular fact, well deserving of notice, that, apart from France, whose sin as well as its punishment was the heaviest of all, the stroke of vengeance fell with the greatest severity on those two points where the iniquity of Romanism, on the one hand, and of Protestantism, on the other hand, had been carried to its greatest height. But after it had passed, Prussia took the lead in the moral and political regeneration of Germany, and is foremost to this day in all the religious movements by which the Protestant communions of that country are labouring to return to the faith and the discipline of older and better times; while Rome bestirred herself on every side, and is not only labouring with unparalleled activity to regain the ground she has lost, but is variously modifying her system, with a view to place it before the world in a more favourable and seductive light.

Among the efforts which she has made for this purpose, Dr. Möhler's aggression upon Protestantism, in his "Exposition of the Doctrinal Differences between Catholics and Protestants," is one of the most remarkable and the most skilfully conducted. The position from which it was made, and the moment for making it, were alike well chosen. Grown weary of the subtilties and empty abstractions of metaphysical systems which displaced each other in rapid succession, and of the profanities and vain and unstable dogmas of an effete rationalism, the mind of Protestant Germany required something more substantial and nutritious. Various schools of divinity arose, one after another, not prepared at once to step back into the full and rigid measure of an orthodox faith, but endeavouring to devise some middle term between the merely intellectual systems which had hitherto prevailed, and the ancient Protestant confessions; semi-rationalistic, semi-philo-

sophical, semi-pietistic, they groped their way out of the darkness of a $\psi \epsilon \nu \delta \omega \nu \nu \mu \sigma \epsilon c$ back into the light of revealed truth. These were followed by men of a deeper cast of thought and greater simplicity of character, who felt the necessity of building on the old foundation of the word of God, and, returning to the acknowledgment of the doctrines contained in the symbolical documents of the Reformation, differed from the orthodox theologians of former days only in their method of treating the subject, which still retained more of the philosophic than of the

dogmatic form.

While these changes for the better took place in what the Germans would call the "scientific" treatment of theology, the absence of the practical element of religion, of true Church-fellowship with all its attendant privileges, came to be felt more and Faith and piety being once revived, required greater scope for their exercise than they could obtain in the still existing Protestant establishments, whose life and spirit had long departed, whose very forms had been accommodated to the rationalism of the times. New liturgies were drawn up, approaching, though in a modern garb, nearer to the worship of former and godlier ages; and with the view to give a new impulse and an increased power to Protestant Churchmanship, the Lutheran and Calvinistic bodies, which had kept separate from prescriptive custom rather than from a sense of the importance of their distinctive doctrines and practices, were fused together in the "Evangelic Union." This last measure was strongly indicative of an instinctive desire for something better than the mere congregationalism into which the decayed framework of the churches of the Reformation had sunk down: there was evidently a secret consciousness of the truth, that Christianity cannot sustain its existence without being realised and incarnate, as it were, in the body, the Church; and that the existence of such a body presupposes a spiritual organization founded upon unity of faith, unity of worship, and unity of life.

But in the nature of things it would take a long time to restore the Protestant communions generally to an orthodox belief and to ecclesiastic order. Not only is the task still in progress; but those who are labouring with all their might to accomplish it, have no very distinct idea, either of what they are doing, or of what they ought to do. They are sensible, and willing to acknowledge, that there is something amiss; but they cannot tell what it is that is wanting to them: they feel after it with much eager desire for the fulness and reality of spiritual life, and yet they often are still so hampered and blinded by their prejudices, that they recoil from the very measures which would be best calculated to promote that religious regeneration, for which the better part

of Protestant Germany is sighing.

In the midst of this confusion, necessarily contingent upon a transition state from rationalism to faith, from disjointedness to unity, Romanism steps forth in the person of Dr. Möhler, and attempts to persuade the anxious searcher after the true faith and the true Church, that all the disorders from which he seeks to escape, are the bitter fruit of the Reformation, and that he who would have satisfaction and peace, can find it only by returning into the bosom of "the Catholic Church," the true spouse of Christ and mother of the faithful.

Admirably well-timed, however, as the attempt is, the Romish Church and her skilful representative and champion, Dr. Möhler, are well aware that an open profession of proselytism would quickly alarm the suspicions of the German public, hardly yet quite recovered from the infection of scepticism, and not likely, therefore, to lend a willing ear to the voice of a church whose claim to absolute and infallible authority in matters of faith wholly extinguishes the admitted principle of private judgment. Accordingly, the appearance of controversial or proselyting intentions was to be as much as possible avoided, and for this purpose nothing could be more opportune than the official position of Dr. Möhler³, as "professor of Catholic theology" in an university in

³ JOHN ADAM MÖHLER was born May 6, 1796, at Igersheim, near Mergentheim, in the kingdom of Würtemberg. Early indications of talent induced his father, who was a wealthy innkeeper, to afford him the opportunity of a superior education, by sending him successively to the Gymnasium at Mergentheim, the Lyceum at Ellwangen, and, lastly, the university of Tübingen. Having in the last-named place passed through the regular four years' course of theological studies, he obtained priest's orders in 1819. After performing for a short time the functions of a parochial minister, he returned to the university, and in the year 1822 received an appointment as Privat Docent, or private lecturer of "Catholic" theology, with a twelvemonths' leisure, and a pecuniary allowance to enable him to visit the principal universities of Germany, before he entered on his new office. On his return to Tübingen he commenced his career as an academic teacher by lectures on Church history, on the Fathers, and on the Canon law; and in 1825 he first appeared as an author with a work entitled "The Unity of the Church, or the Principle of Catholicism." Shortly after, he received the offer of a professorship at Freiburg in the Breisgau, which he declined, and in consequence was promoted to the post of "Professor Extraordinary" at Tübingen. In the year 1827 he published a larger work, in two volumes, under the title, "Athanasius the Great and the Church of his time, in her struggle against Arianism." Although the subject of this work was strictly historical and antiquarian, yet it was not without a direct bearing upon the state of the Church at the time of its publication. Indeed it is far from improbable that the choice of it was suggested to Möhler by the analogous conflict between the orthodox faith, at that time chiefly, and in Möhler's view no doubt exclusively, represented by the Roman Catholic Church in Germany, and the Socinianising notions of the Rationalists, whose ascendency in the Protestant Church, especially in the Southern part of Germany, would naturally lead him to identify Protestantism itself with Rationalism, or at least to consider the latter as the legitimate offspring of the former. The approbation with which this work was received, was very general, and procured for its author the offer of a theological chair at Breslau, in

which two theological "faculties," one "Catholic," the other Protestant, dwell together in academic fellowship. Making full use of the vantage ground which this position gave him, Dr. Möhler put forth the most powerful attack which Protestantism has, since the days of Bellarmin, had to sustain from the Roman

Silesia. This too he declined, and his elevation to the dignity of Professor Ordinary of Theology at Tübingen, and the degree of Doctor of Divinity, conferred on him by the "Catholic" faculty of that university, was his reward. Still pursuing the line of thought and study which had led to the publication of "Athanasius the Great," Dr. Möhler now began to deliver public lectures on the doctrinal differences between "Catholics" and Protestants, and in the year 1832 published the first edition of his "Symbolik." The sensation produced by the appearance of this work throughout Germany was very great, and the controversy, which forms the subject of this article, was the consequence. The tone taken by Dr. Baur, professor of theology in the "Protestant faculty" of Tübingen, and in this sense, therefore, Dr. Möhler's colleague, seems to have greatly embittered the life of the latter. Dr. Baur's book appeared (the first edition) in 1833, and in 1834 Dr. Möhler published his reply, "Further Inquiries," &c. Whether the unpleasantness of his position, in consequence of the personal turn which the controversy had taken, was the sole cause of his dissatisfaction, or whether he had reason to think that the government of Würtemberg looked upon him, as upon the author of a great disturbance in the university, with a less favourable eye, we cannot say; certain it is that Dr. Möhler was now open to offers from foreign universities, after having twice refused them. Nor was he long without them. The Prussian government renewed its attempt to secure his services for a "Catholic" chair of theology in one or other of its universities; and negotiations were set on foot with a view to his appointment at Bonn or Münster. These, however, were rendered abortive by the interference of the Archbishop of Cologne, Count Von Spiegel, who objected to some of the opinions propounded in Dr. Möhler's first work on "The Unity of the Church," and made their public retractation, which Dr. Möhler refused, the condition of his consent to the projected appointment. Meanwhile a chair of theology became vacant at the purely "Catholic" university of Munich, and the Bavarian government having offered it to Dr. Möhler, he removed thither in the early part of the year 1835. Church history, the Fathers, and exegetical lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, and on other Epistles of St. Paul, were the principal subjects which occupied him in his new position. But his activity was soon interrupted by disease. Before he left Tübingen, his health had, probably through vexation and anxiety, suffered considerably; at Munich he rallied at first; but in the latter part of the year 1836 a slight attack of cholera, which was then raging in that city, reduced his already impaired constitution to a state of great and permanent debility. In the summer of 1837 his medical advisers induced him to discontinue his academic labours, and to retire, in search of health, to Meran, in the Tyrol. Here he recovered partially, and was enabled to resume his lectures at Munich at the commencement of the year 1838; he had not, however, done so long, before his disease, which now assumed the decided form of pulmonary consumption, again incapacitated him. With a view to relieve him from the duties of his academic office, the King of Bavaria presented him to the deanery of Würzburg, in March, 1838; a dignity which he did not long enjoy, as after a short period of great suffering, he expired on the Thursday in Holy Week, the 12th of April, of the same year.

Besides the larger works before mentioned, Dr. Möhler published various essays in different periodicals, and chiefly in the "Theologische Quartalschrift," the organ of the Roman Catholic Divines of Tübingen, to which his influence and co-operation gave from the year 1828 a new and a superior character. Those essays, which since Dr. Möhler's death have been published in a collected form by Dr. Döllinger, treat of the following subjects:—The dispute between St. Jerome and St. Augustine on Gal. ii. 14; the date of the epistle to Diognetus attributed to St. Justin, with an analysis of its contents; St. Anselm and his times; priestly celibacy; the relation between the universities and the state historically considered; fragments on the false decretals;

Church, under the unpretending form of a manual for the instruction of his Roman Catholic pupils.

"The present work," he says, in his preface to the first edition, "originated in lectures, delivered by me for some years past, on the doctrinal differences between Catholics and Protestants. In all the Lutheran and Reformed universities of Germany it has been for years the practice to afford instruction on this subject to the candidates in theology; a practice which, as it seemed to me on many accounts most deserving of approbation, I determined to introduce into our Catholic system, and that for the following reasons. It is certainly right to require of those who are called on to mount to the exalted degree of a theological education, that they should acquire a solid and comprehensive knowledge of those confessions of faith, which for so long a period have maintained themselves by the side of, and in opposition to, each other, and still endeavour to keep their ground; that they should not

the relation of Islam to the Gospel; the origin of Gnosticism; the state of the Church during the 15th and the earlier part of the 16th centuries; St. Simonianism; fragments on the abolition of slavery; letter to the Abbé Bautaur, of Strasburg, on his system of philosophy; and two articles on the imprisonment of the Archbishop of Cologne.

Such are the fruits of Dr. Möhler's literary career of no more than twelve years' duration. Other works of larger compass, and of deep literary and theological interest were contemplated by him, and partly prepared, when "talia agentem atque meditantem mors prævenit." Among them were "a History of Monachism in the West," and a still more extensive work on ecclesiastical history, besides a commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. Fragments of his "History of Monachism" are inserted in Dr. Döllinger's collection of his essays. The materials for the other two works which he had projected, were not sufficiently digested to admit of their being made public. There is, however, another posthumous publication now in progress; viz. Dr. Möhler's lectures on patristic literature, the editorship of which has been undertaken by his friend and colleague, Dr. Reithmayr, Professor of Theology in the University of Munich.

4 The first edition of the "Symbolik" appeared in 1832; a second before the appearance of Dr. Baur's work in 1833; in 1834 a third edition was published, and shortly after it his reply to Dr. Baur, under the title "Neue Untersuchungen," &c.; a fourth edition followed in 1835, together with a second edition of the "Neue Untersuchungen." A fifth edition was subsequently prepared by Dr. Möhler, in which he made many additions, incorporating in it also various portions of the "Neue Untersuchungen;" but he did not live to superintend its publication. It appeared in June, 1838, with a short preface by the anonymous editor, and has since been republished in a sixth edition in 1843. An English translation, by JAMES BURTON ROBERTSON, the translator of Schlegel's Philosophy of History, was published, also in 1843, by Dolman. Memoirs of Dr. Möhler are prefixed to the fifth and sixth German editions by the anonymous editor, and to the English translation by the translator, to both which we are indebted for the principal facts contained in the short sketch of Dr. Möhler's life which we have given in the preceding note. The English translation is, on the whole, very fairly executed. The sense of the original has evidently been well apprehended by the translator; but the style is heavy, bordering on the clumsy, from too slavish an imitation of the German construction of the sentences. At the same time it is deficient in that precision in rendering the technical expressions of the original, which, in a work of this description, should be strictly adhered to. Mr. Robertson has, we believe, long been resident in Germany, and appears to be more familiar with the German than with the English idiom.

rest content with general, vague, obscure, untenable, and incoherent notions on that great question, by which the life of the Church in Europe has, for the last three centuries, not only been kept in a state of constant agitation, but has, in a measure, been convulsed and shaken

to its very depth.

"But if the very idea of a scientific education requires theologians to unravel with the greatest possible depth and precision the antagonisms of different parties in the Church; if it imperatively demands, that they should qualify themselves for rendering a full and sufficient account of the distinctive peculiarities of different confessions: this duty becomes still more urgent, not in the case of the theologian only, but of every educated Christian, when regard is had to what he owes to the dignity of his character and the satisfaction of his mind. What can be more inconsistent with self-respect, than to rest satisfied without the most accurate and careful inquiry into the real foundations of our higher life, in order to ascertain whether we stand on solid ground, and to what extent; or whether we have taken up our position on a deceptive surface, underneath which, perhaps, an immense gulf lies concealed? How is it possible to enjoy a true and deeply-rooted peace of mind, while standing thoughtlessly and without adequate information in the midst of great ecclesiastical communities, all professing to be in possession of the truth of religion in its purity and integrity? It is true that in this respect, too, there is a certain state of ease, similar to that which is felt in regard to the life to come by those who do not in the least concern themselves to know whether there be any future life at all; a state unutterably disgraceful to a creature endowed with reason. It is a duty, therefore, which every one owes to himself, to raise his own mind to the clearest possible perception of the doctrinal peculiarities, the inward power and solidity, or weakness and untenableness, of the religious community of which he accounts himself a member, a perception which can only be attained by the most accurate and definite knowledge of antagonist systems. No man can make the defensive points of a confession thoroughly his own, and wield them with certain aim, unless he apprehends them in the relation which they bear to their opposite; a fundamental knowledge of any system of faith must, if there be any truth in it, necessarily include its apology. For every educated Christian is in possession of so many general ideas of religion, and of Christianity in particular, and is so extensively versed in Holy Scripture, that whenever any given proposition is submitted to him in its true form and in all its bearings, he is enabled to decide as to its truth, and to discern at once whether it be in accordance or in contradiction with the fundamental doctrines of Christianity."

It is curious to find in the pages of a Roman Catholic divine so eloquent an appeal to the conscience, enforcing the duty of free personal inquiry into the foundations of religious belief, in order to the $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\sigma\phi\rho\rho(\hat{a}\ \hat{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\tilde{\psi}\ \hat{\iota}\delta(\psi\ \nu\sigma\hat{t};$ and that, too, on the assumption that those who institute such inquiry, are to be guided

in their determination by Holy Scripture, with which he takes it for granted that they are extensively acquainted. But we must not interrupt the thread of Dr. Möhler's preface.

"Nor is it conceivable," he continues, "how a practical divine can satisfy the requirements of his office, especially in countries in which opposite confessions subsist by the side of each other, unless he is able to define with precision their doctrinal differences. As regards homiletic expositions of these differences, it is true that happily the cycle of the Catholic calendar, agreeably to the origin and nature of our Church. gives no occasion for such; the festivals which occur in it, having reference only to those facts in the personal history of Jesus Christ, and to those verities, whereon all our faith and hope are founded, and to the memory of those highly deserving persons, who stand out in distinct relief in the history of the Christian Church, more especially of those through whom the propagation and confirmation of the Gospel in general, and in particular its introduction into certain countries, was effected. This being the case, the Catholic pastor will, with exceedingly rare and singular exceptions, have no immediate use for his knowledge of other confessions in his discharge of the office of preaching; though it is to be expected, that in preaching on the doctrines of the Catholic faith, he will treat his subject in a more solid, comprehensive, quick, and powerful way, if he has properly studied them in their relation to antagonist systems. But as regards the most advanced class of catechumens, I have not the slightest hesitation in saying, that solid instruction, far more solid than has been the case hitherto, respecting the distinctive doctrines, ought to be imparted to them, and that consequently the doctrinal differences of various confessions ought to be noticed with the greatest possible particularity. . . . How does the active spirit of Protestants, in this point among others, put Catholics to shame! Of course, all instruction in those differences ought to be given in a spirit of love, of forbearance, and of meekness, with a sincere desire for truth without exaggeration; and it should ever be insisted on, that although we are compelled to repudiate errors because they are errors, forasmuch as the pure doctrine of Jesus Christ, the truth of the Gospel, is man's greatest good, we are nevertheless exhorted by our Church to embrace all men in love for Christ's sake, and to exhibit towards them the rich abundance of Christian virtues. Lastly, it is obvious that there will in any event be no lack of questions, consultations, and discussions, both in season and out of season, respecting confessional differences; but that the pithy answer, the sought-for counsel, and the instructive reply will be wanting, when the pastor has failed to possess himself of solid information on symbolical matters.

"But, although the foregoing remarks may be allowed as a sufficient reason for delivering academic lectures, specially on the subject of the doctrinal peculiarities of the different confessions, I must admit that it does not follow from this, that such lectures, or the substance of them, should be published. On this point, then, I beg to add a few remarks.

In the Protestant Church compendia and manuals of Symbolic have of late years been multiplied; Plank the elder, Marheinecke in two works, one larger the other smaller, Winer, Clausen, and others, have undertaken this field of theology. On the part of the Catholics, a great many apologetic works have been published, having for their object to correct the representation given of our doctrinal system by non-Catholics; but a work treating, at one and the same time, of all the doctrinal peculiarities of the Protestant confessions in a scientific manner, does not to my knowledge exist anywhere. I therefore thought that the publication of the substance of my lectures might supply a want which is most sensibly felt in Catholic literature."

Thus far the account which Dr. Möhler gives us of the origin of his book, would lead us to believe that he had laboured chiefly for the benefit of the Roman Catholic clergy, to render them more fit to sustain the conflict in which they have so commonly to engage against Protestantism, in some parts of Germany at least; that he intended no more than to give to the substance matter of the lectures, which he had delivered from his theological chair at Tübingen, a more extensive circulation. plan, however, and the tone of his work are decidedly at variance with the notion, that this was his primary or his chief object; they point clearly to controversy with the Protestants, and especially to an aggression upon the unsettled faith of numbers among them, as being the principal purpose of Dr. Möhler's To disguise this his main object altogether would have been impossible; and therefore, while placing it in the background, as a secondary consideration, he distinctly avows it in a subsequent part of his preface.

"Irenical views, too, determined me to publish this work; views which I believe are to be realized by the most pointed and unreserved delineation of the antagonistic systems. Not that I had any visions of pacification, amounting to a real union, within a proximate period: that is not to be thought of in an age which has sunk as low as ours: when even they that should be the guides of the people, are often, very often, found so totally ignorant of the nature of faith, that they give the name of faith to a mere reception of what seems to them probable, or most probable; whereas it is the very essence of faith to embrace decidedly and without doubt that revealed truth which can be but one. After this modern fashion of faith, the very heathen had faith; for they were not destitute of opinions on divine things. Where faith is so variously wanting, union in the faith is not to be thought of; all that could be accomplished, would be agreement in unbelief, by a mutual concession of the right of each to believe what he pleases; a concession which involves on the part of all at least a tacit acknowledgment that they know only of human opinions, and that the question whether God

has really revealed Himself in Christianity or no, is left an open question; it being clearly incompatible with faith in Christ as Him who was truly sent forth from the Father of lights, to suppose that those who are taught by Him, are unable to point out distinctly, what is the nature of the revelation made by Him concerning Divine things, and what, on the other hand, is contrary to his word and his appointments? For this reason every thing, not one thing or another, appears to me to be opposed to union of faith; and nothing, therefore, could be further from my thoughts, than the idea of actually doing away with the differences existing between the Christian confessions. On the other hand, I should be well pleased in this our time to contribute my share, however small, towards the promotion of such peace as must result from a correct knowledge of the antagonism, and the consequent conviction that the difference arose from a sincere determination on both sides to hold fast by the truth,—by the pure and unadulterated Gospel of Christ.

"To delineate the opposite principles with the utmost precision, was, therefore, the task which I proposed to myself: on no occasion and in no instance did I endeavour to disguise or to palliate them. notion that there are no momentous or vital differences, can lead only to mutual contempt; for opponents who are conscious that they have no sufficient grounds of opposition, and yet persevere in that opposition, must despise each other. A secret consciousness that such was the character of their opposition, deserving of contempt even in their own estimation, is no doubt at the root of many violent onsets made by Protestants upon Catholics, and vice versa, in these latter times; the self-deceived combatants endeavouring by their sallies to silence the voice of reproach within, and mistaking a factitious irritation against an opponent confession, for genuine sorrow on account of the perversion of truth by its adherents. Not unfrequently, too, it happens that, through ignorance of the real differences, imaginary ones are invented; and this is much more calculated to keep the parties in a state of angry, uncharitable opposition, than a correct and precise apprehension of the points of disagreement; for nothing produces more pain and bitterness than unfounded accusations. This accounts likewise for the imputations of obduracy, and subserviency to merely personal and transient interests, which are so frequently bandied about between controversialists, by way of explaining the causes of the schism which has taken place. Nothing is more common with Protestants than to charge upon hierarchical pride and intentional darkening of the truth, the unwillingness of the Catholic Church to throw her portals wide open for the free entrance of Protestant light; and, on the contrary, many Catholics attribute the rise and progress of the Protestant doctrine, not at the first beginning only, but to this very day, to covetousness and the lust of lording it over the Church, on the part of the princes, and to the desire for domestic ease and sensual comfort, to empty conceit and a frivolous love of independence, on the part of the clergy. It is too true that these mutual imputations of pride, conceit, and the like, are not

altogether unfounded; and, moreover, it is a well-known fact, that in all parties men of uncommon zeal are to be found, whose course of opposition against other confessions is not attributable to absolutely base motives, but whose direct aim nevertheless is to promote the interests of a party, a faction, or a system, rather than to advance on its own account God's truth, and that in its living manifestation in Christ Jesus, who is the only legitimate object of our affections, and every thing else only so far as it is more or less immediately connected with love to Him. But all this being fully admitted, it yet betokens an excessive narrowness of mind to look no deeper than to such causes for an explanation of the continuance of the several confessions. I should, therefore, esteem it no small gain if I could succeed in recalling attention to the main issue, and inducing a persuasion that spiritual interests are at stake in the opposition between Protestantism and Catholicism. It is only on this assumption, which gives the opponent credit for earnestness and sincerity, and thereby variously conciliates him, that any thing can be done to forward the great purpose for which so terrible a disruption has been permitted by the providence of God."

Such sentiments as these are the more creditable to Dr. Möhler, as they are not often to be met with at the hands of controversialists of his Church; and for our part we should think it would be dealing rather hard measure to him to inflict upon him the poet's condemnation, "Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor," because in the progress of his volume he has not always borne in mind the truly Catholic profession to which he committed himself in his preface. We happen to differ, possibly because we are mere by-standers and lookers-on, from his German antagonists, who rate him pretty sharply on this score; for it appears to us that, with a few occasional exceptions, he has, on the whole, kept his promise, as to the tone he meant to give to the controversy, very fairly. We cannot, however, say as much for him with regard to the honesty of purpose with which he enters upon the disputed points. There he has certainly taken unfair advantage of his opponents, and that in two ways. In the first place, professing as he does, on the very title-page of his book, to compare the acknowledged doctrine of the Protestant Churches, as laid down in their symbolical writings, with what he calls the "Catholic" doctrine, he was certainly not at liberty to travel out of the record in the manner he has done throughout the volume, culling from the stores (and rich stores they are, no doubt, for such a purpose,) of the writings of the Reformers detached sentences and outré sentiments, and founding on them his statement of the Protestant doctrine. Such a course was perfectly open to a writer professing to show,—what we cannot help thinking it was Dr. Möhler's real object to show,—that Protestantism took its

rise in the extravagancies of a few rash spirits, who having put forth a mass of crude and hasty notions, and having by the force of circumstances become the leaders of a great movement, which they themselves had no idea of calling forth, found it expedient afterwards to modify and qualify their original propositions so as to make them tenable as rallying points of the party which they had unconsciously created. A writer thus openly professing to write the history of Protestantism, conceiving it to be the history of a great error which had carried its authors further than they had originally intended to go, would have acted quite consistently if he had taken the course which Dr. Möhler has taken, of adducing first of all the often undigested and extravagant statements made by the Reformers at the outset of the great controversy, contrasting with them the more moderate opinions expressed in their later writings, and lastly showing, by a reference to the symbolical documents of Protestantism, how those private opinions were still further modified and circumscribed in the confessions of faith publicly agreed upon by the Protestant parties. in fact, what Dr. Möhler has done, not in one instance or another, but throughout the whole of his work. He ever represents the differential points, in the first place, in such a manner, as to exhibit the Protestant doctrine in its most unfavourable and most unreasonable aspect; and for this purpose he turns his extensive reading in the works of the Protestant Divines admirably to account;—he then, with a great appearance of candour, observes, that in some later publication of his, Luther, or Melanchthon, or Calvin, took a more just view of the case, approaching nearer to the dogmas of the "Catholic" Church, or at all events retiring to a safer distance from the quicksands of Protestantism; and at the close he just mentions, en passant, sometimes by way of annotation, that this more moderate and correct view was that which prevailed when such or such a symbolical document was drawn up. All this we conceive to be wholly inconsistent with Dr. Möhler's avowed object, which is to compare the symbolical doctrine of one Church with that of another; according to which he had no right to receive any thing into his representation of the Protestant system beyond what is plainly contained in, or may be fairly deduced from, the symbolical documents of the Protestant The utmost use which he could be allowed to make of the writings of the Reformers, was in the way of subsidiary information, to throw light on the meaning of the terms employed in the symbols, or on the connexion which different doctrines propounded in them had with each other in the minds of the Reformers.

On this point, therefore, the complaints of his Protestant oppo-

nents are well founded; and we do not think that the justification which Dr. Möhler attempted in the fourth edition of his work, is at all sufficient to clear him from the charge of having transgressed the rules of fair and open warfare. It may be very true, as he says, that the systems set on foot by the different leading Reformers had their root in their "individuality," and bear the trace of this their origin even in the public documents drawn up afterwards by common consent; but this did not entitle him in a work, such as he professed to write, to drag forth from their hiding-places the peculiarities of individual reformers, and to found upon them the view which he presents to his readers

of the tenets of the Protestant churches.

The other violation of the jus belli of which Dr. Möhler's opponents complain not unjustly, and most bitterly, is a consummate piece of controversial astuteness. It is, of course, quite unnecessary to remind our readers that the Reformation commenced in Germany, as it did in this country, on the ground of certain practical points which are exceedingly broad and palpable. The monstrous usurpations of the papacy, the infamous traffic in indulgences, the many superstitions and impostures connected with the "sacrifice of the mass," and other like abuses, first aroused men's minds to the investigation of the then prevailing system of theology, and led them to put the doctrines of the Roman Church, which were as yet, for the most part, not her authentic but only her current doctrines, to the test of God's Word. Thereupon the necessity of a reformation was felt, and the work was begun everywhere with more or less of zeal and discretion. It was not till after the opinions of the Reformers had been pronounced upon these practical matters, when disputations and controversies arose between the divines of the respective parties, that abstruse metaphysical questions were mixed up with the main issue. To put the metaphysical theories maintained on either side in the forefront of the battle, is therefore a proceeding wholly at variance with historical truth, and with the essential nature of the difference existing between the Roman church and the Protestant communions. this is what Dr. Möhler has done, and that in a manner so skilful as to place his Protestant antagonists, in spite of their bitter complaints and loud protestations, under the necessity of following him, and engaging him on the very ground which he has so insidiously chosen. With us, of course, the artifice would have failed altogether; in fact, it would never have been attempted: but it is one admirably calculated to succeed with the public for which Dr. Möhler wrote. The Germans are constitutionally, so to speak, a metaphysical people; their veneration for the abstruse is unbounded: to have declined giving Dr. Möhler battle in the arena of metaphysical discussion, would have been equivalent to striking their flag without firing a shot; it would have been a defeat ex confesso. However deeply, therefore, the champions of Protestantism might feel the disadvantage under which they were placed by this arrangement, there was no help for them; and accordingly they go,—uttering, it is true, deep growls of indignation at the unfairness of the whole proceeding,—still they go boldly up to the position in which Dr. Möhler has entrenched himself. The advantage which he obtained by this move, is not a trifling one, and he has made the best of it certainly. He must be a poor dialectician indeed, who, amidst all the obscurities of metaphysical speculation, reasoning

"Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate, Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,"

could not, with the aid of the very great obscurities of the metaphysical diction of Germany, and upon the evidence of the contradictory opinions of the different Reformers scattered up and down in their writings, manage to convict the Reformation of sundry theological atrocities, sufficient to insure the condemnation of any system built upon such a foundation. This accordingly Dr. Möhler has done with so much adroitness, as to leave his readers in a state of utter amazement, and in serious doubt whether its blasphemy or its absurdity is the more damning feature of Protestantism.

Having accomplished this, the wily champion of "Catholicism" passes along, with the air of a conqueror who scours the battlefield in quest of the scattered remains of the enemy's disbanded host, to the great practical questions upon which the issue between Romanism and Protestantism really depends. Upon these he touches in some instances in the most cursory manner, as if it were not worth while to say much of them, after the complete exposure which he has already made of the fundamental mistakes of Protestantism; and even where he enters more fully into the question, he covers the weak points of his argument by constant references to the abstract errors of the Protestant doctrine, which he represents as the ultimate causes of the differences existing between the two Churches in practical matters. In this manner he manages to escape at the close of his volume, without having exposed to the enemy the most vulnerable points of the Church on whose behalf he has lifted the standard of war.

Such is the general outline of Dr. Möhler's plan of operation: we now proceed to follow him briefly into the details of its execu-

tion. His volume opens with an introductory statement of the general plan of his work, in which he takes occasion, in the fourth and following editions, to justify his copious use of the private writings of the Reformers; a course which he asserts to be indispensable in order to ascertain the Protestant doctrine, whereas in regard to the "Catholic" doctrine he will admit of no evidence from private sources. He next proceeds to enumerate "the symbolical writings of Catholics and Protestants;" i. e. those which contain their distinctive doctrines set forth at the time of the Reformation: for with regard to the more ancient symbols, the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, he justly remarks that Catholics and Protestants are agreed in regard to them, and tauntingly adds that they constitute "the precious dowry which the over-wise daughters took with them out of their maternal home into their new settlements."

As documents of the "Catholic" doctrine, Dr. Möhler mentions, first and foremost, the Decretum and Doctrina, and the Canons, of the Council of Trent; the Decretum de Reformatione, he observes, treating of matters of discipline, hardly comes within the scope of his subject. With regard to the Catechismus Romanus ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini and the Professio Fidei Tridenting he maintains, that, although undoubtedly of great authority, yet they cannot, strictly speaking, be considered as symbolical documents of his Church; nor does he allow that character to the papal constitutions published at different times on doctrinal points, such as the bull of Innocent X. against the five propositions of Jansenius, and the bull *Unique itus* of Clement XI. Thus, according to Dr. Möhler, the Roman Church has, in fact, but one symbolical document, viz. the Acts of the Tridentine

Synod.

After thus reducing the ground for which, as a "Catholic" controversialist, he means to hold himself responsible, within the narrowest possible limits, he goes on to enumerate the symbolical documents of the Protestants; and in doing this he adopts a contrary method, bringing together as many materials as possible, for which it is his intention to make his Protestant opponents accountable. He distinguishes them into two classes,—the symbolical writings of the Lutherans, and those of the Reformed Under the first head he enumerates: the Augsburg Confession; the Apology of the Augsburg Confession drawn up by Melanchthon; the articles of Schmalkalden; the Formula Concordia, consisting of the Epitome and Solida Declaratio, and Luther's two Catechisms. Under the second head, Dr. Möhler produces a strange medley of documents, unconnected with each other, as he himself confesses, except by the generic name "Reformed,"

under which he sees fit to collect them. They are—1. The Confessio Tetrapolitana, whose validity was but of a few years' duration; the four cities of Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau, on whose behalf it was presented at the diet of Augsburg, having subsequently adopted the Augsburg Confession; -2. Three Helvetic Confessions, i.e. the Helvetica prior, Helvetica posterior, and Basiliensis; -3. The XXXIX Articles of the Anglican Church; —4. The Confession of the Protestant Synod of Paris, 1559;—5. The Belgian Confession;—6. The Decrees of the Synod of Dort; -7. The Heidelberg Catechism; -8. The XXVIII Articles of the principality of Anhalt; -9. The Confession of the March of Brandenburg;—10. The Confession of Augsburg is again mentioned as a symbolical book of high authority among the Reformed Churches. Besides these, he observes, there are various others which he does not think it worth while to mention, such as the Polish, the Hungarian, and that of Thorn; and to make the list complete, he refers the reader, for the symbolical documents of the minor Protestant sects, to the second part of his volume, in which he treats in separate chapters of Anabaptists, Mennonites, Quakers, Moravians, Methodists, Swedenborgians, Socinians, and Arminians or Remonstrants.

Such is the Corpus Confessionum from which Dr. Möhler deduces his ideas of the Protestant doctrine. It appears that the Rationalists, and even the St. Simonians, had a narrow escape of being classed by him amongst the Protestant sects; at least, he deems it necessary to assign his reasons for omitting them. Considering the reservation of an escape for his own Church, even from the Tridentine catechism, and the creed of Pope Pius IV. on the one hand, and the accumulation of documents, unconnected in their origin, and necessarily contradictory in their character, for a witness against Protestantism, on the other hand, it can hardly be denied that Dr. Möhler has provided himself with a tolerably serviceable apparatus for the purposes of theological juggling. It is but fair, however, to state, that the mention of the symbolical writings of "the minor sects" among the authentic documents of Protestantism, seems intended for show rather than for use; practically they are kept apart from the main argument, which turns on the two leading systems of Luther and Calvin.

The first subjects on which, in accordance with his plan, Dr. Möhler enters, are "the original state of man," and "the origin of evil." Here he endeavours to prove that Protestantism, by representing "original righteousness" not as a supernatural gift, vouchsafed to man in a state of innocency, but as part and parcel of man's own nature, and at the same time by denying the

freedom of man's will, makes, in point of fact, God the author of Having thus charged upon Protestantism a blasphemous denial of the inviolable holiness of God's character, Dr. Möhler passes on to the doctrine of "original sin." On this point he finds fault more especially with the Lutheran doctrine, which he accuses of a near approach to Manicheism, on the ground that it totally denies the existence of any disposition, or even capacity for good, in fallen man, and gives to sin a positive character and a substantial being. He next proceeds to examine the Protestant doctrine of justification, to which he makes the following objections: that man is represented as a merely passive recipient in the work of his justification; that the possibility of obtaining justification is, in the Calvinistic view at least, denied to all who in the counsel of God's predestination are appointed as vessels of wrath; that the Protestant notion of justification is that of a mere extrinsic acquittal, compatible with the deepest intrinsic corruption; that by rejecting the "Catholic" distinction between the fides formata, which does, and the fides informis, which does not justify, the justifying faith of Protestants reduces itself to a mere belief of the remission of sins through the death of Christ, without reference to an inward spirit, or to outward fruits, of righteousness; that therefore holiness is separated from faith, and a ground of assurance given to men, which not only is independent of sanctification, but seems to grow most luxuriantly in a deep sense of unmitigated inward corruption; that this indifference, and more than indifference, of the Protestant doctrine to an inherent character of righteousness, is further shown by the denial of the possibility, as well as the meritorious character, of good works, on the one hand, and of the necessity of a purification of the soul by purgatorial fire, on the other; from all which he draws the conclusion, that in Protestantism religion and morality, faith and sanctity, are altogether divorced, in the same manner as they were in the Gnosticism of the earlier ages of the Church: nay, he goes so far as to impute to the Protestants a deep instinctive dread of sanctification, as if it were of the very essence of Protestantism to "continue in sin that grace may abound."

It is upon such premises as these that Dr. Möhler considers himself entitled to ask at every turn, what but spiritual dulness and deadness, total inability to appreciate or to apprehend that Divine life which was manifested in the flesh in the person of the God-man Christ Jesus, and continues to be so manifested upon earth in his Church, can be expected of men, who in the ignorance and confusion, he is willing to believe, of their theological and metaphysical darkness, destroy the moral character of God as a God of holiness, attribute to evil a positive and substantial exist-

ence, annihilate at once man's freedom and his moral responsibility, and efface the power of a living grace, and the requirements of sanctity, from the Christian covenant. Thus forearmed, he approaches the broad practical questions of the sacraments and of the Church; questions which he is evidently conscious require the most cautious handling on the part of a Romanist controversialist; he developes with a masterly hand all the beauties of the great "Catholic" mysteries involved in those doctrines, and keeps Protestantism at a dignified distance, as a system which can only profane and deny, but never can comprehend or realize them. The following passage on the seven sacraments generally, will serve as an illustration of the method pursued by Dr. Möhler, in reference to this part of his subject. After describing the miserable condition of man, as he is born into this world, subject to the bondage of sin and death, he continues:

"To this base order of things the Church opposes, by virtue of Christ's commission to her, at every point an higher economy, not with a view to destroy the former, but to draw it up into the purpose of redemption, to make it glorious, to purify every part of our earthly and sinful existence by the infusion of heavenly elements, to lift humanity, marred as it is in Adam, back into a divine existence, and to absorb time in eternity. Symbolical signs place the higher world before the senses, and bring down from it the power of rising into it. To the sin-tainted birth for earth corresponds the spiritual newbirth for heaven. At the moment when the fully unfolded powers, and the thickening dangers of this world's life threaten to wind themselves more closely round the individual, and to hold him more firmly in their grasp, the strengthening of his spirit by the Spirit from above, opportunely comes to his aid, and enables him nobly to sustain the hot conflict. The terrestrial union of the sexes, calculated as it is to make man perish in the lowest depths of this earth's life, becomes an heavenly union; the desire of the sense which is opposed to all permanent union, is subdued in Christ the Lord, and made subservient to the indissoluble union of spirits. As on the one hand, matrimony brings man into closer connexion with the state whose life is of the earth and as such circumscribed, so on the other hand, there is a symbolical action appointed for the consecration of centres of union for the faithful as such, in order that they may be enabled to consider themselves as members of an all-embracing kingdom of God upon earth, which being distinct from the circumscribed earthly kingdoms, is to penetrate and quicken them all by its spirit, even as the religious and church life of the individual is to penetrate and to quicken his earthly and civic existence. As matrimony is the condition on which the existence of states and the whole life of the earth in the regular order of its development depends, so is priestly consecration the con-

dition of the Church's universal life, and of all the other sacraments. Answerably to the earthly nourishment and perishable food, the bread of heaven is offered for constant spiritual fruition all through life; so that the Lord's table forms the centre of reunion in worship and in religious life, in the same manner as the table of the master of the household forms the rallying point in earthly service and in civil society. When in violent perturbations of the bodily organization, the enemy of this temporal life comes in sight, strength and might is imparted by that unction, wherein man is admonished of an higher power, which, happen what may, will save his true and proper self, an unfailing help in the hour of approaching dissolution of the ties between the spirit and the body. That sacred action which meets the case of the deeply fallen but penitent church-member, does not admit of having a regular place assigned to it in the history of spiritual life, because that would imply an inevitable necessity of falling into sin after regeneration, and thereby make the fall not sinful; yet is it ordained by the mercy of God as an extraordinary gift of grace: and thus the septenary number of the sacraments is completed.

"Protestantism, on the contrary, despairing, as of a thing impossible, of a heavenly power penetrating with its life all earthly existence and exhibiting its image reflected in a mirror of glory, was under the necessity of rejecting the doctrine of the seven sacraments, as a presumptuous attempt made by man to avert an inevitable fate; not even to the two sacraments which it did retain, could it assign any higher purpose than that of supporting the doctrine of the remission of

sins in an indomitably carnal existence."

We have neither space nor inclination to follow Dr. Möhler through all the unscrupulous assertions by which he endeavours to prove the antiquity of the Romish doctrines of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass, and through all the subtle sophistries by which he attempts to palliate the superstitions and abuses to which, under the sanction of the papacy, those doctrines have led and still continue to lead; indeed, there is nothing particularly novel or striking in the view which he gives of the "Catholic" side of the question. In treating of the Protestant doctrines on this all-important subject he makes, as might be expected, copious use of the difference respecting it between Luther and Calvin.

From the sacraments, of which three only, baptism, penance, and the eucharist, are separately discussed, Dr. Möhler passes on to the cardinal point of the whole argument, the doctrine of the Church. Here it is that he principally shines; his conceptions on this subject are not only of a lofty and poetic character, they are marked by a tone of deep spirituality. It is more the Catholic than the Romanist that speaks; and if we could forget that

by the Catholic Church he means throughout the Roman Communion, if he did not himself every now and then painfully remind us of it, we might easily and warmly sympathize with many sentiments of great truth and beauty which are to be found in this part of his volume. At the very opening of the chapter on the Church, we meet with the following definition:

"By the Church on earth Catholics understand the visible communion of all the faithful founded by Christ, in which the operations put forth by Him, during his abode on earth, for delivering mankind from sin and sanctifying them, are continued under the guidance of his Spirit to the end of the world, by means of a perpetual apostolate ordained by Him, so as to lead in process of time all the nations back to God.

"It is then to a visible, tangible society of men that this great, important and mysterious work is committed. The ultimate reason of the visibility of the Church is to be found in the incarnation of the Divine Word. If the Word had descended into the hearts of men without taking the form of a servant, and therefore without appearing any-wise in bodily fashion, the Church founded by Him would likewise have been invisible and internal. But forasmuch as the Word became flesh, He manifested Himself in a manner outwardly perceptible, and truly human; He spoke as a man to men, and suffered and acted after the manner of men, in order to regain men for the kingdom of God; thus adapting his means for the attainment of this purpose to the nature and the wants of man, which required such a mode of instruction and of discipline. It was this which determined the nature of the means by which the Son of God purposed to act upon the world, and for the world, after his removal from the eyes of the world. God in Christ having wrought in the ordinary form of humanity, the form in which his work was to be continued was thereby pointed out. The preaching of his doctrine required the intervention of a visible human medium; it had to be committed to visible messengers ministering instruction and discipline after the manner of man; it was necessary that men should speak to men, and converse with men, in order to convey to them the word of God. And as in the world of man nothing great ever succeeds without union, Christ likewise ordained a Communion; and his Divine word, his living will, and the love flowing forth from Him, exerted an inward power of union upon his people. Thus an instinct planted by Him in the hearts of the faithful, corresponded with his external ordinance; they were held together in visible connexion by a living chain; so that men could say, Here they are; this is his Church, his ordinance, in which He continues to dwell, and by his Spirit to operate; in which the word spoken by Him continues for ever to resound. Viewing it in this light, the visible Church is in fact the Son of God Himself, who continues to appear among men in human guise, ever new and ever young; it is his perpetual incarnation, even as, in Holy Scripture, the faithful are called the body of Christ."

That such high thoughts of the Church, and of the blessedness of her communion, are apparently contradicted by what the Church actually is, and in all ages has been, is a lamentable fact; one which will force itself upon us the more irresistibly, the higher our standard is, of what the Church as the spouse and body of Christ ought to be. To this fact Dr. Möhler is not a stranger; he disguises neither the fact itself, nor the grief it occasions him; and the manner in which he acknowledges and explains it, will not be read without interest.

"To the mind of Catholics, nothing can be more frivolous than the attempt to turn such pictures of the Church as that which we have now drawn, into ridicule, as ideal dreams, to which no reality on earth ever did or ever will correspond. There are few things that they know better than this, that the lofty idea and the base reality are far from being identical; but they know, too, that where the reality has no idea to rest on, not more truth is to be found, than where the idea has no corresponding reality. They are well aware that if their doctrine of the Church could be seriously impeached on such grounds as these, the Gospel itself might be assailed in the same way, by saying, 'Most excellent and most wonderful truly is all that is here said of the holy disposition and the godly conversation which Christians ought to exhibit; but the question is, Do they exhibit it?' All true life has necessarily some ideal standard, of which the base reality falls short, and for that very reason is so base. The words of our Lord, 'Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect,' are not annulled by the fact that no man is like unto God. Yea, rather, woe be to him who rejects the ideal standard, because he cannot find among men its perfect counterpart.

"Though it be noted that in all ages, from the day of Christ and his Apostles, among whom there was a Judas, much evil has existed in the Church, and at times has even seemed to outweigh the good, yet this cannot diminish the veneration which Catholics feel for the Church. The Church, as Christ's ordinance, has never erred, never grown evil; her power has never become extinct, never failed to operate; though its operations may not at all times be equally evident. Being at once the representation of God's kingdom upon earth, and a training institution for it, she has to deal with men who are all born as sinners, received into her out of a mass more or less corrupted. Her work can, therefore, never be carried on without the reach of evil; on the contrary, it is of the very essence of the task imposed upon her, that she should step forth into the midst of evil, and ever and again prove the power of transformation which is in her. Besides, long has been the course, and grievous have often been the events, through which the Catholic Church has descended; she has passed through periods in which all the elements of life were stirred up in unchained license, and in their wild uprising threatened to engulph each other. Savage and half-savage

tribes actually overthrew the ancient civilization and the social systems wherein she had flourished; in the place of polished Greeks and Romans, she had to receive into her bosom men of wholly untamed nature, and consequently she assumed a far different aspect from that which she had formerly worn. As her bishops and priests do not come down from the clouds, as she must take them from among such men as the age furnishes, it was too truly out of her power for centuries together to produce such men as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Cyprian, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Hilary, Jerome, or Augustine; men who had been nurtured in every art and science of ancient Greece and Rome, before ever they entered the priesthood, or even before they joined themselves to the Church. And yet great and glorious, beyond conception, are the effects which the Church produced even in those dismal times; the power of her discipline was still wielded on the ground of the same faith, which, moulded into the form of the Catholic doctrine during the earlier and better ages, had received the homage of universal veneration. The power which Christianity put forth in the first centuries, continued still to be exerted, though in a manner far different, because the material on which it had to work, was altogether of a different kind. Such being the circumstances in which the Church was placed, there arose, from the twelfth century, sects which, though they were but of vesterday, and had no history, and consisted only of a chosen few, to whom it was given to dream of a church, ventured to cast upon the existing Church, who had passed through so many storms and revolutions, the reproach that she had become untrue to her destination; by means of the culture they had derived from her, they rebelled against her on account of her deficiencies. Spawned by fancy and egotism, (for such we must consider them, even when making due allowance for what was good in them,) they would quickly have sunk back into their native nothingness, if they had had to bear that burden of the times which was laid upon the Catholic Church.

"Unquestionably it often happened, that priests, bishops, and popes, failed, with unprincipled and unwarrantable negligence, to lay the foundation of a better state of things, when they had it in their power to do so; nay, perhaps by their scandalous aims and lives they quenched the smoking flax which they ought to have kindled; hell has swallowed them up. From avowals of this kind Catholics must not shrink, nor have they ever shrunk from them. It would be in vain to evade them, seeing that Protestants have, in the very existence of their system, the most irrefragable proof of the variously neglected state of the people in the fifteenth century; for if the teachers and priests of that age had severally done their duty, such a doctrine as that of Protestantism could never have risen up, much less gained ground so extensively. It must have been gross ignorance indeed, that could give the preference to a system of faith such as that which the Reformers propounded; and Protestants may therefore make bold to take the greatness of their error as the measure of the wretchedness into which the Church had at that period sunk down. And this is the point, where Catholics and Protestants will one day meet in vast numbers and join hands; both must exclaim, in contrition of spirit, 'All we have done amiss; the Church alone cannot err; we all have sinned,—she alone is faultless upon earth.' This open confession of the common guilt will be the prelude to their solemn reconciliation."

We may fall very short indeed of the estimate which Dr. Möhler forms of the errors of the Reformers, and of the faultiness of the Protestant systems, and yet we may feel that there is truth in his conclusion, that a mutual acknowledgment, a frank and a contrite confession of the faults first committed and then perpetuated on either side, is the only way to heal the breaches which have been made in the unity of the Catholic Church. But will Rome ever do her part towards a consummation so devoutly to be wished? Does even Dr. Möhler really mean all that his words seem to imply? Alas! looking at other portions of his book, we fear not! Possibly Rome might be willing to sacrifice the reputation of some of her priests, her bishops, and even her popes of bygone days; but so far as she is represented by Dr. Möhler, she gives no indication of willingness to abate one jot or tittle of the corrupt traditions which she formally adopted in the synodical decrees of Trent. Until she is prepared to revise these, all demonstrations and professions of reconciliation on her part are, whether so intended or not, mere vain delusions.

Of this the sequel of Dr. Möhler's book affords abundant evidence. All the most objectionable and unscriptural points arising out of his Romish view of the Church, from the papal supremacy to the purgatorial satisfactions and the invocation of saints, are vindicated by him, with great ability and subtilty, it must be owned. The result is, that greatly as he may have damaged the character of the German Reformation, by the instances he adduces of rashness and intemperance of language on the part of its leaders, and of Luther especially⁵, he has

" Aut ergo alios ab istis fructibus ostendant, aut negent sese esse sacerdotes. Nam fructus hujusmodi publice vel privatim ferre non probat aliud et aliud sacerdotium, sed

⁵ One of the instances which Dr. Möhler adduces of the extreme opinions advanced by Luther, and of the coarse language in which he put them forth, is the following passage, which deserves to be noted, as throwing light upon the position which the German Reformer assumed at an early period towards the hierarchy. It is contained in a treatise, "De instituendis Ministris ecclesiæ," addressed to the senate of Prague in 1523; and runs thus: "Conveniamus nunc papisticos Sacerdotes, ac rogemus ut nobis monstrent, an alia ab istis officiis [i. e. unici et omnibus communis sacerdotii] sacerdotium suum habeat. Si alia habet, certe Christianum non erit. Si eadem habet, singulare non erit. Ita concludemus illos, quoquo sese verterint, ut aut sacerdotium aliud a laicis non habeant, aut sacerdotium Satanæ habeant. Ex fructibus enim docuit omnes arbores Christus cognoscere; at nostri communis sacerdotii fructus vidimus.

damaged the cause of his own church infinitely more in the eyes of all who, agreeably to the advice given by himself in his preface, consult the Holy Scriptures in reference to questions of faith; for he has shown that the most palpably unscriptural doctrines and practices are inseparably interwoven with the Romish doctrine of the Church.

From the work of Dr. Möhler we now turn to those of his Protestant opponents, and in the first place to that of Dr. Nitzsch⁶. His object is not merely to repel the attack contained in Dr. Möhler's "Symbolik," but to set forth in opposition to it the principles of Protestantism. This he has done in five "articles," which appeared in the first instance in the Theologische Studien und Kritiken, and afterwards were republished in a collected form with an appendix of one hundred Protestant theses, which the author tells us are to serve partly as a running index, and partly as a supplement to the five articles. In the treatment of his subject, Dr. Nitzsch adheres closely, though unwillingly, to Dr. Möhler's arrangement, discussing successively the following five points: of the original state of man and of the origin of evil; of original sin; of justification; of the sacraments; and of the Church. As regards the original state of man,

alium et alium usum ejusdem sacerdotii. Quod si rasuram, unctionem et longam tunicam tantum possunt ostendere pro suo sacerdotio, permittimus illis gloriari in his sordibus, scientes facile vel porcum vel truncum posse radi, ungi et longa tunica indui.

"Nos in hoc stamus, Non esse aliud Verbum Dei quam quod omnibus Christianis annunciari [qu. annunciare?] præcipitur; Non esse alium baptismum, quam quem quilibet Christianus conferre potest; Non esse aliam memoriam cœnæ Dominicæ, quam ubi quilibet Christianus facere potest, quod Christus facere instituit; Non esse aliud peccatum, quam quod Christianus quilibet ligare et solvere debet; Non esse aliud sacrificium quam corpus cujuslibet Christiani; Non posse orare, nisi solum Christianum; Non debere judicare de doctrinis nisi Christianum. Hæc autem sunt sacerdotalia et regalia. Aut ergo Papistæ alia officia sacerdotum ostendant, aut sacerdotum resignent. Rasura, unctura, vestitura, aliisque hominum superstitione introductis ritibus, nihil movemur, etiamsi Angelus de cælo tradiderit, multo minus, si antiquus usus, multorum opinio, et recepta autoritas sic sentiat." We can hardly feel surprised that a man who thus not only turned the ceremonial of ordination which, right or wrong, had the sanction of long usage, into ridicule, but denied altogether the existence of the Christian ministry, as a distinct office in the Church, should be looked upon as a dangerous innovator by the bishops and by the clergy generally.

⁶ Dr. Carl Immanuel Nitzsch, Professor of Theology at Bonn, is reckoned among that sounder class of German divines who are endeavouring to introduce into the theology of Germany a deeper reverence for God's Word, and a closer adherence to the essential doctrines of the Christian faith; but who, at the same time, retain so much of the philosophising tone by which the lucubrations of German divines have for many years past been characterized, as to entitle them to no more than the appellation demi-orthodox. Besides his "Protestant reply" to Dr. Möhler, Dr. Nitzsch is favourably known by a "Compendium of Christian Doctrine," which has passed through several editions, by some volumes of sermons, and other writings. He is also a con-

tributor to the "Theologische Studien und Kritiken."

Dr. Nitzsch contents himself with disclaiming the errors imputed to the Protestant system by Dr. Möhler; he does not allow any inferences to be drawn from what man now is, in a state of redemption, as to what he was before the fall; he acknowledges that there was a state of man prior to the entrance of sin into his nature, in which the human and the divine life were kept distinct, and the former was governed as well as upheld by the latter; but as to the precise manner in which this was effected. and the relation in which accordingly God and man stood to each other, he deems it sufficient to say, that it could not have been the same as that in which they now stand, when man is by nature alien from God and in rebellion against Him, and by grace is reconciled to God, and brought back to a state of love and obedience; and that therefore it is not admissible to connect with the state of Adam in Paradise, the ideas of a covenant, a church, sacraments and the like; these belonging essentially, as Dr. Nitzsch thinks, to a state of redemption from sin. On the question of the origin of evil, he states it as his belief, that the Reformers, Calvin especially, were wrong in their interpretation of the language of St. Paul, whose object in the texts relied on by them, was not to inculcate the question of predestination, but to discountenance the discussion of it; not to lay down axioms of theology, but to meet a theological difficulty: he also notices their inconsistency in first of all laying down the doctrine of a secret will of God, and then proceeding to explain that secret will after a manner of their own. But while he makes this admission, he indignantly vindicates the Reformers from the imputation of blasphemy; showing that the error into which they fell, arose from their deep veneration for the sovereignty of God, and for his holy Word, and from the necessity which they felt of opposing the Pelagian tendency of the Romish doctrine: lastly, he appeals to the undeniable evidence of the Protestant symbols, which declare in express and unequivocal terms, that God is not, nor ever can be, the author of evil. With regard to the question of original sin, Dr. Nitzsch dwells on the practical importance of an unqualified acknowledgment of the deep and entire corruption of man's nature by sin; at the same time he remarks, that there is a great difference between denying that there is any capacity left in man for the things of the kingdom of God, and affirming that it is wholly out of his power without the intervention of a Redeemer to exert his nature for any spiritual or divine purpose.

In the matter of justification, Dr. Nitzsch well observes, that many of the disputes between Romanist and Protestant controversialists are in fact mere logomachy; because Protestants

do not deny that an essential change, namely regeneration, the effect of grace infused, and subsequent renovation and sanctification by the power of the same Divine grace, is indispensable to salvation, any more than Romanists deny the necessity of reconciliation by the remission of sins. So far there is no substantial difference between the parties; but Dr. Nitzsch is free to admit that the doctrine of justification was not sufficiently defined by the Reformers; that it might have been set forth with greater clearness and precision. The fault of this he lays not so much to the individuals as to the age in which they lived, and to the circumstances in which the Church was then placed; as the excesses of fanatics on one hand, and the mischievous superstitions connected with the Romish doctrine of the Sacraments on the other, may have deterred the Reformers from approaching nearer to the truth, to which Dr. Nitzsch thinks it is the tendency of Protestant theology at present to give due prominence, the truth, namely, that personal redemption by the remissions of sins, and the union of life of the redeemed with Christ, as a member of his body, by spiritual regeneration and sanctification, are inseparably connected; that Christ's work for us, and in us, is essentially one and the same work.

In the article on the Sacraments, we have a full discussion of the sacraments of the Roman Church, and of the grounds on which the idea of the Sacrament was restricted to Baptism and the Lord's Supper. On this part of Dr. Nitzsch's argument we shall only observe, that his view of Holy Orders is ultra-Protestant, and therefore exceedingly unsound. He denies altogether that any spiritual gift or power is imparted by the imposition of hands; he looks upon the act, although acknowledging its apostolic original, as being merely a decent ceremony, from which "no other than social consequences can result." The chief part, however, of this article is taken up with the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, on which we are happy to find that Dr. Nitzsch's views are of a more satisfactory nature. He speaks of the mystical character of the Sacrament, which is on no account to be lost sight of, and aptly remarks, that in one sense the Protestants are in regard to this matter more Catholic than the "Catholics" themselves; for asmuch as, acknowledging in common with the latter an effectual saving grace in the sacrament, they see in it Christ, and Christ alone,—his institution, his word, his Spirit, his power and grace; whereas the "Catholics" are dependent on the voluntas, or intentio ministri. Allowing that Luther, on one hand, went too far in his doctrine of impanation, and that Calvin, on the other hand, was led into extreme statements by his dread of a superstitious view of the Sacrament, Dr. Nitzsch defines the

acknowledged doctrine of the Protestant Church to be substantially one; teaching the communion of the body and blood of Christ, the real presence, in a mystery; in opposition alike to sacramentarianism, which empties the sacrament and makes it a bare sign, and to the doctrine of transubstantiation, which makes

it an object of superstitious worship.

The last article, on the Church, is of the whole of Dr. Nitzsch's performance decidedly the weakest part; the ground which he has taken up, being the untenable ultra-Protestant view, according to which the Church has not any real visible existence upon earth, but remains a kind of floating abstraction, coincident or not, as the case may be, with the different communities, congregations, and individuals, which profess the Christian name. He admits the high antiquity of the idea of an externally visible Church communion, but while retaining the letter of the belief in one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, he repudiates the sense which those words were unquestionably meant to express from the first, and which they have ever since continued to bear, not only in the Roman, but in the Catholic Church. This is evidently the point on which the Protestants of Germany have much to learn; but before they can learn it, they must lay aside many prejudices, and, what will be a far more difficult task, they must disavow the heady repudiation of God's ordinance in his Church, into which the two most idolized founders of their communions were betrayed; they must make humble confession of the defective condition to which this sin of the German Reformation has reduced them, and of the miserable confusion, even in the most vital matters of faith, which has been the consequence. Until they do this, the hurt of their people will be but slightly healed; nor will they be indemnified for the loss of substantial grace and truth by clever epigrammatic sayings, such as that of Schleiermacher, that "Protestantism makes the connexion of the individual with the Church dependent on his connexion with Christ, whereas Catholicism makes his connexion with Christ dependent on his connexion with the Church;" or that other of Twesten, that "the two Churches have divided between them the saying of Irenæus, ubi Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei; et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic Ecclesia."

Before we take our leave of Dr. Nitzsch, we shall transcribe a few of his theses, which are particularly well calculated to throw light upon that system of which he stands forth as the champion.

[&]quot;Th. 2. The Apostles of Jesus Christ, Peter, Paul, John, Matthew, are officiating to this day; there is neither need nor authority for any one to take their place."

[&]quot;Th. 4. They preach pardon and repentance in the name of the

Lord; they are witnesses of the resurrection of the crucified Jesus to every creature, unto the end of the world; they remit and retain sins, they lay the foundation of the Church, they instruct missionaries and preachers, they order the congregation, and preside, without being in any way represented, in those synods which desire to be Christian."

"Th. 11. The Church begotten by the living word had a spirit and a taste of truth, by virtue of which she discerned and acknowledged the writings of the Apostles. This discernment and acknowledgment was

not an exercise of authority, but a submission to authority."

"Th. 13. The Protestant Church did not receive the Holy Scriptures from the Catholic Church of the present day, or of the sixteenth century, but from that Church in which she recognizes her own con-

tinued and uninterrupted history."

"Th. 14. Throughout the whole history of the Church, whenever critical and hermeneutical labours were freely bestowed on the canon of Scripture, whenever it was much disseminated and preserved, Protestantism prevailed."

"Th. 20. The actually valid tradition is nothing else but the oneness of Christianity, in the variety of intellectual tendencies and doctrinal peculiarities which belong to its historical development."

"Th. 21. The true Church must combine Catholicism with Protes-

tantism."

"Th. 22. In consequence of the indissoluble connexion of the Church with Holy Scripture, there is a constant transition of true Protestantism into Catholicism, and of true Catholicism into Protestantism."

"Th. 27. Holy Scripture is its own authentic interpreter. This axiom, which is beautifully developed in the Helvetic Confession, and is a general axiom of Protestantism, secures not only the philological, but also the spiritual and theological principles of interpretation."

"Th. 33. Whatever there is of error or abuse in the Roman Catholic, whatever of truth in the Protestant Church, in fact the whole controversy between Catholicism and Protestantism, rests on the denial on the one hand, and the acknowledgment on the other, of the difference between the law and the Gospel."

"Th. 40. The temple of Zion is the type of the one Spiritual Church of Christ; the synagogue is the precursor of the numerous congrega-

tions of the Lord's redeemed."

"Th. 67. The justification of the sinner is a judicial act of God, but at the same time transitive, for it produces peace and the sense of

adoption."

"Th. 85. There is but one sacrament to be put on an equality with the sacrament of the birth of the spiritual life, or of man's regeneration of water and of the Spirit, and that is the sacrament of the sustentation and increase of the spiritual life, or of sanctification."

"Th. 93. It is quite compatible with Christian ideas to suppose that there is a purification after death; but not so, that it consists in a sort of physical process; still less, that it can be remitted or abridged

on account of satisfactions made by saints still militant on earth, in the case of souls which are fit subjects for it."

So much for the theological views of Dr. Nitzsch. We now pass on to the second champion of Protestantism, Dr. Baur, whose work is far more voluminous, and, as far as its polemical purpose is concerned, far more comprehensive; but in its character altogether different, and, to an English reader at least, far less interesting. Viewing it merely as a controversial performance, it is certainly admirable, a perfect gladiature of theology. As Dr. Möhler permitted himself to travel over the whole field of the Protestant literature of the sixteenth century, and to gather thence whatever might be serviceable for the purpose of disparaging the Reformation, his opponent can certainly not be blamed for ranging over the same wide field in search of materials for confuting him. This Dr. Baur has accordingly done, with great learning and ability; and if it was not surprising, that in the immense mass of writings to which he had recourse, Dr. Möhler should have found much that suited his purpose, it is not wonderful that Dr. Baur should have been equally fortunate. But this did not suffice him. Since Dr. Möhler had taken the liberty of illustrating the symbolical documents of the Protestants by quotations from the private writings of their divines, there was no reason why Dr. Baur should not do the same with regard to the writings of Romanist divines. And so it comes to pass, that there is hardly a statement in Dr. Möhler's book touching either the Catholic or the Protestant doctrine, which Dr. Baur does not impeach; with the intention of exhibiting his opponent as a man, who so far from giving a correct view of Protestantism, did not even rightly portray the system of his own Church, whether

⁷ Dr. F. C. Baur, Professor of Protestant Theology at Tübingen, belongs to the demi-rationalistic Hegelian school, and may be considered one of its leading champions. Without running into the extreme rationalism of Strauss and others of that stamp, the school which Dr. Baur represents, rests essentially upon a rationalistic foundation, and seeks, amidst a variety of bold and untenable speculations, to account for Christianity as an historical fact, an epoch in the development of the human mind. Protestantism, in the widest sense of the word, is its distinctive principle; its followers are Protestants, not against Romanism only, but against Protestantism itself, when assuming a definite and positive form; in fact against every positive system of doctrine which should obstruct the unlimited freedom of speculation. The first edition of his work against Möhler's "Symbolik" was published in 1833; and on Möhler's reply, under the title "Neue Untersuchungen," &c., making its appearance, Dr. Baur published, in 1834, a counter reply, the substance of which he afterwards embodied in the second edition of his "Gegensätze des Katholicismus und Protestantismus," published in 1836. Among the writings by which Dr. Baur has acquired considerable celebrity in the field of German theological literature, there is a comparison of "Apollonius of Tyana and Christ," intended to illustrate "the relation in which the Pythagorean system stands to Christianity."

through ignorance or through dishonesty, is a question which Dr. Baur politely leaves for Dr. Möhler himself to decide, yet not without giving him a few broad hints that his own opinion inclines towards the latter alternative. There runs through the whole a bitter tone, often degenerating into personality, and a savage determination, to leave if possible not a single bone in his adversary's body unbroken, nor a single limb unmauled. Thrust follows upon thrust, cut upon cut, blow upon blow; it is war

to the knife, and no quarter.

But great as is our admiration of Dr. Baur's polemic skill, and complete as is unquestionably the exposure which he has made of Dr. Möhler's work, we desiderate in it one thing, and that one which in theological controversy we hold to be indispensable, a direct and positive statement, namely, of the truth for which he fights so vigorously. Of this we have not been able to discover any trace in Dr. Baur's book; we have followed him through the discussion, point after point, argument after argument, in the hope of ascertaining what it was that he would maintain as the truly Protestant view, but in vain; there is no tangible statement of the kind to be met with any where; and we closed the volume under a painful conviction that we had to deal in Dr. Baur with an eminent dialectician, it is true, but withal with a most indifferent divine. His work is a defence of Protestantism only so far as it is an attack upon Catholicism: the negative character of Protestantism is developed in it to perfection; but of the positive tenets of Protestantism, it gives no account; and from the indirect indications which may be gathered here and there, as to the side to which the author's own opinions lean, we have not been able to get to any further conclusion, than that Dr. Baur is—a Baurite.

It is obvious that from its very nature Dr. Baur's work does not furnish materials for extracts, or even for a general sketch of his arguments. As well might a guerilla warfare over an extensive tract of country be delineated in a campaign-plan, as Dr. Baur's discursive onsets upon Dr. Möhler brought within a regular synopsis. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with having given him his due and well-earned meed of praise, such as it is, in the field in which he has chosen to distinguish himself; and shall bring our review of the whole controversy to a close with a few remarks.

One point is quite clear, and the controversy of which we have given our readers an account, has, we trust, in various ways helped to make it evident, that if truth, and, by means of truth, peace is to be obtained, by the healing of that great division which has for three centuries past agitated and distracted the Western portion of the Church Catholic, it is absolutely necessary to put an end to the evil practice, too generally pursued on both sides of the question, of comprehending together, under the name Protestant, all who refuse to become partakers of the sins of modern Rome, as if they were all one body, of one heart and one mind. Such a classification is obviously at variance with the facts of the case, and it is no less illogical: for what can be more illogical than to make that which is a mere negation, a principle of union §? To effect union a positive bond is required; it is not by disagreeing with a third party, but by agreeing with each other, that two parties are united. It is as reasonable to say that because two men are both at variance with a third man, they must be intimate friends, as to say, that because certain communities alike protest against the corruptions of Rome, therefore

We rejoice to find that the insufficiency of this merely negative notion of Protestantism begins to be keenly felt by some of the German divines; and we cannot forbear transcribing the following passage from an article in Dr. Hengstener's "Evangelische Kirchenzeitung," in which the author combats the idea of making the Gustavus-Adolphus associations the means of establishing a comprehensive union among all the Protestants of Germany, without any reference to their doctrinal differences.

"In the Evangelic Church of Germany," he says, "it has, in consequence of its want of compactness, come to this, that all the articles of faith which she professes in common with the universal Church of Christ, and the validity of her confessions, are being called in question within her own bosom; and that open unbelief has at least as many and as distinguished representatives among the teachers and governors of the

Church, as the true faith.

"The fact of this schism, which goes to the very bone and marrow of our evangelic Church, must be steadily kept in view in all Church questions, if we are not to go wrong ab initio. In every self-conscious spiritual development, a clear view and an honest acknowledgment of the actual state of the case, is the right starting point in order to a consistent course of action; nor is any thing more pernicious than a glossing over of that state by means of fair-sounding phrases. Wherever there is a serious difference, a sincere and thorough union can only be brought about by facing the points of difference, and that to their full extent, and in their full meaning; nothing must be palliated, else the new piece will tear away from the old garment, and the rent is made worse. The question then is, whether the Evangelic Church, considering her internal condition, is entitled to place herself, without further ado, as one entire body in opposition to the Roman Church; whether she is at liberty to conceal from herself and from the world, that the parties into which she is divided, are separated from each other by a much greater gulf than that which, on the whole, divides the Evangelic from the Roman Church.

"It would indeed be a glorious triumph for God's Church, if, in our days, all those who with heart and mouth confess the great verities of redemption for which the

Reformers lived and died, could be brought to unite as members of one body.

"On the contrary, it will be a disgrace to the Church, if the Evangelic party make no account of the infinite and life-giving treasure of positive truth whereon they take their stand; if, instead of looking to this, the true foundation of the Church, they unite, on the ground of a mere negation of certain Romish abuses, with those nominal Protestants, who, in fact, deny to a far greater extent than even Romanists themselves, that confession of faith, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. Such an union is a cry of peace where there is no peace; it divides what ought to be united, i. e. the one Catholic Church, which we confess in the Creed; and unites together things which ought to be kept apart, that is, faith and unbelief."

they are united together in the bonds of Church fellowship, and

form an Ecclesiastic unity of life and spirit.

When that fallacy shall have been got rid of, and not until then, will profitable discussion of the points of difference be possible. Let the Romanist define to himself separately the doctrinal and ecclesiastical features of each antagonist community with which he has to deal, and he will have some chance of discovering on which side the error lies, and from which side therefore the first overtures for reformation and reconciliation ought to come. Let each Protestant settle with himself, to what body or community he belongs, and what are its distinctive doctrines and principles, and he will have some chance of discerning which of them he ought to hold fast, as being founded in God's eternal truth, and which of them he ought to abandon, and, as the case may be, to recant, because they were adopted on insufficient grounds, in the heat of separation and the confusion of reform. Let this be done, and there will be on all sides less of the shout of war where there is no war, and less of the cry of peace where there is no peace.

ART. II. — A Charge delivered by RICHARD WHATELY, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. 1843. Fellowes, London.

On the Expediency of restoring to the Church her Synodical Powers.

By James Thomas O'Brien, D.D., Bishop of Ossory, Leighlin, and Ferns. Seeley and Burnside, London.

One Word on Convocation. By Henry Thompson, M.A. Parker, Oxford. 1843.

When any society has had a deliberative assembly, and, that having been discontinued for any length of time, disorders have supervened, and, increasing in their mischievous effects, have come home to every man, then, of course, arises an urgent demand for its restoration. The difficulties attending the revival of a power of whose manner of proceeding the precedents are almost all lost, and whose form must needs undergo considerable alteration to adapt it to our own times—which is, therefore, on the whole, so indefinite, so impossible to be reduced to any safe calculation as to its working—these perils are all overlooked in the eager stedfastness of eye which is set upon the end. Such seems to be frequently the case amongst members of the Church, who are desirous of the revival of Convocation; and yet the subject is one which requires the most deep and careful consideration. Before we can guess at the mode of working of an engine of such formidable power, we must examine well its frame and mechanism, so that we may adjust its force strictly to the work But many of those who are calling for it to be brought out of the great engine-house of our constitution, talk of it as if it had been laid up but yesterday, and not for so long a time that its springs and wheels are rusty, its machinery old-fashioned, its scene of operation altered, and that no one is living who ever had to do with the management of it. We would not be misunderstood—we most cordially concur with those who are desirous of seeing the Church in the full possession of her synodical powers; for the abeyance into which they have fallen, and the present mode of enacting laws on ecclesiastical subjects by act of parliament, has tended to the subversion of discipline, and has caused continual scandal to Churchmen as well as dissenters. In the wish for a synod, we, therefore, entirely concur; but we are of opinion that Convocation is wholly unsuited to the wants of

We shall find on examination that it is defective;

(I.) Originally and constitutionally; not being in harmony

with proper ecclesiastical discipline;

(II.) In application to our present times, being quite at variance with our notions, with the analogy of our institutions, and with the real state of our Church.

(I.) The constitution of the primitive assemblies of the Church was never according to the system of elective representation. It is obvious, indeed, at first sight, that no means could be so improper, for canvassing the deep and awful questions which came before them. Dispassionate deliberation is impossible in any assembly, the members of which come pledged to it by opinions publicly avowed—by their engagements to their constituents—by their interest in one of the parties which are necessarily formed in such a case; and animated with all the passionate zeal of the past election, while they are stimulated by the present cheers of their partizans, both within and without the assembly. Only let us imagine for a moment, the four first councils to have been thus constituted. Is it possible to conceive the mischief which must have ensued to the Church? The votes given on such occasions, we must remember, are testimonies to that which has always been believed, and not delegated utterances of opinions prevailing at the time. What reliance then can we have upon results, which proceed from suffrages of the latter kind? There is every reason to suspect, and to disregard them. We ask for the Vox Dei, and we are presented with the Vox Populi, which, however it may be identified with the former by the common proverb, in matters of this world, is pointedly distinguished from it both by Scripture and experience in matters of the world to come. The floating opinions, the varying constitution of the world, continually require a new representative for their new phases. But the eternal truth, the apostolical government of the Church, require a faithful witness, a tried and long approved counsellor. And where were such to be found, but in the bishops of the Church, the true representatives of their clergy and flocks, as having been originally elected by them; and the surest transmitters, through a distinct line of succession, of the sacred deposit of doctrine and discipline?

It is true, that priests and deacons were frequently present at councils. But they took no part in the proceedings, except on special invitation from the bishops so to do. They came with their bishops to assist with advice, if called upon, but not empowered with any right of suffrage. Thus it is said of the Council of Carthage, convened A.D. 255, on the matter of rebaptizing heretics, "Cum in unum convenissent episcopi, cum presbyteris et diaconibus, præsente etiam plebis maxima parte."

But Cyprian, in addressing the council, calls its members "Collegæ dilectissimi," speaks to them of Jubaianus as Coepiscopus Noster, and says, moreover, "neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se esse episcoporum constituit." Whence it is plain, that the priests and deacons, unless called upon by the bishops, had no more to do with the deliberations than the people. An instance of a presbyter thus called upon, is afforded in the person of Malchion, who convicted Paul of Samosata at the Council of Antioch, held sometime between A.D. 264 and 270. The same council, indeed, writes its decrees in the name of the bishops, priests, and deacons, and the Churches of God. But then it is addressed to the bishops, priests, and deacons, and the whole Catholic Church. And any argument derived from the terms of such an address, would be as valid for the suffrages of the laity as of the presbyters. But Eusebius distinctly terms it a Council of Bishops. The same may be observed of the Council of Eliberis, held about A.D. 385, the heading of which runs thus, "Cum consedissent sancti et religiosi episcopi in ecclesia Eliberitana, hoc est" (here follows a list of nineteen bishops). "Residentibus etiam viginti et sex presbyteris, adstantibus diaconibus et omni plebe, episcopi dixerunt." Then immediately follow the canons.

We have been thus particular, because it is of the utmost consequence that this point should be fully understood, and the real position of presbyters in a Council of Bishops distinctly ascertained. Even in our own country the early councils speak in the name of the bishops only, for example that of Herutford, held A.D. 673, which is mentioned somewhat at large by Bede, iv. 5. 268. In short, for the first eight centuries bishops alone sat as members of National Councils. Priests, archdeacons, and abbots, are found occasionally subscribing the canons, but only as vicars or delegates of absent bishops. The first innovation on this primitive constitution began in Spain by the admission of abbots, whose inferiority as presbyters was disguised by the episcopal quality and state of their office. But in this country

alone was the door opened to the inferior clergy.

This anomaly it is now time to trace.

Considering the position of the clergy in the middle ages, both as to their great superiority, or rather monopoly in education, and as to their growing temporal possessions, we cannot wonder at the early existence of mixed assemblies of temporal and spiritual peers in France, Germany, and England, forming National Councils, to determine temporal and ecclesiastical matters. This is, in fact, the origin of parliaments. Such was what is commonly called the Council of Clarendon, held in the reign of our Henry II. And thus the superior clergy

were brought into our State Councils, and made a regular part of them. But as the possessions of the clergy came to absorb so considerable a portion of the national territory, it seemed just to both king and people, that they should contribute their share to the national burdens; and in order to reach the inferior clergy, the writ of summons to a bishop contained a direction, to cause the dean of his cathedral church, the archdeacon of his diocese, with one proctor from the chapter of the former, and two from the body of his clergy, to attend with him at the place of meeting. The first unequivocal instance of the lower clergy thus attending, is in A.D. 1255, so that they preceded by a few years the institution of the House of Commons. It appears to have been the design of Edward I. to make the clergy a third estate, by which the possessions of spiritual persons might be taxed, and canons made to bind the ecclesiastical body. The clergy, however, seeing in this design only a plan for extracting their money, and reluctant against any convocation of them by the power of the State, were so slack in their attendance, that it was found necessary to enforce the summons in the bishop's writ by the archbishop's mandate. And thus, instead of forming a state of the realm they made a Convocation, which has ever since been summoned to meet contemporaneously with our parliaments.

Now it is clear, both in its origin and form, how essentially such an assembly differs from an ecclesiastical synod. According to its constitution, not only are presbyters entitled to a vote as well as bishops, but they can exercise a negative on the proceedings of their bishops, a privilege, says Gibson, the greatest enjoyed by the English clergy in a synod, "beyond the presbyters of other nations"—he might have added—beyond the presbyters of all times and places from the very beginning. It is difficult to conceive how such a privilege can be directly exercised, without an infringement on that canonical obedience which the presbyter owes to his bishop. And, moreover, the lower house, which enjoys this formidable power, is composed of an elective representation. That the Church should have been reduced to employ such an assembly, and such only as a synod, resulted necessarily from the circumstances of its origin. Of the two individuals chiefly concerned in its results, the king cared not how seldom the clergy met, when the voting a subsidy did not form part of their proceedings; and would be jealous of any assembly properly constituted for mere spiritual concerns, as being both too independent of himself, and too dependent on the pope; whilst the pope, again, found Convocation a most convenient instrument for his own purposes of extracting money, and having always most reasonably entertained a dislike to councils, would be loth to have more sorts than this one. Thus the clergy in England, as in France and elsewhere on other occasions, became the victim of a conspiracy for the immediate interests of pope and king, and have been from the moment of that unhallowed mutual accommodation, deprived of their just rights of a properly constituted National Council.

Previous to the Reformation, the acts of the purely ecclesiastical legislation of Convocation were few and far between. At that critical moment it was brought into unusual activity, as being the only recognized council of our Church. But when the changes required had been effected, it sunk into its former languor and comparative obscurity. How applicable are the words of Fuller to almost all its sessions, "Subsidies were granted. Otherwise, no great matter of moment passed therein." But even the power of granting subsidies was relinquished at the Restoration. Previously to that period the Convocation, though meeting, and even deliberating, had scarcely done anything more than produce the canons of 1604, which never received the sanction of the legislature, and are, therefore, a dead letter to the laity; those of 1606, which were quashed by the sovereign; and those of 1640, which being enacted by a continuance of Convocation beyond the period of the dissolution of parliament, and being confirmed by the king in council, brought a terrible storm upon their framers, and then sunk into practical oblivion. The revision of the Liturgy was the last act that it performed before the relinquishment of its right of granting subsidies. And thenceforwards to the Revolution the silence can hardly be said to have been interrupted.

From the last-mentioned period the inherent defects of its constitution as a synod were developed in a very remarkable manner. There was a decided estrangement between the two houses; the political changes, which were intimately connected with concessions to non-conformists, introducing Low Church views into the upper house with the new members then introduced; while the lower house persisted, as to the majority both of numbers and talent, in High Church principles. In consequence of this alienation, this house showed an insubordination quite inconsistent with its principles; and then was exhibited the singular spectacle of a house which avowed such attachment to the government of Bishops, bearding the house which was composed of Bishops; and of a house which was inclined to concede somewhat to presbyterian ordination, standing up for their own episcopal privileges and authority against the aggressions of the house of Presbyters. There can be no doubt that at the commencement of the proceedings, if the lower house had not

opposed a firm resistance, our Church would have been shortly reduced in her discipline to the very lax form in which the Revolution found the Scotch Church, and might in the course of no long time have become essentially Presbyterian, however she might retain accidentally some episcopal features. But this must not blind us to the errors of those champions. Led by the false analogy of the two houses of parliament to which the constitution of Convocation, so much more in unison with temporal than spiritual precedents, naturally inclined them, they maintained for the lower house an independence of the upper, similar to the relation between the House of Commons and House of Lords. They consequently refused to adjourn at the same time with the upper house, and continued their sittings in defiance of the Archbishop's This dispute effectually hindered all real business, and was only terminated by the silencing of Convocation. It was, therefore, left in bequest to posterity; and it would be a most imprudent oversight, not to include it in our calculations of the working of Convocation revived.

(II.) We have now seen the original faultiness of the constitution of this assembly, and the inconveniencies to which it naturally led. But in case of revival, it re-appears not only with all its former deficiencies, but with many more, owing to the change

of times.

Let us consider the constituent parts of Convocation. It consists of an upper and lower house, the former containing the Bishops, the latter made up of the Deans, proctors of the cathedrals, archdeacons, and the proctors of the parochial clergy. But there are also two distinct assemblies of Convocation, that of Canterbury and that of York, besides the Irish Convocation. That of Canterbury has always been so much the more important of the two, that we have come to apply to it the name of Convocation only. The Convocation, however, of the province of Canterbury contains an upper house of twenty-two Bishops. Its lower house is composed of twenty-two Deans, fifty-three Archdeacons, twenty-four proctors for the chapters, forty-four proctors for the parochial clergy. Now here is an immense preponderance of the cathedral clergy. Leaving the Archdeacons aside, who may, from their connexion with cathedrals as well as with the parochial clergy, be considered as neutral, we have forty-six representatives of the cathedral clergy, and only forty-four of the parochial. But the whole number of the cathedral clergy is or will be less than 200, and the whole number of the parochial is not less than 12,000; so that the two stand in the proportion of 2 to 120: and therefore, while the cathedral clergy are represented in the proportion of 1 to 4, the parochial clergy are only

represented in the proportion of 1 to 270!

Very serious disadvantages may be apprehended from the very small number of members in the upper house. It is true that this evil is as old as the Reformation, when that house no longer comprised abbots and priors. But since the Reformation, there has been no trying period for the upper house of Convocation. It came, indeed, into conflict with the lower, after the revolution. But it had all the friends of the revolution on its side, and after all the dispute was comparatively in a corner, and little interested the world in general. But would there be as little interest now? Let us suppose, which we may with the greatest probability, if not certainty, that the lower house should take up the question which was bequeathed them by the last predecessor which had the liberty of speech, and demand an independence in analogy with the House of Commons. Can any one suppose that matters

would go off as quietly as of old?

But is it likely, it may be answered, that such a temper should possess any number of members of Convocation, so that things should ever come to this pass? Are not all aware of the critical state of things, and that all would depend upon the good understanding both between the two houses, and between individual members? It may be said in reply, that our clergy are all at this moment deeply convinced of the danger of divisions in the very face of the most numerous, most deadly, and most compacted band of enemies that our Church has ever had. And yet are those divisions avoided? Or, on the contrary, are not moderate men who seek to heal them branded as timeservers by one extreme, or industriously confounded with the opposite party by the To suppose a calm and useful session of Convocation, we must first of all forget this state of things, and we must forget the prevailing ignorance of men as to the real nature of Convocation, and the loss of precedents which should guide them. For it will not do to recall them, after long disuse, from musty rolls, and most imperfect records. That may do in an assembly which has never lost the continued tradition of them. But when this has long ceased, we may as well dig up the dead bodies of our predecessors in that assembly, and set them up among us to guide us.

If any one can doubt that even good men may be so misled by party spirit as to disregard the common weal, let him look back to a melancholy precedent in the conduct of Convocation from the Revolution downwards to its practical extinction. We shall not be far wrong if we attribute many of our present evils to its

misconduct at that critical juncture. The crying claims of the Church on their attention, both at home and in the colonies, were almost unattended to amid the din of their comparatively

paltry disputes.

We have now, we hope, shown, as we undertook, the defectiveness of the constitution of this assembly as a synod of the Church. But it may be as well to observe also, that we should have to deal with three such assemblies. We have hitherto considered the Convocation of the province of Canterbury only. But there are also those of York and of Ireland. How can such an aggregation of difficulties be possibly overcome? With regard to that of York the matter was easy formerly. It was contented passively to re-echo the voice of that of Canterbury; and indeed the number of the assembly, four in the upper house and twentyeight in the lower, was too small for independence. It can hardly be expected to do so now, when the immense increase of the wealth and population of the province has supplied it with a large body of well-educated clergy, among whom is to be found a full proportion of known and tried men, and when it has been brought into the central scene of activity by the extraordinary ease and rapidity of communication. Since, however, its Convocation occasionally united with that of Canterbury by means of commissioners who sat there, it would be no great or perilous innovation to unite the two Convocations into one. This therefore might be adjusted satisfactorily, and we will dismiss all concern upon the point: but there remains the adjustment with Ireland, and she certainly does not seem to be in a temper, even in her Protestant portion, to be easily dealt with. Her Convocation, more popular in its form, is as independent and numerous as that of England, and likely to contain its full proportion of talent and learning. We can hardly expect that an Irish Convocation would always harmonize with one on this side of the channel. Strange to say, the Irish Convocation seems to have been quite overlooked in the arguments for the revival of Convocation, and therefore one of the greatest difficulties has been left out of calculation. And we apprehend that the junction of the English and Irish Convocations would not be acceptable to either party. But besides this, the Colonial Churches, which have been established within the last century, are wholly unrepresented in Convocation. Twenty dioceses in the East and West, presided over by prelates of the highest character, and ministered to by an orthodox and zealous clergy, are wholly excluded!

The undue position given to the presbytery is the original fault of our Convocation. And in consequence it has had, on

the whole, the ill success which has attended all those institutions which, contrary to the discipline of the Catholic Church, have exalted the second order at the expense of the first. After a certain course, life has failed in them; and if they retain the form, they have lost the spirit. As long, therefore, as there is a lower house of Convocation, so independent of the upper as ours is, we have every reason from arguments, both a priori and a posteriori, to anticipate the recurrence of the evils which have

been experienced already.

The inconveniences likely to arise from a Convocation, or a lower house constituted on the elective principle, do not seem to have presented themselves to the minds of those who are moving the question. In a petition presented to the House of Lords by the Archbishop of Dublin last summer, and bearing the signatures of about 200 members of the Church, the unfitness of the old Convocation is implied, and a desire expressed for "the establishment of some deliberative Ecclesiastical body, having authority to frame regulations, and to decide in questions of doubt and difficulty, respecting all such matters." In reference to this, in the treatise of the Lord Bishop of Ossory, entitled, "The Expediency of restoring at this time to the Church her Synodical Powers, considered," we find his Lordship saying, "Whatever be the constitution of the body to which it is proposed to give such powers, it must, so far, I presume, partake of the nature of a Convocation, as to be an elective body. Any body that did not represent the Church would be plainly unfit to legislate for it; so plainly, indeed, that I do not think it necessary to consider any plan of Church-government of that nature, if such a plan has been conceived."

Let us proceed, then, upon this supposition. Since the objection to Convocation is, that the exclusive plan upon which the great majority of its members are appointed prevents it from uttering a voice, which shall be listened to with confidence as that of the Church, this new assembly must be appointed by the votes of the Cathedral and beneficed clergy, either immediately, or mediately through an electoral college. The latter method is not in analogy with our English constitution, neither does it suit our habits and temper. It would hardly, therefore, obtain that confidence which on so critical an occasion should be possessed to the fullest extent. But in either case we are met with great difficulties at starting. It is absolutely necessary, unless we choose to start with an Ecclesiastical revolution, that we should avail ourselves of our established Ecclesiastical divisions. But since these were formed, such changes have taken place in their relative im-

portance from the change of wealth and population, that they cannot well be acted upon. The east of England, for instance, has entirely lost her superiority, except in her fine old churches, and the diocese of Chester is now what that of Lincoln was then. Yet it has but two archdeaconries and sixteen deaneries, while Lincoln has five archdeaconries and forty-two deaneries. Will the clergy of Liverpool and Manchester be content with a representation based upon either of these divisions? And if we draw a line from the mouth of the Severn to the Wash, through the boundaries of Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, we shall divide England into two nearly equal parts, each as nearly equal in population as may be, though, with the exception of London and Middlesex, the southern part has nothing to oppose to the very important and prominent parts occupied by the clergy in Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, and the other many large towns in Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire. But the southern division contains fourteen dioceses, thirty-five archdeaconries (excluding that of Leicester), 247 deaneries; while the latter contains twelve dioceses, with thirty archdeaconries (including that of Leicester) and 153 deaneries. No representation founded on the proportions of any of these three elements would give satisfaction. deaneries must, indeed, be put out of the question at once. They are not only most unequally assigned, but are also very far too numerous, even limiting them to but one representative apiece, to supply a body which, to ensure a due sense of individual responsibility, a proper solemnity and calmness in debate, should certainly not exceed one-third of their number. With the archdeaconries, though much more equally apportioned, we shall find as great a difficulty. The only way of dealing with them would be, to apportion the number of representatives according to the number and importance of the clergy in each. But then the lowest on the scale must return one, and the highest as many perhaps as ten, if not more; for at least that, if not more, is the ratio of the proper requirements in the case of the archdeaconry of Merioneth and that of Chester, not to say of the archdeaconry of St. Alban's and that of London. Such an adjustment would raise the whole number of representatives too high. It could hardly give less than four or five to each of the sixty-five archdeaconries. But supposing this difficulty surmounted in the principle, how are we to deal with the detail? In many archdeaconries subdivisions will be necessary, such as neither the number or position of the deaneries will suit. And yet to make them, will require an innovation at a moment when innovation is the most dangerous thing of all.

The dioceses, however, may return a certain number in proportion to their importance, it may be said. But then we come

upon all the evils of disputed election.

Suppose the clergy to be ordered to elect. On whatever principle such an election may go, every beneficed clergyman at least must have a voice in it, more or less, immediately. Does it require much consideration to foresee what must happen? We cannot do better, perhaps, than quote the words of the Bishop of Ossory.

"Now it can hardly be doubted that the elections, by which this governing body, or a very important part of it, was to be formed, would materially affect our unhappy divisions, and be materially affected by them; that they would widen the divisions, and the divisions embitter them; that they would at once, in fact, carry our existing differences into every diocese, and every archdeaconry, and every rural deanery, and every parish in the kingdom; and in a form, compared with which the controversial contests, to which they at present give occasion, are tranquillity and harmony. In fact, all the evils which attend on parliamentary elections in heated times, short of absolute personal violence, might be dreaded in such contests; and not the less. that the opposing parties were not contending for any objects of worldly honour or emolument. Indeed, in the party struggles which convulse the country at a general election in seasons of great political excitement, every one knows how comparatively few of those who are most deeply and desperately engaged in them have any definite hope of personal advancement or personal advantage of any kind; at least, how very few there are who have any hope of such advancement or advantage as could be regarded as at all commensurate with their exertions and their sacrifices in the cause to which they devote themselves. is the success of a man's friends, the elevation of those to whom he has attached himself as his leaders, the predominance of his party, the triumph and influence of his opinions and his principles, which are much more the object and reward of the intense interest and the desperate exertions which are made on such occasions, than gain or ambition. These last are the motives of comparatively few; the others embrace and sway the many. Now it can hardly be doubted that all the former class of motives would be called into action by the contested elections which must attend upon the only mode of restoring Churchgovernment which we need consider; while a new and most powerful source of interest and excitement would be added, in the infinite importance of the results to be hoped or dreaded from the prevalence of opinions and the victory of parties, in the present case. The connexion of such struggles with religion would no doubt chasten and regulate the ardour of some, and make them watch anxiously and jealously over their own temper and conduct; but with others, and many others, it would only serve to exalt their zeal, and to justify every measure which it prompted; so that it could not be doubted that such contests would be carried on with no less energy, and hardly, if at all, less bitterness, than secular conflicts; enkindling the same passions, and sowing the seeds of the same heart-burnings, and jealousies, and animosities."

Let us consider this a little. First of all, a general election would be the signal for a struggle between existing parties for ascendency. A middle part would scarcely be possible to many, amid such violent agitation and loud and ignorant clamour as might then have been raised. And many a clergyman would be tempted to satisfy his conscience, with the plea that he has to represent the opinions of his parishioners no less than his own. The close of the election would then unveil the array of two extreme parties, and, at the best, with a moderate one between, which, however large and respectable at first, yet, as in all similar cases, would only wait to yield itself captive to the victorious side.

It is scarcely necessary to detail what must ensue as soon as the Convocation begins its sittings, and the reporters of the debates spread the flame from this centre of conflagration throughout the land, and the speeches in the house are echoed by speeches out of the house, and committees within are responded to by committees without. And when we consider that the usual unscrupulousness concerning means which disgraces all the transactions of party, would now be fearfully increased by the irreligious spirit which cannot but be produced by bandying about as mere common things the most sacred words that can pass the lips, and the most fearful truths that can pervade the heart of man, what could be expected?

Supposing then a vital proposition to be carried by one side or another. If by what we will call the High Church party, it would be sanctioned in all probability by the upper house; if by what we will call the Low Church party, then most probably it would be negatived by it. At all events, some collision would occur, before long, and raise a clamour against the upper house; and they must know little of revolutionary times, and have forgotten the lesson which is read to us from the events of the middle of the seventeenth century in our own country, and of the end of the eighteenth in France, who do not see how soon, and how effectually, a minority supported by a popular party out of doors

will command a whole assembly.

But even supposing all concluded to the satisfaction of the great body of the Church, we have yet to await the sanction of the legislature, composed as it now is of such heterogeneous elements in the article of religion. But as it is probable that the legislature, too, would take upon itself to discuss the decrees

point by point, like any act of parliament, we confess that we entertain little hopes of any thing proceeding from such a council, being so sanctioned as to bind the clergy with the same force as the Articles and Liturgy now do. Humble, reasonable, and charitable men may be so bound. But are they not bound already? They are well content with the letter and the spirit of the formularies to which they have given their solemn assent and consent before God in the public congregation; they want no evasions to be authorized by new interpretations; they see nothing in the argument of more compliance with the spirit of our times, which is the very adversary with whom the Christian has to contend; they will not allow that religious truth can become obsolete, or be a matter of new discovery, or that Scripture, however widely read, is at all better understood than it was when the apostolic doctrine and discipline received their manifold expressions in the system of our Church.

When we reflect that, even amid the universal satisfaction at the restoration of the Church and Monarchy, when men were fresh from the sad experience of the evils of religious anarchy, there was nevertheless manifested some disposition not to let the few alterations that had been made in the Prayer-book pass the legislature with that unexploring deference to convocation which had been formerly shown, we may readily imagine the minute and noisy discussion that would arise at this day, when men are as little taught by the experience of the past as they are warned by the fears of the future. Can any one imagine that the consciences of the clergy would be gainers. Nothing is so acceptable to your lax public men, as the creating some disadvantage to the clergy; nothing so much to the heart of your liberal, who is always raising the cry of conscience, as the binding the

consciences of others hand and foot.

If then neither the close constitution of Convocation, nor an assembly convened by a freer mode of election, be suitable engines to be employed in removing our difficulties, what resource is left. In theory, our Anglo-Catholic Church contains an elective body admirably suitable in every respect, and especially in this, that it is not elected at a particular time and for a particular temporary object, a condition so full of mischief, but for life. This is our synod of bishops, the only proper synod, according to pure and sound ecclesiastical principles, of any church. And although the Crown virtually deprives the Chapters of the power of electing bishops, yet as the Church accepts them, and not without very often having had indirectly a voice in their selection, and especially since they are at once put beyond the influence of the Crown (translation having been discontinued),

since, also, they must generally be men of sound learning, and blameless life, of a mature age, and bound to respect our ecclesiastical constitution in doctrine and discipline, surely a more proper representation of the Church is not to be found, or one in which we could repose any thing like an equal degree of confidence. And if to this council were added some of our clergy more distinguished for sound theological learning, in the same way as in the councils of old, together with a body of canonists, as advisers of the synod, but without any vote in its decisions, nothing would be left to desire. It would be advisable, of course, in order to give it its completeness of character as a council of our Church, that as many of our colonial bishops as could be spared should also attend, or that they should be present by proxy. The Archbishop of Canterbury, invested with the dignity

of Patriarch, should preside.

A synod thus constituted would be strictly in harmony with ancient precedents and Catholic principles. Bishops were frequently attended in synods by some of their presbyters and deacons, and these inferior clergy were not unfrequently of eminent service to the assembled Fathers. St. Athanasius, when only a deacon, detected and confuted the heresies of Arius at the Council of Nice. In the general Councils of the Latin Church during the middle ages, such as those of Constance and Basle, and in the Council of Trent, numerous theologians and canonists were employed to debate questions in private congregations, and to prepare information, and draw up and revise forms, before the Council assembled in public and pronounced its formal decrees. Such a mode of proceeding might perhaps be advantageously adopted amongst us. Private sessions of a synod might be held, in which its canons and decrees might be carefully prepared with the aid and advice of a body of theologians and canonists. Public sessions might be held for the publication of Canons, the consent of the crown having been previously obtained, and legal recognition of the temporal power following in this act.

There is, we believe, full power in the crown at this moment, to summon all the bishops of the Empire to a National synod; to enjoin them to nominate clergy and canonists to aid them with counsel; and to give them power to fix and determine the

mode of proceeding in their future meetings.

A synod, consisting of forty bishops of the United Kingdom, and twenty Colonial bishops, present either personally or by proxy, and aided by the advice of the same number of Divines (including probably many dignitaries of the Church) and of a body of canonists, would we think, in ordinary times, have all the

influence, and weight, and confidence which could be desired. And it may be hoped that ere long, the voice of public opinion in the Church will become so strong and so decided in favour of a large augmentation of the number of bishops, that there could be no reason to object to the National synod as deficient in point of numbers.

In the synod of Trent no definitions of faith were made on any subject, until, after sufficient discussion, the prelates had attained to moral unanimity; that is, until the minority on any question had become extremely small. We think that this practice, which, as well as the somewhat similar practice of some preceding councils, was based on the principle, that ecclesiastical judgments, in order to be effectual, should be the acts of the whole Church, not of a bare majority, ought to be adopted by any synod of the Anglo-Catholic Church which might have to make decrees on doctrine, or regulations in reference to divine worship, or communion with other Churches; and if it were adopted as a fundamental rule in the proceedings of a National synod of bishops, we conceive that it would go far to remove any apprehensions which might be entertained. As to other details of the mode of proceeding in such a National synod, they could

be easily regulated by the synod itself.

Supposing a synod to be assembled however, we ought not to look to it as an infallible remedy for all our evils and defects. must be remembered that several of the inconveniences of which we have to complain arise out of the encroachments of the civil power on the ecclesiastical; and are among the consequences of our position, as the National Church, in a country which acknowledges the liberty and lawfulness of dissent. The difficulty, for instance, about the bearing of dissenters' baptism upon our Burial Service, may seem to be easy of removal by an alteration of our canons¹, which is within the power of Convocation. But is it quite certain that the royal assent would be obtained to such an alteration? Besides this, the dissenter claims, and parliament will support him in his claim, the right of burial in our churchyards. Two services, one to be performed over a Churchman, another over a Dissenter, or a service with sentences to be omitted on the latter occasion, will never be allowed, causing, as they would, that invidious distinction which the dissenters are always loud in charging us with. To allow their own ministers to enter our churchyards for the purpose, is to ensure them the liberty of entering our pulpits. To read no service, even in the case of those sectarians who use none themselves, would be regarded as

¹ See Archdeacon Wilberforce on Church Courts and Church Discipline, p. 153.

the grossest affront. The only thing that remains is, to construct a service that shall meet all cases. Would such a maimed, unmeaning, if not almost deistical, form, be less offensive to the conscience of the ministering clergyman, than anything which now occurs? We have been here assuming, of course, that all baptized persons, who have not been excommunicated by an ecclesiastical court, have a right to the offices of the Church at their burial. We must take leave, however, to doubt, whether notorious and unrepented schism or heresy does not legally exclude them from this right.

We doubt whether the ancient canons which are adverse to such a right, might not be found to be of more force than the modern canon on which it is defended. Supposing, however, that canon lxviii. is in force, may not the difficulty be diminished or removed by a more vigorous exercise of the duties of bishops in denouncing excommunication in their visitations against all notorious and public schismatics? The question then really is, whether the Church cannot even now, and without any new

synodical decree, relieve herself of this difficulty?

But again, supposing that it were desirable to obtain some greater security for the right exercise of the patronage of the crown in appointing to bishopries and other benefices; what could a Council of the Church effect in such a matter? And, with reference to matters affecting the temporalities of the Church, we do not see much probability that any synod would be permitted, under existing circumstances, to have much influence over them.

The termination of existing differences in the Church is frequently expected as the result of assembling a Convocation or a National synod. But we apprehend that there is not much

reason to anticipate such a result.

No synod in the world can give harmony and peace, unless it essentially contain them in the spirit of its component members. The very word includes this supposition. And, therefore, it is but a contradiction in terms, for persons who are distracted themselves to employ it as a means to put an end to their distractions: they will, on the contrary, find that they could not have resorted to a surer method of augmenting both their number and their violence. A pugilistic ring is, indeed, a national way of terminating personal differences. But a meeting of controversialists has always had the contrary effect amongst us, and evinced our pugnaciousness without procuring harmony. Neither can a synod, however at harmony within itself, give the means of peace to a body which is not sufficiently united to sympathize with its

spirit and decisions. Even second it with the civil power, it will

only the more manifestly fail.

If a synod is to be really useful and influential, the crude opinions which prevail must have been digested into a more assimilated form; there should grow up a more definite understanding of what it is that is really wanted; there should pervade the whole body a spirit in close analogy with that of the Church; there should arise among us a feeling of devoted charity, that should think no sacrifice too great to secure the general peace and concord, though it were at the expense of individual liberty; there should be a more general diffusion of sacred learning, which would administer a better knowledge of precedents, a closer acquaintance with the general requirements of a Christian church, and with the particular conditions of our own, while at the same time it would procure a more unanimous consent to the decisions of the council.

At all events, if we are to have a new synod, let us be well acquainted with the canons of former synods, and diligently observant of them. We must begin with obeying, if we expect to be obeyed. We must proceed on these as a common basis, if we intend to repair our temple, and not to build a Babel. What would the Fathers of the Council of Chalcedon have done, if they had not agreed in the articles of the three preceding councils? Clergy and laity, if the first are to meet to build and not destroy, and the second are to accept and not discuss, must be more deeply imbued with the spirit which pervades the whole frame of our Church. Let the former, at least, begin with coming to a real understanding and a full sympathy with the Prayer-book, which are so necessary before they can be at all qualified for dealing with a fresh adaptation of any part of it to change of times and circumstances, and which they so solemnly avowed in giving their full assent and consent to it. For there are too many among us who have used it without the conviction of a sufficient examination, too many merely under easy submission to authority, and some, alas! who make a great cry about taking the Articles with the Liturgy, not for the purpose of holding them before them as two separate but harmonious witnesses, but in order to employ the former as a sponge to efface whatever displeases them in the latter.

And, therefore, we earnestly entreat the clergy to put their time to its full account in this matter, and with the modesty, diligence, and honesty of intention, which become them, to lay a good foundation to the fabric of their opinions. This will never be done, but the contrary will be effectually done, as long as they

shall suffer themselves to be guided by the ex parte statements of mere works of the day, and the declamations of the masters of the platform. Let them set themselves down, as becomes the servants of Him who is the truth, to the original documents of their Church, and then whenever they want advice they will not have long or far to look for counsellors. We want a clergy more generally acquainted with the fountains of sound learning, more conversant with primitive models, more disabused of the novelties of the day, which are always, of course, most abundant when second-hand readers are led by second-hand writers. These are the continual causes of differences; nor can there be any peace among us, until one mind be formed amongst us by all being settled upon a solid foundation. Let us then have a little longer patience, and the more we desire our object, the more let us endeavour to fit ourselves for a right use of our privileges; then, in the end, we shall meet furnished with that accurate knowledge with which unfeigned charity always supplies itself to the best that it can—which a conscientious love of truth always demands to the utmost of its means of obtaining: then, if there shall remain any differences, we shall have come to a clear understanding of them; and if this shall not have enabled us to adjust them all, then we may commit such as remain, in all security, in all joyfulness of faith, hope, and charity, to the decision of a synod.

At present, however, we do think, that there is much in the state of the Church which justifies her rulers in pausing before a synod is assembled. There is too much of party spirit amongst us—too little of docility, humbleness, patience, Christian courtesy and charity-too little agreement on the principles of ecclesiastical discipline, and the rules by which ecclesiastical decisions should be guided. The Church is greatly divided as to the expediency, under these circumstances, of assembling a synod. We are, however, grateful to those who continue to keep the subject before the public mind; for, surrounded with difficulties as it is, there cannot be a more legitimate subject for enquiry; and every Catholic must earnestly wish for the moment when the Church may be enabled to resume, with effect, the full exercise of her synodical powers. We are of opinion, that the Archbishop of Dublin deserves the thanks of every sound Churchman for the efforts which his Grace has made in this cause, and the more so, as we perceive that he has on several occasions disclaimed any wish to revive Convocation. We also remember, with pleasure, that our venerable Primate has publicly expressed his willingness to entertain the question favourably, when some unobjectionable plan shall have been devised; and that several

of the Prelates are in favour of some such measure. We think therefore, that there is reason to hope for the revival of our synods, when the Church shall have recovered in some degree from her recent agitations, and shall exhibit a willingness to relinquish the form of Convocation. When the *Prelates* shall concur with the inferior clergy in wishing for a synod for the discussion of purely spiritual matters, and for the enforcement of discipline, we think that there is reason to hope, that the government will not offer any opposition to the general desire, provided that the Church is not unwilling to allow to the State that power of rejecting or confirming any of her regulations affecting matters of legal right or property, which is enjoyed by every government which is connected with a Christian Church. We feel the force of much that is urged by the Archbishop of Dublin, and Archdeacon Wilberforce, and in Mr. Thompson's well written tract, in favour of a synod; but we concur with the Bishop of Ossory and other Prelates in dreading the assembling of Convocation.

- ART. III.—1. Anglo-Catholicism. A Short Treatise on the Theory of the English Church, &c. By William Gresley, M.A., Prebendary of Lichfield. Burns, London: 1844.
- 2. Christian Politics. By the Rev. William Sewell, B.D., Fellow and Subrector of Exeter College. Burns, London: 1844.
- 3. Church Courts and Church Discipline. By Robert I. Wilberforce, M.A., Archdeacon of the East Riding, Canon of York, &c. Murray, London: 1843.
- 4. Horæ Decanicæ Rurales. By WILLIAM DANSEY, M.A., Prebendary of Salisbury, &c. Rivingtons, London: 1844.
- 5. Essays. By ALEXANDER JAMES BERESFORD HOPE, M.P. Rivingtons, London: 1844.
- 6. How can the Church educate the People? Rivingtons, London: 1844.

EVERY one at the present day has his remedy for the social and religious evils by which we are surrounded; and most assuredly, if there ever were times in which abuses or defects of any kind had a chance of escaping notice and animadversion, they have completely passed away. It is possible indeed, that some minds, now agitated by the impulses of a somewhat feverish zeal, may find the progress of events too slow and gradual for the ardour of their aspirations; and that indifference, and languor, and acquiescence in the existing state of things, may be the result with such minds. But still we see little probability, that amidst the potent agencies for good and evil by which we are surrounded, and which are in sleepless and untiring activity, men can ever to any extent relapse into those habits of inactive acquiescence in which corruptions found their origin, their refuge, and their support. A spirit of criticism pervades all minds, however varied in their character or their actual views. It is not less the characteristic of those which submit to authority, than of those which reject it. Each within its sphere is, to a certain degree, imbued with the spirit of the age in which we live; and the era of reforms in the State is also that of movements towards reform in our religious system.

We are not so blind either to the condition of the Church or the signs of the times, as to offer any unbending opposition to the existing tendency to examine and to reform. We are only desirous to see that spirit developing itself in legitimate methods, and directing its energies towards objects consistent with the welfare of the Church and of the holy faith which it enshrines. There are very different modes of endeavouring for the correction of evils in our ecclesiastical system, and very different ends proposed by those who are thus employed. On the one hand, there is an endeavour to bring our system into a closer harmony with that of Dissent or of Presbyterianism, with an ultimate view to effect an union with these (so-called) Protestant sects, which would have the effect of totally subverting the Catholic creed, the polity, and the authority of the English Church. On the other hand, there are those who labour for the reform of the Church, by dwelling in such a tone of exaggeration on her defects, as to excite a spirit of discontent and even hostility against the Church herself, as if she voluntarily clung to those faults. And while every merit and advantage possessed by the English Church is depreciated or passed over in silence, the rival system of Romanism is held up in contrast, as the model to which we are bound to conform ourselves; and every feeling and affection is enlisted on behalf of that system; and total and final submission to the Church of Rome is avowed as the object of exertion; and all this at the very moment when Rome has assumed an attitude more than ever hostile to the Church of England—when her efforts become daily more unceasing to subvert the liberty of this independent Catholic and Apostolic Church, and to eradicate those sacred principles which she cherishes, and ever will cherish, in opposition to Romish error.

Another, and a better mode of promoting the improvement of the Anglo-Catholic Church, consists in diligently examining the deficiencies prevalent amongst us, and ascertaining how far they are capable of remedy by the better application of existing powers in the Church herself; and in making the best possible use of the means actually within our reach, stirring up the minds of men by example as well as by precept; and all this in a spirit of stedfast loyalty to the Church of England in which God has especially placed us, and to which our service and affection, in the present divided state of Christendom, are in a peculiar manner due. In this manner, attachment to the Church is made to advance hand in hand with exertions for her welfare. No vital changes are proposed subversive of her public and well-known principles—no relinquishment is called for of those truths which the Reformation has been the means of saving—no reception of those corruptions which it repudiated and expelled. All that is sought for is the restoration of what the Church herself requires

—the carrying out of her system in all its essential details. And the end sought for, is the welfare of immortal souls through the sanctification of the Church; and in subordination to this is the desire to promote the reunion of all Christendom, whenever it shall seem fit to the Almighty to dispose the hearts of others to desire union, without insisting on subjugation to their jurisdiction, and acceptance of their opinions as the essential conditions.

If the object be simply to persuade the English Church to correct acknowledged defects, it would seem evident that success is more likely to attend on earnest exertions for that purpose, when combined with sincere attachment to the Church, than on exertions avowedly directed at least as much to the promotion of systems extremely hostile to the English Church as to our own improvement; and in a spirit, too, of scarcely-concealed hostility to the very Church which it is proposed to amend. It is impossible to look without distrust on suggestions for the improvement of the Church, proceeding from quarters in which allegiance to her cause is dubious. We do not look in times of difficulty to the advice of those who are arrayed in the same cause with our

most strenuous opponents.

We are of opinion, that no salutary effects in the way of improvement can be expected, when the impulse proceeds from quarters in which no cordial feeling towards the Church exists. Affection for Latitudinarianism and Dissent, or for Romanism, and depreciation of the Anglo-Catholic Church, will be found wholly ineffective with her rulers and the infinite majority of her other members. Ignorant indeed must we be of the almost universal sentiment, if we can persuade ourselves for a single instant that partialities to Romanism can do aught but impede the work of salutary improvement. If any thing could be fatal to this glorious cause, for which every faithful son of the Church should be prepared to lay down his life if needful, it would be the cherishing and avowal of partialities for the evils of a system so repugnant to the feelings and judgment of Englishmen in general, and of the incalculable majority of the Church. Romanism may have a small number of friends or favourers in our communion; but it has millions of opponents, supported by every bishop and dignitary of our churches, and by almost the whole body of the clergy. The opponents of Rome underrate the real strength of their cause in the English Church, when they range amongst their opponents that portion of the clergy who are considered favourable to the "Tracts for the Times," or to the study of patristic literature, or to a more strict observance of the Rubric, or to the revival of ancient customs. The great mass of such men are as firmly and immovably opposed, on principle, to Rome, and as

averse to all innovations of a Romish character, as any class of

men in the Church can possibly be1.

The only result, then, of attempting to hold up Rome as the model on which the English Church should be reformed, will be, to excite continual controversy and jealousy, and to form a party in the Church, insignificant indeed in point of numbers, but furnishing a resort for unquiet and dissatisfied spirits. The Church may be disquieted by such a course: it cannot be influenced or improved. A party occupying a false and unreal position, like Jansenism in the Church of Rome, may exist for a time until it expires of mere feebleness, or merges into some more consistent and honest system; but it will be wholly powerless in its attempts to change the character of the English Church.

We are persuaded, however, that if men will continue to advocate improvements in our ecclesiastical system, constantly and stedfastly, but in such a tone as befits real and attached members of the Church, they will meet with support from the Prelates and from the great body of Churchmen, and will realize

gradually all the objects of their wishes.

Anglo-Catholicism—we use the term with the more satisfaction since it has become a sort of by-word and reproach amongst those who are avowedly favourers of Romanism—Anglo-Catholicism, we say, may have many prejudices to encounter, many struggles to sustain in its efforts to raise the tone and feeling of the age, and restore the pure discipline of the Church from which its name is derived: its supporters may not always be free from faults, or incapable of committing mistakes. But they will at least never be in so questionable a position as that of adhering to a com-

¹ We are glad to observe, that in other countries the actual state of sentiment amongst the clergy alluded to is not entirely misunderstood. The Semeur, a French Protestant Journal of considerable ability, observed lately, in reply to the boasts of Romanism,—"Le puséyisme veut l'unité et non la soumission, tandisqu'au sein de l'église Romaine, ce n'est que par la soumission qu'on arrive à l'unité . . . Après avoir été salué par Rome avec transport, le puséyisme ne tardera pas à lui inspirer plus de craintes qu'il ne lui avait d'abord inspiré d'espérances." We are satisfied of the correctness of this opinion, as far as it applies to the great body of those who are thus designated. The Espérance, another journal, of more decidedly Protestant views, remarks, in reference to the expectations of the Univers and the Romish party, from the English Church,—"Ce journal croit que l'Eglise anglicane, par le moyen de puséyisme, doit se jetter dans les bras de Rome, vers laquelle cette tendence la pousse en effet; nous pensons, nous, que cette espérance est chimérique, et que si les individus, en plus ou moins grand nombre, pour être conséquents jusqu'au à une logique, fausse en pareille matière, iront peut-être tomber du côté de la papauté, l'Eglise anglicane, compris les puséyistes modérés, n'ira pas jusqu'au bout dans son principe sur la succession apostolique, et dans le mouvement dangéreux qui, comme suite, se manifeste aujourd'hui dans son sein. Selon toute apparence, Rome elle-même se chargera de rendre impossible cette réunion, c'est-à-dire cette soumission de la part de l'Eglise anglicane."-6 Août, 1844.

munion which they acknowledge to be deeply tainted with schism and heresy, while they remain separate from a communion in which they recognize the centre of Catholic unity, and all the institutions and doctrines which they regard as amongst the essentials of Christianity.

Anglo-Catholicism has, not unreasonably, become the object of attack from writers whose affections are engaged in the cause of Rome: indeed, we have rarely observed evidences of a more concentrated hostility and contempt than may be found in some of their recent publications; nor is this tone of feeling, as may well be supposed, limited to publications. As far as we can see, Anglo-Catholicism is treated with more contempt and dislike than Evangelicism, or than Protestantism itself. It has to sustain from such writers the same ridicule and misrepresentation which it has endured from latitudinarians, and ultra-protestants. Let us notice a few instances.

The reverence which is paid to the voice of Catholic tradition in the interpretation of Scripture, is placed in an absurd point of view, as if it were taught that the *ignorant* must learn their faith from the Fathers and Councils, instead of from the instructions of their pastors, and from the Creeds and Formularies of the Church, and from the Scriptures themselves, which so amply confirm the articles of our belief. What is this, we may ask, but borrowing the sophistical misrepresentations of the Dissenter, the Rationalist, or (we may more properly add) the Jesuit?

If, again, the duty of adhering to the communion of the English Church be firmly urged—if it be maintained that there is such a sin as schism—that those who separate from the English Church and unite themselves to Dissent or Romanism are guilty of that sin—and that Romanists themselves are undoubtedly schismatics, as being voluntarily separate from the communion of the bishops of the Catholic and Apostolic Church in England—the favourers of Rome reply again by ridicule. "A Roman Catholic, then," they say, "is not in schism beyond the limits of England, but becomes so when he crosses our frontier; and a priest who says mass without sin at Calais, becomes a most fearful schismatic if he repeat the office at Dover." Here, again, it would seem that our opponents have been borrowing arguments from Dissent, which also ridicules the notion of schism being made in any degree dependent on diocesan or local juris-To the Dissenter it is, of course, a matter of little consequence whether rites be or be not performed with the license and in the communion of the local ecclesiastical authority—to the Dissenter it seems supremely absurd, that a priest who celebrates offices with the sanction of the bishop in one diocese, becomes a schismatic if he ventures to celebrate them in another in opposition to its bishop, and in voluntary separation from his communion; but we are a *little* surprised, we must confess, to find the very same principles amongst those who profess reverence for

Catholic unity and for the see of Rome.

The same system of misrepresentation, of which we have already complained, extends itself to the feelings with which Anglo-Catholics regard their mother-Church, and the principles on which they support her. If they are reluctant to speak of her practical defects in a tone of violence, exaggeration, and positive undutifulness, they are assailed as mere "establishment" men—they are numbered amongst those who are opponents of improvement, enemies of Catholicism, or time-serving worshippers of the actual system of the English Church, whatever it may be. If they venture to speak of her as a "Reformed" Church, or to acknowledge with gratitude her superiority to the Roman communion in purity of doctrine, they are charged with an unworthy sycophancy; and the Church herself is represented as vainglorious and arrogant. No expressions of respect or affection for the Anglo-Catholic Church are, it seems, acceptable in the quarters to which we allude; and, in truth, considering the preference avowed for another communion, there is little to excite surprise at such a state of feeling.

But, to bring to an end our remarks on the differences which exist between the advocates of the rival systems of Anglo-Catholicism and Romanism, let us briefly enquire what are the leading points of difference, and how far are the friends of Romanism bearing unconscious testimony in favour of the very

principles which they oppose and contemn?

Anglo-Catholics, then, are censured for maintaining so stedfastly that the English is a true branch of the Catholic Church that it is unlawful to separate from her communion—that she is not tainted with heresy or schism—that the Roman see is not the centre of unity, or, in other words, the head of the Universal Church by Divine institution—that communion with that see, or obedience to it, is not essential—that it is not necessary to receive the whole body of doctrine and discipline approved by the Roman Church—that unsound opinions are prevalent in that Church—that they were prevalent before the Reformation —that the Reformation was essential—that particular Churches have a right to reform themselves—that, in fact, the Reformation in England was necessary and lawful—and that the medieval and the Romish systems are in many respects unsound. All this is extremely distasteful to such writers as Mr. Ward; but let us look for a little at the position actually, and on principle, occupied by those who advocate views favourable to Romanism.

They have announced their fixed resolution of remaining in the communion of the English Church, (provided that no nearer advances to Protestantism are made,) and of not uniting themselves to that of Rome. To act otherwise would be, in their judgment, a serious offence. Very well: let us see the conse-

quences which follow from this.

Their own actual position, as members of the Church of England, bears witness to the truth, that this Church is a branch of the Catholic Church of Christ—that she is not guilty of either schism or heresy—that national Churches have a right to reform abuses and corruptions without the consent of the see of Rome, and without waiting for an occumenical synod—that the English Reformation was substantially legitimate. They profess all this, by remaining in communion with the English Church; for if there were any vital defect in her principles or conduct; if any real and formal heresy or schism were imputed to her; it is wholly inconceivable that men possessed of common powers of reasoning, or of any principles on the subject of Catholic unity, should persist in holding communion with her. Thus, then, Anglo-Catholicism is amply justified by its opponents; and whatever charges may be brought by the latter against the Church of England, if they seem to affect her essence as a Catholic Church, must be considered as inconsistent with their own

confession of the *duty* of remaining in her communion.

But, besides this, if writers and thinkers of this class contend that error, and heresy, and corruption, are widely, or even universally prevalent, amongst members of the Church—if they indulge in the most vehement declamations against the system established at the Reformation-let us at least be grateful for the principle distinctly and inevitably involved in such assertions, that grievous errors and corruptions may exist extensively in the practical system of a Church without depriving her of her vitality as a branch of the Catholic Church of Christ—that, in consequence, it is quite possible that, previously to the Reformation, extensive corruptions may have existed in the Roman Church that the Reformers may have been justified in speaking very indignantly and vehemently of such corruptions—that their conduct in this respect furnishes no prima facie evidence of heresy—that the Reformation may have been a blessing—that the English Church may be much more sound and pure than the Roman or the mediæval. Such principles as these are well calculated to remove prejudices in favour of Rome; and they cannot consistently be rejected by those who arraign the system established amongst us

by the Reformation as "heretical" and "antichristian."

But we have not yet extracted from the principles and practice of these opponents of Anglo-Catholicism, the full testimony to truth which they are calculated to afford. Their own actual position (a position resolutely and argumentatively maintained) bears witness to the important truth, that communion with the See of Rome is not essential to salvation, or to the being of a Christian Church. And hence it follows, clearly and demonstratively, that the See of Rome is not the divinely-appointed centre of unity, or Head of the Universal Church. So that, in fact, notwithstanding the abhorrence which is expressed for Protestantism as a name and a thing, its leading principle is acted on; and amidst all the praises which are lavished on the See of Rome—amidst the utmost professed devotion to its interests, and the most frequent acknowledgments of its supremacy—amidst all the condemnation heaped on Jansenists, and Cisalpines, and Gallicans, and all Romanists who are obnoxious to Rome: neither Jansenism nor Gallicanism ever exhibited such open practical disobedience to that See. Professions are indeed in its favour; but practice is wholly opposed to it.

Nor is this the whole amount of the inconsistency. It is asserted continually, that the Roman Catholic is the true Church of Christ; and that whatever doctrine or principle is developed, not merely by Councils, but in the Church at large, ought to be held and acted on by all faithful Christians; and yet, the advocates of this view hold themselves at perfect liberty to set at nought the doctrine universally received in the Roman Catholic communion-that no salvation is to be obtained out of that communion, and that all pretences to the title of Catholicism apart from that communion are false. If then, it be lawful to set at nought the opinions of Roman Catholics on this point, how can their opinions on any point be infallible? If they are mistaken here, they may be equally mistaken in believing the Papal supremacy—in supposing that theirs is, exclusively, the Catholic communion—in submitting to the decrees of Trent as of a Council approved by the whole Catholic Church—in receiving, on its authority, the doctrines of transubstantiation, purgatory, seven

sacraments, the worship of images and saints, &c.

The truth is, then, that notwithstanding all the hostility which has been exhibited to Anglo-Catholicism, its leading principles are, in all material points, confirmed most satisfactorily by its opponents. The writers to whom we allude, seem to mistake the tendency of their own principles. They imagine themselves to

be guided by authority: but they are in reality less under its influence than any class within our knowledge, except absolute Rationalists. They reject with something like scorn the authority of the Church in which God's Providence has placed them, and of which they are still resolved to continue members; and at the same time they only receive Roman opinions and practices to such an extent as they judge fitting or expedient. Thus neither the English nor the Roman Church possesses their allegiance: their system is one of mere eclecticism: it is throughout based on principles of private judgment and independence on all authority; even the authority of the Primitive Church is, in fact, though not in theory, wholly set aside, under the pretence that the Christian system was not perfectly developed in the first ages, and that the only wise and practicable mode of recovering its integrity is, to copy the existing Romish system—a system which is only partially received after all. Is it then, that Rationalism is invading us under the guise of Romanism? However this may be, it is at least certain, that all the leading principles for which sound Churchmen contend, are conceded practically by the very persons who denounce them as absurd, inconsistent, and antichristian.

If the Church of England should be designed by her Divine Head to resume her pristine splendour of sanctity, it can only be through the prevalence of such a spirit of mingled humility and charity as that which harmonizes with her own pure Anglo-Catholic principles—a spirit which, amidst all its humble confessions of practical defects, and amidst its honest efforts to procure their amendment, never forgets the inestimable blessing with which God has blessed us, in making us members of a true branch of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, and adheres in most affectionate loyalty to that venerable and much-loved Church. And deeply grateful are we to believe, that notwithstanding the defection of a few, and the doubtful allegiance of others, the Anglo-Catholic Church never stood more firmly rooted in the affections of her members generally than at present.

But does not real affection to the Church necessarily infer efforts for her improvement, and for the correction of all practical defects? Most assuredly it does. And as it is impossible that defects can be cured unless attention is called to them, we look on the incessant strivings of the public mind in this direction, not indeed altogether without anxiety, but certainly with confidence, that there is beneath them all a deep current of love to the Church, and an earnest desire to promote the kingdom of

Christ upon earth.

The works which we have mentioned at the commencement of this paper, furnish ample evidence of the tendency of the Church to reform herself: they exemplify what has been said in reference to the spirit in which true Churchmen should labour for the correction of abuses. In all, there is the same regretful tone in speaking of them—the same affection to the Church of England —the same desire to revive our ancient and godly discipline, and to carry out the system of the English, not of the Roman Church—and the same spirit of trust in the support and blessing of God. It is our purpose to select from these works some of their more important suggestions in reference to the correction of abuses and defects; but we should not do justice to them, or to the subject, if we did not in the first instance dwell for a little on more pleasing topics—the amount of good existing and increasing; the improvements which have actually been effected; and the hopes which Churchmen may form for the future. And here we shall borrow the eloquent language of Mr. Hope, in reference to the essentially Catholic character still so widely prevalent in England.

"The English nation, as a nation, I believe to be still essentially Catholic; and external and malign influences being removed, I do not think it would be at all a difficult task to fix the mass of the people firm in their allegiance to the Church. The amount of latent Catholicity existing in the minds and habits of the English people would, if it were summed up, produce an aggregate which would surprise us from its amount. Latent, I say, and perhaps little suspected by many a fierce "Anti-Puseyite," in whose breast it may yet be lurking, and in whose actions a philosophic mind may yet trace its movements. I shall not here attempt to do any thing more than to give, in confirmation of my assertion, a few scattered instances of this Catholicity which have, in various ways, presented themselves to my thoughts."

"The reverence for holy seasons is one of the most obvious and prominent features of the Catholic character. Despising the gloomy frenzy of the fanatic, that brands this reverence as superstitious—that so much abused word, so portentous ofttimes in its sound, in its sense so empty—the Catholic feels that the observance of sacred seasons brings heaven down to earth, raising him from low terrestrial thoughts, and with its tempered and religious bliss qualifying him to enjoy the endless happiness of another world; he feels that, by her

hallowed services.

' with solemn hand The Church withdraws the veil; And then we see that other land, Far in the distance pale. While good church-bells are ringing
All on the earth below,
And white-robed choirs with angels singing,
Where stately organs blow:
And up and down each holy street,
Faith hears the tread of viewless feet,
Such as in Salem walked when He
Had gotten Himself the victory.'

"All know the well-nigh universal oblivion into which these blessed practices have fallen; yet some few landmarks still remain, at once the vestiges and harbingers of better things . . . Easter is yet honoured. and Christmas, and Whitsuntide. All know-though, alas! the knowledge recals but secular thoughts—of Lady-day and Michaelmas Nor unobserved is Holy Week, especially that awful Day on which the sun was darkened. Many villages in the more northern part of our land, perhaps also in the south, still celebrate their annual wake or feast, as it is termed; that is, the anniversary of the consecration of their beloved and antique Church; once one of the gladdest, holiest days, in the year's long course, now too often degenerated into a season of mere irreligious debauchery, but yet containing within itself the seeds of better things—the dim memorials of old feeling, which, if tenderly nursed, may yet spring up into an abundant harvest of holy thoughts. A few summers ago, I was journeying through Yorkshire, and spent a Sunday at Ripon. A beautiful day it was, and the sun shone bright on the grey Minster of that quiet city: and this day was the anniversary of the dedication of that famous church by S. Wilfrid, nigh twelve centuries ago, still called Wilfrid Sunday, still observed as a season of universal rejoicing; and in the walls of that late-made Cathedral-Church I first heard the praises of that great Saxon Saint proclaimed by him who then and still occupies the decanal stall . . . The dedication-feasts of Churches have in two or three instances of late been revived, and we doubt not with the happiest effect. . . ."-pp. 42-44.

In reference to the Catholic character impressed on our universities and colleges.

"'Our two ancient and famous universities,' moreover, bear, in their constitution, a noble and unceasing witness to the existence of the Catholic Church in England. Is it possible that any earnest and reflecting man, educated within their time-honoured walls, subjected to academic rule, clothed with the old-world attire of academic station, admitted to academic degree with those solemn words of investiture which still survive to these late days—an investiture, not derived from King or earthly potentate, but granted by the University, as the type and the handmaid of the universal Church—that such an one, I say, can be other than more favourably disposed to Church-principles, than he who, with the same natural advantages, has never felt the influence of academic air? And I trust that the young University planted in

S. Cuthbert's city will, in her measure, bear good fruit to Holv Church.... The establishing this seminary, one of the most munificent acts of that noble prelate, the last Lord Palatine of Durham, was in itself an indication of awakening life in our Church—an harbinger of future sunshine, first apparent in those most holy precincts; and it is the more remarkable, as it was the unaided work of Churchmen, unsupported by state influence, and as its foundation preceded that great burst of renascent Churchmanship which occupies and perplexes England, and sooner or later will command the attention of the universal Previous to the foundation of the University of Durham was that of King's College, London; which, albeit it is not so complete nor so ecclesiastical as its northern sister, is yet by no means devoid of such a character, certainly aiming, as it does, at being collegiate in its constitution, and, as regarded as a forecast of better feelings, highly interesting. The same, as far as the general principle of their institution is concerned, may be said of the colleges of S. David and S. Bees. Still more recently, in more than one of our cathedral cities, colleges have been instituted to train up young men for holy orders, after the expiration of an university undergraduateship. Church-like spirit of such institutions cannot be mistaken. students, exercised in the exclusive study of ecclesiastical lore, dwelling in the midst of the triumphant emanations of Catholic feeling and Catholic art, attending, day by day, the high Cathedral service-nay, taking part in it, as far as laymen may do so, -must be inspired with love for their holy mother, the Church.

"Compare with this state of things—this quiet, ancient spirit—the turbulent lawlessness, the political ferment, and, worse than all, the irreligious, impious recklessness of a German university; and then imagine what the state of things in England might have been, had we—as, for our sins, we so well deserved—been educated under such a system. Truly, we have many a debt of gratitude to pay we little

think of.

.... "To conclude this portion of my subject, I cannot but take this opportunity of expressing my joy at the fact, that the parish-schoolmasters of England—a most important class, and one which may be of the most essential service or disservice to the Church, according to the system of doctrine and of practice in which they have been reared—will hereafter be trained in a collegiate atmosphere, and under a Church system, in S. Mark's College, Chelsea,—the great normal school of that association, whose great importance to the common weal is well shadowed forth in the abbreviated title, National Society. Here are to be found the future trainers of the rustic minds of England, attending day by day in a chapel sparkling with rich painted glass, and chanting there the choral service of the Church in the sublime tones of the great and good S. Gregory.

"Thus have I endeavoured to collect a few of the yet remaining germs of Churchmanship in our o'er-much puritanized land, and to show how already they are sprouting forth, and promising abundant fruit. They are meant to be but specimens of a larger class."—pp. 48—53.

Mr. Hope then alludes to the great exertions which our Church has made in her own behalf.

"I am referring particularly to such great demonstrations of Church feeling as the Special Fund which the National Society has been collecting, to promote education in the mining and manufacturing districts, and the fund for the endowment of Colonial Bishoprics. I do not at all pledge myself to perfect acquiescence in the details or the management of all or any of these outbreaks of Churchmanship. All I assert is, that the spirit they show is wonderful. A few years ago such things would have been unheard of, undreamed of."—p. 55.

During the last ten years—in fact, from the moment when the Church had learned by bitter experience that the State was no longer disposed to continue its support—the Church has been in a continual state of improvement. Gigantic strides have been made in almost every direction, though their progress has been so slow, that we have scarcely noticed them as they deserved. The woeful and unjust sacrifice of ten bishoprics of the Irish Church has not crushed the energies of her clergy, who, amidst innumerable difficulties, are continually increasing in numbers, learning, and piety. The persecutions which that admirable body of men experienced during the "anti-tithe" agitation, brought out features in their character which the world had hardly given them credit for. Then was seen the touching and animating spectacle of most bitter poverty borne in patience and in faith; and Christian courage which did not hesitate to preach the word more freely as its announcement became more perilous. And the Irish Church seemed to derive fresh energy from her perils. The

We designedly employ this term, notwithstanding the clause in the Act of Union, which declares that the Churches of England and Ireland shall be in future one united Church. We never have been able to comprehend the meaning of this same clause. We cannot see that in reality the Irish Church has been in any respect more united with the English since the union than before it. It is still perfectly independent as to jurisdiction. It still has its proper Prayer-book, its peculiar customs. Its convocation is separate from those of Canterbury and York. As regards doctrine and general discipline, it has always been united with the Church of England. On the whole, we think the expression of "the united Church of England and Ireland," as being merely based on Act of Parliament, by no means advisable to be employed. In connexion with this subject, we would ask, on what authority all our modern Prayerbooks profess on their title-pages to be "according to the use of the united Church of England and Ireland?" The title-page of the book authorized by the Act of Uniformity contains nothing about this "united" Church; and there positively is no such thing as "the use" of the "united Church," because, as we have said, England and Ireland still have their respective "uses." The Irish Prayer-book contains a prayer for the Lord-lieutenant; an office for visiting prisoners; and a rubric concerning the time of publishing banns, which are not found in the English Prayer-book. The late Arch-bishop Magee, in one of his published Charges, very distinctly asserted the authority of the Irish Prayer-book in Ireland.

University of Dublin provided a far more efficient course of training for candidates for holy orders than has as yet been attained in the English Universities. Societies for Church-building, and for providing additional curates, sprang up and flourished. The withdrawal of aid by Government from the Kildare-street Education Society, which had given offence to Romanism by causing the Bible to be read in its schools, led to the establishment of the Church Education Society in Ireland, which has been eminently successful in maintaining the religious education of the population attached to the Church. The recent establishment of the Irish College of St. Columba, under the auspices of the hierarchy generally, and the especial patronage of the Primate of Ireland, furnishes evidence of a most cheering progress in the

right direction.

If we look to the colonies and dependencies of the British crown, there is every possible cause for thankfulness. During a period in which the Government has been withdrawing pecuniary aid from the Church in the colonies, and applying it to the support of Romanism and Dissent; while the lands assigned to the Church at the formation of the colonies have been in part transferred to other uses; -during such a period of depression and absolute discouragement from the temporal power³, the colonial Churches have advanced with most rapid strides. episcopate has increased threefold—their clergy have multiplied in nearly an equal ratio. Churches and schools, and all the institutions of the Church, have arisen with wonderful rapidity. In the West Indies the black population has been brought under instruction. In India the converts from heathenism are becoming a great multitude; and there is a continued cry for help to gather in the harvest now ready for the garner of Christ's Church. In New Zealand a numerous people has been converted to Christianity by our missionaries, and is tended by the vigilance of a bishop, who, in almost apostolic poverty, traverses on foot the wilds of his vast diocese. In Australia and Tasmania, prelates of saintly zeal are expanding the system of the Church amidst innumerable difficulties: and wooden churches are rearing their fronts as in the early days of Christianity. Cathedrals are founded and (in one case at least) endowed with princely munificence. Seminaries, colleges for the education of the clergy, have been springing up; and in future the colonial clergy will be chiefly derived from the population of the colonies themselves. In some dioceses the clergy consist, to a great extent, of converts

³ We refer to the general line of policy in respect to the Colonial Churches pursued by the English governments of the last ten or twelve years, not to that of any particular political party.

from various sects. Is there not in all this much to encourage and to cheer? It should be observed, that in all cases the appointment of additional bishops in the colonies has been found to give the most powerful stimulus to the Church. There are, we believe, few colonial bishoprics which have not been the means, in a few years, of doubling, and more than doubling, the number of the

clergy and the efficiency of the Church-system.

Look again to England itself, and observe the evidences of a most stirring spiritual life which present themselves on every side. Notwithstanding the indifference of the Government in past years —the refusal to contribute from the national purse to the unparalleled and monstrous spiritual destitution of the people the encouragement extended to Romanists and other sectaries -the unvarying disposition to concede every thing to the conscience of Dissenters, and nothing to that of Churchmen—notwithstanding all this, and much more, the English Church has never thriven so much as within the last ten years. More than one bishop has been permitted to consecrate in his own diocese, within a few years, upwards of one hundred new churches. Within a short time the metropolis has received fifty churches from one source alone—a first instalment, we trust, of what is due to her; and this, be it remembered, was the spontaneous result of the Church's own sense of duty. And this example has been nobly followed elsewhere; though still the deficiency is overwhelming, and our wants can never be adequately met without some more efficient aid than that of mere voluntary contributions. The writer regrets that any impediment should have prevented the Bishop of London from carrying his measure for the sale of property belonging to one of the prebends of St. Paul's, which would alone have let loose, it is believed, the sum of 200,000l. for the erection and endowment of new Churches in the metropolis. A few millions of money applied in this way at the present moment would be worth ten times the amount to the Church some vears hence.

Although Sir Robert Peel's measure of borrowing 600,000*l*. from the Church's funds, and doling it out in annual sums of 30,000*l*. for the next seventeen years, is not calculated to produce any large results; yet it is not to be left out of view altogether. It is valuable as embodying the sound principle that the supply of *clergy* should take precedence of the erection of churches; and it is also valuable as giving effectual powers for the division of overgrown parishes, even without the consent of their incumbents. It would seem from a recent report, that within the last year thirty new districts have been endowed under this Act; but we apprehend that several of these districts already existed, with their churches and clergy, though they had not received

regular endowment, or legal recognition as parishes; and that the real number of new districts, or of absolutely fresh strength given to the Church, is much less than appears at first sight. In truth, the sum of nine hundred per annum—the interest of 30,000l.—is not calculated to supply many endowments for clergymen. We confess that we cannot but feel some surprise, that the advocates for Church extension in parliament have sat down so contentedly with such a measure. On the whole, however, the extension of the Church during the last ten years has been most rapid; and, as regards the multiplication of churches and clergy, has left all classes of sectarians, including Romanists, very far behind.

And with regard to the education of the poor in the principles of the Church, the advance has not been less striking. Here, again, the various attempts of successive governments to establish systems of education on some vague basis, of which true religion formed no essential element, or their unwillingness to give the Church that direction of education which rightfully appertains to her, has drawn forth the zeal and liberality of her children in a manner without previous example. The funds of the National Society have rapidly augmented; diocesan seminaries for training schoolmasters and mistresses; schools for the middle classes of society; and the noble college of St. Mark, dedicated to the instruction of schoolmasters, have been the

result of the last few years' labours.

And to come to matters more purely ecclesiastical. doubtless true, that much remains to be done before the discipline of the Church resumes its energy; and we may be of opinion that the progress has not been what it might have been; but still it were gross injustice to deny that for the last ten years a course of legislation has been going on which has corrected many evils. For instance, the abuses of non-residence, sinecures, and pluralities have been to a certain degree corrected by Acts of Translations of bishops, the holding of commendams, will not in future take place. We have seen great practical improvements in the equalization of dioceses as to revenues and duties—the institution of new archdeaconries—the revival of the office of rural-dean. Parish-clerks and lecturers will in future be more amenable to the proper authorities, and their endowments will supply additional parochial clergy. The peculiars (a relic of the papal privileges to monasteries) are about to be replaced under episcopal jurisdiction, as no opposition has been offered to this measure. The clergy have been made more responsible to their bishops, and the punishment of unworthy members has been facilitated. The universities have been taking steps to promote the education of the clergy; and though the plans which have been adopted at present are in some degree defective, from the difficulty of rendering the system compulsory on all candidates for orders, and from other causes, still it is most gratifying to see any movement towards improving the

education of the clergy.

And, again, what is perhaps more important than all, the bishops have been obliged, by the very circumstances of the times. to resume various powers which had almost lain dormant. They have been heard condemning doctrines and publications which they judged to be unsound. We have seen one Visitation, at least, which truly merited the name; and in which the episcopal power was exercised in a most remarkable manner, though in one point it failed of its effect, in consequence of the unintentional operation of a recent Act of Parliament. We have seen Injunctions issued on that remarkable occasion. We have seen the archbishops and bishops of the empire assembled in a sort of national synod, and commending to the faithful that noble design for the foundation of colonial bishoprics from which such blessed results have followed. The sister Churches of America and of Scotland have been drawn into closer union with our own; and the restrictions imposed by the law on the ministrations of their

venerable clergy in England have been partially removed.

And is it nothing to have accomplished all this in ten years and in the face of opposition from without, and no trifling measure of jealousies and divisions from within? Assuredly, whatever may be the amount of deficiency still remaining—and God knows it is grievous enough—there is still a continual struggle—an unceasing progress, under the Divine blessing, towards better things. Nor is the system of our Church unattractive to minds which feel the errors of other systems in which they have been trained. She is continually receiving accessions of converts from Dissent and Romanism. Within the last year six Roman-Catholic priests have united themselves to her communion: such conversions have been by no means unfrequent in preceding years. As to the number of Dissenters who have entered the communion of the Church, they are beyond calcula-The American clergy, and those of some colonial dioceses, are, to a great extent, composed of them; and one English bishop recently stated that he had under consideration applications from about twenty dissenting ministers for ordination. We have seen at Leeds and elsewhere whole congregations of Wesleyan Methodists, Irvingites, and other Dissenters returning to the Church. In Ireland, hundreds, nay thousands, of Romanists have been converted by the assiduous labours of the clergy, or through the instrumentality of societies, in Kerry, Cavan, Achill, Dublin, and elsewhere; and the progress of

conversion is simply impeded by force and intimidation. Were the Irish people really at liberty to follow the dictates of conscience, Romanism would probably be, ere long, in the minority; but the violent persecution to which converts are liable, interposes a most serious obstacle to the progress of the truth. We mention these facts to show, that imperfect as our system is in some respects, it is not without energy, and influence, and attractiveness. If it were, as some persons suggest, cold and inanimate, it could not possibly produce such numerous conversions, or engage the warm affections and zeal of such multitudes of faithful and devoted adherents as it most certainly does.

And, again, those who know any thing of the condition of the Church forty or fifty years ago, cannot but mark with surprise and hopefulness the altered habits and sentiments of the clergy. True it is that secularity unhappily exists in some quarters that imperfect knowledge, angry disputations, and negligence or want of zeal, may be found in too many instances; but how immeasurably is the general standard raised in many points—in sanctity of life-in the tone of sentiments-in theological attainments-in the views taken of the demands of ministerial duties! It may be that languor or worldliness exists in too many cases; but do we not see multitudes of zealous, devoted, laborious clergymen, who are wearing themselves out in the service of their God and Saviour—actually sinking beneath the weight of duties imposed by nothing but their own consciences? The continued multiplication of sacred offices in the Churches; including daily services, weekly or monthly administration of the eucharist, sermons, public baptisms and catechisings; the diligence manifested in visiting all members of the Church, whether in health or in sickness; the active superintendence of schools, and the religious instruction there imparted to the young; the continual and careful instruction of candidates for confirmation; these are some of the signs of improvement which arrest the attention and demand the gratitude of every one who has known or heard of the state of things in times when the Church was apparently in greater temporal prosperity than now. Nor is the alteration less striking which has taken place in the habits and sentiments of the lay members of the Church. Churches crowded with attentive auditors; increasing attendance on the holy sacrament of the Eucharist; the unexampled multiplication of religious publications which seem to be absorbing more and more the public attention; the universal interest in our religious controversies, which have arrested the attention of many who would otherwise have passed over religion as a thing of nought; these are indications of life which must strike even the most unobservant amongst us. There is within

us a spirit striving and struggling for improvement, which will not and cannot be repressed. There is an awakening of the hearta searching into the causes and ends of things—a craving for the realities of that faith which in its first impulses overcame the world—a thirsting for the restoration of primitive fervour, primitive severity, primitive purity. Religion and its ministers are no longer laughed to scorn by public men. It is felt that they are deeply rooted in the affections and the reverence of the nation. It is felt that there are occasions in which the laity will take their part side by side with their pastors; and that when the Church is threatened, or its vital interests compromised, no ministerial influence, no party motives can resist the awakened energies of the Church. And what do we see amidst all this? Has this wonderful progress generated pride or self-confidence? Is the Church unconscious of her defects, and unwilling to amend them? Far from it; we will venture to say, that never, since the Reformation, has the Anglo-Catholic Church been more alive to her deficiencies; and never, we will add, from her supreme pastors down to her very humblest members, more willing to amend them. What has been done by our hierarchy, ought to be to us a proof that they are willing to meet and go along with the Church in her desires for better things. Free discussion is not prohibited; suggestions, if offered in a spirit of loyalty to the Church, and not in themselves palpably absurd, are attended to; and where they appear, on examination, to be wise and seasonable, they are, in some way, acted on. We do not advocate the propriety of depending solely on the hierarchy to take the necessary steps towards improvements. It is for them, not only to introduce such reforms as they may deem advisable, but to decide on proposals made by the voice of public opinion in the We are only anxious to express our opinion, that, on the whole, and in the long run, the clergy and laity will be supported by their prelates in effecting the necessary reforms. The noble plan for establishing colonial bishoprics ought alone to inspire no inconsiderable hope for the future, embodying as it does such invaluable features as the influence of the Church in the appointment of bishops, and the moderate amount of income assigned to the newly-appointed prelates. May this be the harbinger of some equally grand and memorable plan for multiplying the number of sees in England, on a scale of equal moderation as regards their endowments!

We have referred to all these well-known facts, not with the object of promoting any of that spirit of self-satisfaction, or spiritual arrogance, which is so unjustly attributed to Anglo-Catholicism by its opponents. Our object has been simply to

encourage and stimulate, not to excite vain confidence. If we have been so far blessed, it has only been through a sense of our deficiencies, and very strenuous efforts for their removal; and what has been done should only make us more earnest and persevering (though without fretfulness or discontent) to accomplish the remainder of the work before us.

And here it becomes our duty to notice some of the defects which are mentioned in the works before us, and in other publications of the day; and the plans which have been suggested for their removal.

These may be classed under the following heads:—1. The defective religious instruction of the young. 2. The want of discipline as regards offenders against the laws of God and of his Church. 3. The absence of any legislative power in the Church herself, and her dependence on the State. 4. The general feebleness of our system—its want of practical influence on the clergy and laity.

1. Mr. Gresley has observed with, we fear, too much truth, that in many of our National Schools the effect of the training is not to produce those habits of reverence which ought to be the immediate results of a Christian education. In allusion to the prevalent "irreverence in public worship," to which he traces, in a great degree, "the failure" of our attempts to educate the

lower classes in our National Schools, he observes:

"They [the children at National Schools] shall be brought up in the knowledge of Holy Scripture, and be able to answer the most difficult questions, and prove all the Thirty-nine Articles by appropriate texts; yet they shall have no reverence,—their masters are not reverent—their parents are not reverent—they see no reverence when they go to Church -the service is not reverent—there is no reality in it. It is, to appearance, a mere form; not an assembly of Christians really worshipping their God and Saviour in spirit and in truth. It is to no purpose that they are taught by their pastor and schoolmaster to repeat the responses in Church, if they observe that their elders are taking no part with them, &c."-pp. 179, 180.

Of course, our system of education in National and Sunday Schools, ought not to be held responsible for the evils produced by the examples of parents and others who have no particular connexion with it; but it is undeniable that, as regards spiritual and moral training, there is an immense deficiency in that system. We do not see any effective provision for such training: the intellect is indeed cultivated; and the knowledge of Scripture and of the Catechism is imparted to a certain extent; but there are higher lessons still, which are but too seldom learnt. Now it is,

of course, true, that the Church, through her ministers, is directly responsible, within her own sphere, for the inculcation of such lessons; but this does not relieve the managers of religious education from the obligation of making it, to the very extent of their means and opportunities, actually religious. It is their urgent duty to see, that the direct agents in the work of education be themselves under the influence of religion, as far as may be judged by man; and that instructions should be given, not merely of a doctrinal or historical, but of a strictly moral and devotional character. If we are to impart a religious education —an education which is really to make our people Christians and Churchmen—we must make the intellectual part of religion subordinate to the moral, which is certainly too little the case at present. We are far indeed from approving of the suggestions of writers like Mr. Ward, who point out the system adopted in Roman Catholic seminaries for our imitation; but assuredly, every one who has had occasion to observe the working of our National School system, must feel that much,—very much remains to be done towards making this system a really religious one; and we would most earnestly and respectfully press this all-important subject on the attention of the directors of the National Society, confident as we are, that they are sincerely desirous to make that system all that it professes to be, and all that the Church has a right to demand from it. Might it not be possible, we would ask, to select books of piety and devotion which the Masters of National Schools should be required to read aloud at certain times? Might it not be possible to introduce short devotional exercises in prescribed forms at various hours? We think that the introduction of such exercises would be a relief to the monotony of instruction, while they could scarcely fail to make salutary impressions on the minds of all concerned in them. And over-burdened as the clergy are, with constant attendance on their flocks, we think that they cannot justly be called upon to make good the deficiencies alluded to. We are anxious to see whether the National Society cannot more perfectly promote its own objects, before we arrive at the conclusion which so many amongst us seem to have already reached; that the religious education of the poor can only be attained by the revival of conventual institutions.

Mr. Sewell very ably pleads for the revival of such institutions, in the work which we have mentioned at the head of this article; a work replete, we need not say, with high philosophy, and the purest principles of Christian morality. We extract the following passage:—

"The time even now may come, when, as Christian Englishmen turn their eyes upon the thousands of children who are left in our

manufacturing districts to grow up in ignorance and vice, some few will be found to associate themselves together for the purpose of undertaking, in some portion, the work of education. It is possible to imagine that these may arise, not among the less instructed and refined classes, but among the most gifted and learned. . . . It is possible, that such minds, roused by Christian zeal, and disciplined by the Catholic principles of the Church, may place themselves at the disposal of their bishop, for the establishment of a school; may request his advice and superintendence in framing rules to regulate their own domestic life, and their system of education—that they may wish to exhibit to the world a simple fare, a humble dress, a plain unornamented abode, in which Divine worship alone shall be invested with any thing like splendour, and a strict and regulated economy in all that relates to their personal enjoyment—that living together at a common board and under a common roof, they should desire to submit themselves to one superior head, and to place themselves under the obligation of certain defined rules ... that they should desire that the worship of the Church, morning and evening, and any other domestic assemblages for the same purpose which the bishop might approve, should form a regular part of their daily occupation—that for this purpose they should obtain his permission to raise a chapel within their precincts, as almost their first work -that they should then distribute among themselves, or rather accept, at the distribution of their head, the various parts of education, each taking that portion which best accorded with his own talents, and all uniting to infuse into the system an elevated devotion and zeal-that they should then receive the children of the poor to be instructed as gratuitously as it was possible . . . that, resolving to educate all their young in the full unmutilated creed of a Catholic Christian, and to reverence, as God has commanded. His Church and His ministers, as well as His written word; and knowing also that a school is no fit place of proselytism, and that even to proselytise children against the will or the opinion of their parents is an unauthorized assumption of responsibility, and if not wholly futile, is yet pregnant with mischief; they should refuse to charge themselves with the care of any children who were not really members of the Catholic Church—that in this way they should be able to exhibit in its fulness the nature of the Catholic Church, by the life of a community of Catholic Christians; and to rear up another generation, not in a vague and frigid morality, without warm affections or definite truth, but in love, reverence, and obedience to their mother Church. It is no idle speculation to suppose, that such a spectacle in itself would diffuse round it an extraordinary influence for good; that it would attract the eyes of the poor, would win them to truth, would conciliate the respect of all, would obtain from Christian benevolence all necessary funds. . . . One instance given—and such a system once established—and imitation would be easy; and though with our present manufacturing principles, even the extension of the plan could do little to ameliorate many of its miseries, some real and solid prospect would be opened of educating, when education was attempted, as Christians should be educated. A hired schoolmaster, a committee of householders, the single arm for a hundred children, the admixture of sects, the stinted religious instruction, the rare visits from the clergy, already burdened with their peculiar ministerial offices, the absence of love, of sympathy, of reverence, of any sense of the presence or nature of the Church—circumstances which, more or less, prevail in our present National Schools—all these thoughts deaden and discourage our Christian zeal, when called on to aid in such a work."—pp. 392—395.

In recommending the formation of such institutions, Mr. Sewell is very far from expressing any approbation of the *monastic* system properly so called.

"Monasticism," he says, "was guilty of sins, which in such a system need find no place. It withdrew itself from episcopal control. It gathered together bodies of men, not for practical duties, but for abstract retirement, in which meditation often sunk into indolence, and devotion became fanaticism, and self-sacrifice fostered pride. accumulated wealth for selfish enjoyment, till it generated an undue temporal power in the hands of the Church. It gathered round selfformed centres, distinct from, and disturbing the territorial divisions of the Church, till religious orders became gigantic and independent communities, overpowering the regular ministry of the Church, and awing even the state. It attached itself to a foreign influence, and thus made even religion an act of treason. Being grounded on self-will and caprice, and removed from external control, it split itself and tore the Church into factions and feuds. And it enslaved its members by vows-vows of celibacy, vows of poverty, vows of profession for lifeengagements both contrary to Christian liberty and stumbling-blocks to the conscience, and often temptations to crime—which superseded the dispensations of Providence-which broke up the family lifewhich endeavoured to form an artificial world for the growth of Christian virtues, different from the creation of God-and which enabled a foreign power to wield, with enormous strength, an engine for the subjection of the empire, and the disruption of the ties of loyalty." pp. 395, 396.

We are sure that every enlightened churchman would hail the institution of societies such as Mr. Sewell describes, purified from the various evils of the monastic system; but it is evident, we think, that, under existing circumstances, they will not be very easily called into existence, or become so numerous as to undertake the education of our poor generally. We must therefore rely on the National Society; and most earnestly do we hope, that its managers may speedily open their eyes to the imperative necessity for giving a more decidedly religious character to its institutions.

Were it possible to carry into effect the plan which Mr. Matthison has suggested in his very interesting pamphlet, en-

titled "How can the Church educate the people," i. e. to found and endow Diocesan Seminaries for the education of schoolmasters. on the model of St. Mark's College, Chelsea, and in connexion with the National Society, it would certainly be a great step towards the improvements of which we have been speaking. Institutions in which the most deserving and well-disposed amongst our middle and lower classes, should be brought, as they are to a great extent at St. Mark's, in contact with the fully-developed system of the English Church, and subjected to a religious and moral discipline which should be the predominant feature in the education imparted there, would indeed be a great blessing to the Church. body of pupils thus trained would not only furnish our schools with instructors of the very best description, but might even, as is suggested in the able pamphlet referred to, become the means of supplying our Church with what is so much needed at present, men of inexpensive habits, who might, either as missionaries in foreign lands, or deacons at home, aid in the ministry of the Gospel. Most earnestly do we wish to see the adoption of some such plan, which would have the effect of bringing to the service of the sanctuary the aid of many active, and zealous, and religious minds, which are at present absorbed by Dissent; while it would render our system even theoretically more perfect, by linking it more closely with those classes of society which it is our principal duty to influence and to guide—we mean, the middling and lower classes of society.

In connexion with this subject we would further remark, that most of the deficiency which we have to lament in the spiritual training of the poor, arises from the disuse of catechising, or the imperfect manner in which it is too often conducted. But here the Church has the remedy in her own hands to a great extent. The bishops have it in their power to urge and enforce this duty on the clergy, and to examine into its execution in their visitations, which, for this reason as well as others, many persons would rejoice to see parochial instead of general. That catechising could not surely be considered as deserving the name, which should dwell solely on the intellectual aspect of Christianity, and omit to enforce the weighty branches of moral duty by the most solemn and serious admonitions. The duty of prayer,—of reverence to Divine things,—the nature of sin,—in short, the principal parts of Christian morals, should always be included in catechetical instructions; and much, very much, might be effected in bringing out such instructions more fully, by exhortations and injunctions

from our spiritual governors.

2. But we turn to another branch of our defects, and one in which the character and efficiency of the Church are, perhaps,

quite as deeply concerned as in that which we have been con-

sidering—the want of discipline.

The almost total desuetude into which the powers of the Church have fallen, in reference to the canonical censure of those amongst its members who have been guilty of public offences against the law of God, and who remain impenitent, has, for a long time, been a most grievous stumbling-block, not only to dissenters from the Church, but to her own members. has been steadily increasing, till it has at length come to such a pass, that this branch of power (we should rather say of solemn duty) has become all but extinct. We refer to the valuable, but most melancholy pages of Archdeacon Wilberforce's work, mentioned at the head of this article, for the history of the changes by which this most lamentable state of things has been brought about. The system of the Church of England supposes the exercise of such discipline as one of its necessary elements. appears in the Ordination services, where bishops are solemnly pledged to its exercise. It is recognized in the Articles, and carefully provided for in the Canons, as it has been in the canons of all Churches, even from the beginning. But, in practice, it has almost perished. This has been caused chiefly by its connexion with the existing ecclesiastical courts, in which the expense of proceedings, and the admixture of secular business, together with the absence of that religious character so absolutely essential to any tribunal for the judgment of offences against the law of God, have acted as most serious impediments; while the legislature has cramped the powers of the ecclesiastical courts, and annexed civil penalties and disabilities to the sentence of excommunication, which, though well intended in the first instance, have tended to clog and to destroy the action of that power which they were intended to sustain.

The result, however, is such as may well cause alarm amongst all true members of the Church. It is no light cause which can have drawn from Archdeacon Wilberforce, than whom a more faithful and devoted minister of that Church does not exist, such expressions as the following, when, in allusion to the rules of

Holy Scripture, on the subject of discipline, he says:—

[&]quot;Here is a rule laid down for the conduct of the Corinthian Church. The Church is the selfsame body which she was from the first, and she cannot therefore inherit the advantages with which our Lord endowed her, unless she acts upon the rules which He delivered to her. In what respect, then, does the Church of England conform to this rule of Apostolic times? Like Corinth, commercial, wealthy, and luxurious, our cities contain too many notoriously contaminated with Gentile

crimes. But do we ever hear of public sentence against such offenders? From year's end to year's end, is any one separated by formal decree from the Christian kingdom? Surely the Church has never heard of the affectionate yet earnest expostulation of the Apostle."—pp. 4, 5.

Archdeacon R. Wilberforce and Mr. Sewell both urge the necessity for removing from excommunication the temporal penalties at present attaching to it. The latter says:—

"In this complicated state, it is presumptuous to do more than suggest certain principles for enquiry—and here, also, to assert only one general duty, that of returning in faith and humility to the old path, whatever it may be, which Heaven has marked out.

"But the following questions may be hazarded :-

"1. Is there any power on earth which can lawfully prohibit the Church from the right possessed by every religious community, of maintaining her own terms of communion, and of excluding from it members who are obnoxious to her?

"2. Can she be deprived of the power of recommending, and of enforcing, under pain of exclusion, penitential discipline upon offenders within her pale, who voluntarily submit to her correcting hand?

"3. When she has once excluded contumacious offenders, are they not entirely free from her jurisdiction, and therefore not amenable to

her punishments?

"4. Can the state properly punish members of the Church for spiritual offences, except as administering the chastisements, and acting in the name and under the restrictions of the Church?

"5. Properly speaking, does the Church inflict any punishment whatever but excommunication, except for the purpose of correction, and upon voluntary penitents, when the arm of the State is not

required?

- "6. If excommunication, and the dread of it, have no efficacy to bring minds to repentance, can the civil arm do more by any terrors, than induce a reluctant and hypocritical continuance in the bosom of the Church, contrary to the spirit and admonitions of the Church itself?
- "7. And does it not follow, that, before excommunication, the State cannot wisely interfere to support the arm of the Church in inflicting her corrections, or in exhibiting her threats, and that after excommunication it cannot deal with offences as spiritual, or with members excluded from the Church, as if the Church had any right over them?

"If these suggestions are true, it must be the duty of the statesman at once to detach from the spiritual excommunication every temporal punishment and forfeit now attached to it."—pp. 380, 381.

The whole subject, we think, requires more thought and examination than has yet been bestowed on it. It is easy to see the existing evil; but it is not quite so easy to see the best

remedies. We agree with Archdeacon Wilberforce, that the existing ecclesiastical courts are wholly unsuited to the exercise of discipline. Their business (and a very important one it is) has come to refer almost wholly to testamentary and matrimonial causes, which may very properly be left to them; but they have been wholly inefficient in regard to matters of discipline, which have long ceased, in fact, to come under their cognizance. But, admitting this, we doubt whether the Church is yet so fully informed on this subject, as to be able to determine what ought to be done—what tribunals should be instituted or revived for this purpose, and by what rules their proceedings should be managed. For our own part, we should earnestly wish, if possible, to see this branch of jurisdiction invested with all possible solemnity, by its being administered immediately by the bishops themselves, as it was in primitive times; and for this reason, amongst others, we would urge the propriety of largely augmenting the number of bishops. In whatever hands, however, the exercise of discipline may be placed—whether in those of bishops. or archdeacons, or rural chapters—it is plain that some mode of proceeding would have to be adopted more compendious and less expensive than that of the ecclesiastical courts. We have yet to examine with care the system which prevailed before the institution of ecclesiastical courts and chancellors in the twelfth century, and to ascertain what improvements might be introduced; and we have to enquire also how far the actual powers of bishops extend in their *Visitations*. We apprehend that there are powers in this respect dormant at this moment, which might, if properly investigated and acted on, go far towards reviving ecclesiastical discipline. We apprehend that there is nothing to prevent a bishop from holding a visitation of any particular parish in his diocese, receiving presentments, hearing ecclesiastical causes, and pronouncing ecclesiastical censures. But how far a bishop is obliged to follow the rules of proceeding customary in other ecclesiastical courts—how far he is at liberty to enact new rules, and to diminish expenses—how far he may exercise this office by any deputy but his chancellor—these, and many kindred questions, require more light than is thrown on them by the common works on ecclesiastical law. We could, therefore, wish that the whole subject were more thoroughly sifted than it has yet been, and that the Church might be put in possession of information and of documents in reference to the judgment of offenders against the law of God, collected with the same care and diligence as those which distinguish Mr. Dansey's admirable work on Rural Deans. We doubt not that were the Church fully informed on this subject, there would be a general vol. II.—No. III.—ост. 1844.

disposition to act on that information. At present we are in the midst of a defective system; but we do not distinctly see our way to improvement. Mr. Dansey has the pleasure of knowing, that the publication of his work has led to the revival of the office of rural-dean in all parts of the Church; and here we rejoice to observe, that the Bishop of London has recently authorized the assembling of rural-chapters for conference on the practical discharge of ministerial duties. How great would be the honour attendant on such an exposition of the ancient and modern practice of the Church, with reference to discipline, as might enable her to resume this important branch of her duties!

3. There cannot be any doubt that the Church requires some other mode of legislation on ecclesiastical matters than that which now exists. On this point we believe that almost all Churchmen are unanimous. Putting out of sight the positive scandal which is caused by the sole and exclusive power conceded to Parliament in such matters, and the arguments built on it by Romanists and Dissenters, and by those who are disaffected to the Church, which have the effect of causing disturbance to many conscientious persons,—putting, we say, such things out of sight, it is clear that there are many questions which it is of the utmost importance to the Church to have settled,—many improvements and alterations which it would be desirable to introduce,—but which could not, without great impropriety, be brought before Parliament, comprising as it does many members who are not in communion with the Church, and who are wholly unlikely to treat such subjects with ordinary respect or consideration. But on this subject we have elsewhere spoken more at large: it need only therefore be added here, that if the Church herself were thoroughly *united* in seeking the revival of synods—if she could more clearly see her way in this important question, we do not doubt that a remedy would be speedily found. It is not, we are persuaded, the reluctance of the State which constitutes the real impediment, but the divided opinion of the Church; and when this is no longer so, (as we may trust will be the case ere long, after full discussion,) we see nothing to prevent the resumption of synodical assemblies, and the rapid revival of discipline.

4. It is, doubtless, in some degree to this disuse of ecclesiastical synods that we may trace the decline of discipline in the Church generally during the middle ages. The prelates who ought to have been the main-springs of the whole ecclesiastical system, became remiss in their spiritual duties, and were involved in secular cares: and hence the bands of unity and obedience relaxed, and the Church, notwithstanding the persecutions which were directed against heretics and schismatics, became uneasy

and divided; and the abuses as well as the benefits of the Reformation found ample materials on which to work. Nor have we ever yet entirely recovered from the evil effects of mediæval laxity. The episcopal office has been in part devolved in the course of ages on archdeacons and rural-deans; in part, on chancellors of dioceses; in part, on parliaments: and can it be wondered at, that the office itself has suffered in influence? It is not temporal rank, or ample endowments, or patronage, which confers on a prelacy its highest powers for good. It is the vigorous discharge of the highest mission which human beings can receive—the care of human souls. The episcopal office is essentially pastoral. We need not look beyond the office for the consecration of bishops to discover this. It is to the more practical development of this truth that we should look for the cure of all that disorganization which to so lamentable an extent exists amongst us. We should wish to see—and surely there is no reason to despair of seeing it—we should wish to see a prelacy, not merely discharging its ordinary duties of confirmation, ordination, institution to benefices, supervision of the clergy, and attendance on parliament, but assuming the whole of that pastoral character which the Church invests it with: labouring by assiduous preaching for the salvation of souls; visiting diligently each single parish, and examining its spiritual condition; admonishing the negligent; praising the diligent; punishing the wicked; receiving the penitent; administering advice to the ignorant; strengthening the infirm; becoming the source of energy and of obedience to all, both high and low, clergy and laity, with whom it comes in contact. Give us such a prelacy, or rather let God give it to us, and can there be a doubt that our defects, and our divisions, and all our evils, would soon vanish away? If the Church could really feel what is the responsibility and the extent of the episcopal office, it would at once come to the conclusion, that one of the grand defects in our present system is the inadequacy of the number of our bishops to the amount of duties imposed on them by the Church; and that while this defect continues, the Church can never be perfectly united, or effective for the great objects for which she exists. And could we arrive at this conclusion, how trifling and insignificant would seem to us all questions about temporal rank, or privileges, or endowments, or seats in legislative assemblies, in comparison with the grand object of promoting the spiritual efficiency and unity of the Church of Christ! We should be willing to see poor bishops, rich in faith and good works; confident that the grace of God and the gratitude of all faithful Christians would give to their ministrations a spiritual efficacy, a force, a grandeur, in comparison with which all the advantages derived from mere temporal

advantages would shrink into nothing.

With such sentiments it is needless to say with what pleasure we have read the following passage in Mr. Sewell's work, where, speaking of the duties of a Christian statesman in reference to the Church, he remarks, that

"A Christian statesman would . . . endeavour to supply its wants by all the influence which he could legitimately exert in such a cause. . . . When his eye turned upon her bishops, and then reverted to the first ages of the Gospel, he would not rest till he had seen them multiplied in every direction, in the colonies as in the mother country, till the whole body of the Church were placed effectually under episcopal nurture and control. The erection of the British empire into a Patriarchate, if this could be effected consistently with the practice of the ancient Church; the elevation of the present bishoprics to the dignity of metropolitans—either the subdivision of the present sees, or the creation of suffragan bishops; the appointment of coadjutors to administer a diocese in the sickness of its diocesan-if, indeed, this would be needed when bishoprics were diminished in size, and the number of them increased . . . all this might be contemplated by a statesman who loved his Lord and Master more than he was jealous of his Master's Church. It would trench upon no principle of toleration, would infringe no right of dissent, could raise no cavil worthy of reply. Little beyond this would be needed but funds, and funds never were wanting to accomplish a Christian work, nobly conceived in zeal, and faithfully executed in obedience."-pp. 383, 384.

It seems indeed to be more and more generally felt, that a large increase in the Episcopate is absolutely essential to the efficiency We have, on a former occasion, advocated this of the Church. measure at greater length; and we rejoice to think of the concurrent testimony afforded by the publications mentioned at the head of this article, amongst many other similar indications of general agreement on this point. Mr. Lathbury, in his interesting pamphlet on the revival of suffragan bishops 1, has stated, that "the vast majority of the Anglican Clergy, ... who are determined to pursue the course marked out by the Church," entertain views similar to those which he has expressed. are of opinion that there are many grave objections to the revival of this order; but if no better remedy could be found, we doubt not that even this measure would be thankfully accepted. conclusion, we would offer a few remarks on this subject in connexion with the much disputed question of the Welsh bishoprics. It would appear that there is an almost insurmountable repug-

¹ A Letter respectfully addressed to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., on the Restoration of Suffragan Bishops. By the Rev. Thos. Lathbury, M.A. Parker, London.

nance on the part of the Government, and of some justly-venerated prelates, to reverse the arrangements which have been made by the Ecclesiastical Commission and by Parliament, in reference to the suppression of the Welsh diocese and the erection of the new See of Manchester. But we would suggest, that the objects of the Welsh Church might possibly be more easily attained, if they could be combined with some general measure for extending the episcopate. If a large addition were made to the number of sees in general, the claims of Wales would assuredly be attended to in the very first instance. It may be, that she would have to remain content with a bishopric slenderly endowed, and without any seat in Parliament; but we are sure that these would not form any material objections in the mind of any true Churchman. What, then, we would place before the friends of the Church, both in Wales and England, is this,—Whether it would not be advisable in the ensuing Session of Parliament to move for an address to the Crown, for the purpose of referring to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to make inquiries into the most desirable methods of increasing the number of bishops in England and Wales, and of preserving those which now exist. We think it probable that such a proposal would be warmly supported by the friends of the Church in Parliament and out of it; and we think that it might bring the whole question before the public in a far more advantageous form than it has yet taken.

There may be many objections, arising from various causes, to reverse an arrangement already made. It may be, that serious practical inconveniences would, in the opinion of persons to whom all reverence is due, arise from any such measure. It may be, that in the face of the Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1834, stating their opinion that an increase in the whole number of sees was not advisable, it would be difficult to make such an increase; and thus the preservation of the Welsh diocese would prevent the institution of the see of Manchester. It may be that the repeal of the Act has been sometimes sought, in a way by no means calculated to conciliate the favour of those who were leading members of that Ecclesiastical Commission, and whose purity of intention ought to have been more fully recognized. But we cannot conceive that there could be, in any quarter, any objection to inquiry. We think that this is a ground on which all real friends of the Church might agree; and we feel very confident, that could this mighty question be examined, under circumstances so different from those of the year 1834, the result might be much more satisfactory. No prelate has expressed his disapprobation of an increase in the episcopal body; several prelates have openly declared themselves in its favour in Parliament and elsewhere; others are well known to be favourable. The

Universities have, in their petitions on the subject of the Welsh bishoprics, united their suffrages; the Prime Minister himself has acknowledged the importance of the subject, and only objected to a practical carrying out of the principle, before it had been fully discussed on its own merits. The Clergy may be considered unanimous in their call for an increase in the episcopate. Under these circumstances, it does seem to us that there can be very little doubt of the success of some such measure as that which we have ventured to suggest above. We cannot see what grounds of objection would exist; for no prelate surely would object to inquiry on such a subject; and the Ecclesiastical Commission would not be placed in an attitude of hostility to the remainder of the Church; while a greater amount of interest and of power would be brought out in favour of the Welsh Church, when its cause was more completely identified with that of the whole Church of England.

Having thus briefly noticed some of our existing evils, and their remedies, we know not that we could bring our task to a conclusion more appropriately than by citing the following passage

from Mr. Gresley's work:-

"The Dissenters on one side, and the Romanists on the other, are endeavouring to draw off members from the Anglican Church; and it may be that some amongst ourselves, and those not the least sincere and conscientious, do not feel that inward satisfaction and religious peace which they might expect under the wings of their mother Church. Some, it may be, do not find in the minister set over them, that friend and holy adviser to whom they can with satisfaction open their minds, and confess their griefs and difficulties. Others, perhaps, painfully experience a want of devotion in our services; others feel aggrieved by the unfrequent recurrence of them." * * * *

"Now, to persons troubled with these thoughts, I would suggest the following considerations, which may help to keep them from taking any serious and dangerous step, that might be fatal to their everlasting

welfare."

"First, that whatever practical faults exist in our Church, the same exist in greater measure elsewhere; or if not the same in greater measure, there are others of a worse character. If we feel disheartened by the irreverence and carelessness with which, in too many churches, the service of God is performed, the undue exaltation of preaching, the little regard to devotion, the curtailed services, and other sad defects, let us consider that in dissenting places of assembly, all these evils are commonly found in a far greater degree . . . If we think to avoid these evils by flying to Rome, a little reflection or observation, will show that we should not mend our condition. . . . Practices directly contrary to God's law are tolerated and sanctioned; and the very Sacrament, ordained by Christ Himself for our spiritual good, is most wickedly and presumptuously mutilated."

"Again, if some there may be, who find little satisfaction from the intercourse of their appointed minister, it may safely be asserted, that the minister of many a dissenting congregation, and the pastor of many a Romanist parish, are not one whit more capable of administering spiritual consolation. Blots there will be, and blots I fear are numerous in every Church or community in Christendom. We must beware of indulging in romantic imaginations, and allowing a fancied perfection elsewhere, which does not exist, to beguile us away from the real comforts and spiritual aids, which our own Church, with all its practical defects, is able to afford to those who faithfully ask them." pp. 241—244.

This is most truly and rightly said. We could indeed wish that all who may be dissatisfied with the state of things amongst ourselves, and who may be looking elsewhere for a remedy for those evils, would fairly and impartially look abroad on other churches, and see whether religion is really in a more prosperous state with them than it is with us. It may be easy to point out moral and social evils in England; but do they not arise to a great extent from the manufacturing system and the acts of the legislature? And is the Church responsible for this? But setting aside the manufacturing districts which have wholly outgrown the Church's guardianship, is England in general in a worse state than other countries? Has the Church of Rome more independence of the state in Italy and France? Are scandalous offences punished by ecclesiastical censures there more than with us? Are synods permitted to assemble? Is Christian education more general? No one who has had fair opportunities of judging on these points will answer in the affirmative. With all the powers exercised by the Roman Catholic priesthood in Italy and in Ireland, it is evident that crimes against chastity are as rife in the one country as those against property, and even life, are in another. Devotion to the saints—confession—reverence for the priesthood and the pope-splendid worship, rituals, &c., are not found practically effective in healing the moral corruption which has such deep hold on all classes of society in the Roman Catholic communion. All these things, like other and better institutions in our own Church, may become mere forms; and we should indeed be most woefully disappointed, if we sought the regeneration of the Church by introducing such practices, instead of cultivating to the very utmost those opportunities which it has pleased Divine Providence to place more immediately in our way. The imagination might for a moment be gratified by a different course; but the conscience would ere long learn by experience, that solid improvement is not to be obtained by vital alterations, but by stedfast perseverance and legitimate development.

- ART. IV.—1. Histoire des Français. Par J. C. L. SIMONDE DE SISMONDI. Tom. xxix. Paris, 1842.
- 2. History of the eighteenth century, and of the nineteenth till the overthrow of the French empire, with particular reference to mental cultivation and progress. By F. C. Schlosser, Privy-Councillor, and Professor of History in the University of Heidelberg. Translated with a Preface and Notes, by D. Davison, M.A. Lond, 1843-4. Parts i.—v.

Not in cookery, or costume, or journalism, is the French nation more honourably conspicuous above the rest of Christendom, than in history. Her favourite pursuits in the present age are writing histories, and planting colonies. Both are cultivated with equal ardour, but with very different success; her physical inability to colonize is not less clear than her intuitive power to chronicle. No land ever produced three contemporary historians surpassing Thierry, Michelet, and Guizot. Assuredly, no country ever claimed such dependencies as Algeria and Oceania. It is only, however, within the last fifty years, that our neighbours have made such noble advances in the cause of historical science. In the previous century they produced almost nothing. Voltaire offered some valuable suggestions to writers of history, though in these he mainly followed Bolingbroke, the founder of the school, and has no large claims to originality. Still he did some service to the cause; and Hume and Robertson may debit him for many of their merits, and most of their faults. But to the title of an historian, he has no more claims in his own person than Sir Edward Bulwer. His so called histories are not only not histories, but they are not even materials for histories. It is impossible to receive any statement whatever upon Voltaire's single authority. He is an extreme instance of the practical effect of his own principles; a caricature of the school. His object was to introduce philosophy, to show the mutual relations of events hitherto viewed as isolated, and to draw from the past lessons for the use of the future; lessons which, in his hands, generally assumed the form of conclusions against religion and its ministers. But, unfortunately for his credit, in shaping these conclusions, he neglected the premises; in drawing his inferences, he despised the facts. Whether a certain event ever did, or did not occur, under certain conditions, and with certain circumstances, was a matter in his eyes of secondary importance. If it did not, it might have

done so; and the opportunity for an ingenious discourse was equally good, whether the subject were real or imaginary. Voltaire and his followers took only one element of history, which they cultivated with great care; and if there had been another party to supply them with genuine materials, ready shaped to their hands, they might have produced some valuable pieces of work. History, as written by this school, may certainly be defined as "philosophy teaching by examples." Doubtless, too, the teaching may frequently be reputed instructive. The only mis-

chief is, that the examples are generally fictitious.

But another class of historians soon arose in France, who united to Voltaire's sagacity an industrious research, and a love of truth, to which he was a total stranger. The laborious accumulation of materials, which he satirized with such contempt, was soon re-commenced, and perhaps there is no country in which the sources of national history are now better known. As early as 1790, there appeared a Collection Universelle des Mémoires Particuliers relatifs à l'Histoire de France, which extended to the length of seventy volumes, though terminating with the sixteenth century; and within the last five and twenty years, these publications have been enlarged and repeated continually. The two collections of Petitot alone, one concluding and the other commencing with the accession of Henri Quatre, fill a hundred and thirty volumes. Buchon amassed fifty volumes of old croniques, from the beginning of the thirteenth century to the end of the fifteenth, and some other editors produced twenty volumes more pour servir à compléter toutes les collections sur cette matière. Still more numerous are the records and recorders of modern times. The mighty occurrences of the last sixty years, considered as materials for history, surpass all the events between Charlemagne and Louis XIV.; and the same social and political conditions which called forth from the mass of the people generals, statesmen, and philosophers, created also historians. Memoirs of every commander, journals of every campaign, victories, conquests, sieges, of all degrees of merit and magnitude, crowd one upon the other. The list of Frenchmen who have not only written history, but written it decently, is too long for enumeration, and almost too large for belief. But almost all of them, as if by common consent or common apprehension, have avoided the subject of the eighteenth century, or, to speak more strictly, of that large portion of it comprised in the reign of Louis XV. There are writers on the wars of the succession, who carry us down to the last miserable days of the Grand Monarque. The period of the regency is too compact and interesting a subject not to have attracted more than one historian. And the last decade of the century of course lends its

momentous annals as a first chapter to all histories of modern France. But the long intermediate reign of Louis XV. is passed over in significant silence. It has not been absolutely left a blank, and even had it been more so, it could be illustrated very extensively from the annals of other countries. What we are observing is, the marked scarcity of all native authorities for this period, compared with almost any other in French history. As a matter of course, there are plenty of Mémoires of this age, and there must also be abundance of documents in safe preservation; but no use is made of these materials. Mr. Alison, writing in 1833, can fill several octavo pages with the list of his French authorities, for the period between 1789 and 1815. M. de Sismondi, writing in 1842, can cite no historian but Lacretelle for the period between 1750 and 1774. His other references are confined to the Siècle de Louis XV.; a very few Memoirs; the Biographie Universelle; and the Mercure Historique. For all those wars which cost France the noble territory of Canada, and a score of islandcolonies; for all those struggles which brought honour, though not victory, to her troops; M. de Sismondi acknowledges plainly that he relies upon English writers in default of all French authorities; and that he relates the obstinate intrepidity of Burlamachi and Montcalm from the records of their conquering rivals. The second of Petitot's collections, though carried down to the peace of Paris, contains little but the Memoirs of Duclos, which is available for this period. Even Capefigue, that most industrious of modern chroniclers, who has written as many histories as Sir Walter Scott left novels, has avoided this reign. He has written upon the Normans; upon Hugh Capet; on Philippe Auguste; on the state depuis la mort de Philippe Auguste; upon the League and Henri IV.; upon Richelieu and Louis XIII.; upon Mazarin and the Fronde; upon Louis XIV. and the Regency. But here the continuity of his chronicles is broken, and his yet unslaked zeal for writing is carried, per saltum, into the days of the consulate and the empire. It seems probable that this disposition on the part of French writers was rather confirmed at one time by the view taken by government of the matter. About the middle of Napoleon's reign, (in the same year in which Lacretelle's work on the eighteenth century first appeared,) M. Lemontey was invited to compose a History of France under the two last kings; and for this purpose he obtained from the imperial government two demands, which he specially made; viz. that he should be enabled to consult the archives, and be permitted to speak the truth. His

¹ Hist. des Français, xxix. pp. 171. 184. 235. See, too, his judgment on Smollett, p. 119.

two volumes on the regency, published in 1816, were the first-fruits of his researches, and show, most undeniably, his admirable abilities for the task he had undertaken. But on his death, about twenty years ago, it is said that the whole of his manuscripts

were taken possession of by the French government.

No doubt there are dangerous precedents to be found in such records; yet it might be supposed that the simple continuation of the history to 1815, would furnish sufficient correctives to an attentive reader. No doubt, too, the reign of this fifteenth Louis is less conducive to the self-respect of the French nation, than the times which preceded or those which followed it; yet, through very much of it the French armies well maintained their character, and certainly at no other period of history can they show so fair an account with the troops of perfidious Albion. Marshal Saxe beat the Duke of Cumberland almost as surely and systematically as Marlborough beat Villars, or Wellington beat Soult.

Till lately, the work of Lacretelle was the only publication to which a student of these times was generally referred. It was never reputed a work of great merit either at home or abroad; but the number of editions through which it has passed since its first appearance, in 1808, is a sign that its subject was not wanting in attraction. It is altogether too much in the style of the last century, to be quite satisfactory to the taste of the present. His disquisitions might have been written by Dr. Robertson, for whom as well as for Hume he records his great admiration. He regrets that Voltaire did not preserve the serious and impartial tone assumed by these English historians on ecclesiastical subjects; and applauds particularly the introduction to the history of Charles V.; two remarks which indicate his own character with tolerable precision2. He has an inclination for anecdote, and a sense of the ludicrous, which make his narrative lively and agreeable, but he did not think it necessary to add any vouchers for its accuracy. His work will now be in a great measure superseded by the publication which we have mentioned at the head of this article. The twenty-ninth volume of the History of the French concludes the reign of Louis XV. It was not originally intended also to conclude the work, which was to have been continued to the assembly of the States General, in 1789. But M. Sismondi attached to this volume a final address to the public, in which he states that his age and infirmities compelled him, after the labour of four and twenty years, to stop within this short distance of his appointed resting-place. And

² Hist. de France pendant le xvIIIme Siècle, iii. p. 148, 149.

in a few weeks afterwards he ended his useful and industrious life. It is still, therefore, to a foreigner that France owes the best history of these times. It is not, indeed, a sufficient history, and is probably far inferior to what Lemontey could have composed with his splendid materials; but though many of its passages at the most interesting periods are not only derived, but are actually transcribed *verbatim*, from Lacretelle, yet, on the whole, it far surpasses the Frenchman's work in accurate narrative, in solid reasoning, and in serious spirit, and is not an unworthy finale to

the noble writings of Sismondi.

The other publication which we have specified at the commencement of our remarks, is explained by the title as there transcribed. It is a translation; but as the author is an excellent English scholar, and has revised the translator's pages. and prefixed a sign manual of his warrant and approval, it may be considered equivalent to an original. Five parts only have appeared in England, and this, we are given to understand, is more than has been yet issued in Germany. Though the work is called a 'history,' yet it is composed (we presume entirely) of lectures which the author delivered from his professorial chair, and displays, therefore, the usual character of such productions. The particular subject of reference which he has selected, monopolizes four-fifths of the pages hitherto published. The mental cultivation and progress of England, Germany, and France, are traced with immense learning and industry through four closely printed parts; it is only with the commencement of the fifth that we enter upon political history, which is introduced to us by a chapter on the War of Succession in Spain. Here then we have a tangible piece of history written by a German, and it exhibits very fully the merits and the demerits which seem peculiar to that country. No person will deny that an intelligent reader might peruse the whole of Niebuhr's History of Rome, and the whole of Ranke's History of the Popes, without gaining any thing but a total confusion of ideas, if his reading were confined to these works in their respective periods; and yet neither will any person deny that the best classical or ecclesiastical scholars of any age would find in them both instruction and improvement. Roscoe's Life of Leo X., leaves a student with a very clear idea of the pope and his times. Is there a single pontiff of whose age and reign such a knowledge could be obtained from Ranke? Yet few persons would like to assert that Leopold Ranke was an inferior writer to William Roscoe. The same remarks will apply We are not quite sure whether we ought to regard these volumes as mere lectures, or whether the author considers them, in this published shape, as a history. If they are lectures, there is little to be said; for in this case, certain preparatory qualifications must of course be presumed in the audience, the amount of which it rests with the University of Heidelberg and Professor Schlosser to determine. But if the book be a history, and we take the wars of the succession by an Englishman, and the wars of the succession by a German³; and compare Lord Mahon's way of telling a story with Herr Schlosser's way of telling a story; it is impossible not to conclude that a serious organic difference subsists between the perceptive faculties of the two nations. But though we conceive that it would be difficult to form a clear idea of the last century from the single work of Schlosser, we think it impossible to form a sufficient one without it. If it be not already a history for English readers, it supplies most admirable materials for making one; the process being simply to select the facts and the authorities, and discard the reflections, metaphysical and—religious. If our ordinary definitions and conceptions of history are correct, the German nation cannot claim the second place in this science. Its other claims can well enable it to concede this rank to another land, and that land, we think, should be Great Britain.

On a future occasion we will endeavour to make good our position. At present we must return to the reign of Louis XV. It has, indeed, always appeared to us a reign of most extraordinary interest, though only so, of course, as connected with the catastrophe succeeding it. But if, while we read the events of the sixth decade of the century, we bear in mind, as we proceed, what happened in the last, all the occurrences assume a strange and ominous aspect, and induce us to linger curiously over points which we might otherwise carelessly pass. "As when a man has been cut off by sudden death, we are curious to know whether his previous words or behaviour indicated any sense of his coming fate. so we examine the records of a state of things just expiring, anxious to observe whether, in any point, there may be discerned an anticipation of the great future, or whether all was blindness and insensibility." And certainly, in this case, the examination leaves the catastrophe quite intelligible. The twenty-ninth volume of Sismondi introduces us with perfect ease to the first volume of Alison. The following sheets will contain a few remarks on this reign, and the title at the head of this page will show the particular event which has been selected to give some consistence to the narrative. There is an ecclesiastical work, of good repute, es-

³ Though their titles are the same, yet the works are different. Lord Mahon's book is literally a History of the War of the Succession in Spain, Schlosser's is a History of the Wars of the Spanish Succession all over the continent.

⁴ Arnold. Lecture ii.

pecially devoted to the events of this century⁵; but we have purposely abstained from quoting it, and have confined ourselves to profane histories and writers. Schlosser's work, at present, does not reach to these times.

We must go back a little. The state in which Louis XIV. left the court, the noblesse, and the clergy, is both important and remarkable. It was not till after the culmination of his glory that he used any great severity in ecclesiastical matters. The peace of Nimeguen was a record of his power: from that time his fortune declined; and seven years afterwards, on the 12th of October, 1685, appeared what is termed the Revocation of the edict of Nantes. The truth is, the edict of Nantes had been revoked long ago, within thirty years of its publication. Indeed, the stipulations of the original deed were such, that no government, with any pretence to authority, could possibly permit them to remain in force. Most of our readers must have noticed, in Bishopsgate-street, a large stone building, called the Wesleyan Centenary Hall. If they can imagine a senate assembled in that building, representing, for political as well as spiritual purposes, the opinions of their constituents; possessed of large funds; keeping in their pay and direction an effective and well-disciplined militia, holding strong fortresses in the south and west of England, whereof the governors were to be appointed by the crown, subject to the approval of Dr. Hannah, and ready in each and all of these departments for prompt and determined action, they will have an idea of the privileges successfully claimed by the Protestants in 1598. But such a state of things could not, of course, exist for any length of time; and when Richelieu, with his Quintus Curtius in his hand, had thrown the mole across the harbour of his Protestant Tyre, the edict of Nantes was virtually annulled in every point, except the tolerance of the reformed religion, a point which the conqueror most freely conceded. This tolerance was withdrawn by Louis in 1685, in an act which was less a revocation of any former edict than a new enactment of most severe and barbarous penalties against the profession of Protestantism, and which, we may observe, was issued without the consent, and against the judgment, of the Roman Pontiff. It is remarkable, as showing the general direction the king's mind had taken, that in this same year, he had married Madame de Maintenon. Only five years before he had forbidden all prosecutions for witchcraft in his courts, a veto against which one of his enlightened parliaments sent him up a

⁵ Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique pendant le xvIIIme Siècle. 4 vols. Paris, 1815.

solemn remonstrance. We shall not fully appreciate this step without recollecting, that in 1716, people were hanged for this offence at Huntingdon. Volumes of history are contained in a

page of dates.

The great Louis, both by instinct and instruction, was a foe to all dissent. He wished his dominions to be universally Catholic, as well as absolutely loyal; and amongst the noblesse, in a very great measure, he succeeded. In his predecessor's reign, many of the most ancient families, including the princely houses of Rohan, Turenne, and Sully, were Huguenots. Before the end of the century they were all Roman Catholics. It is true that Bossuet, in the interval, was writing histories and issuing expositions; but more persuasion lodged at Versailles than at Meaux. No services were allowed to counterbalance heterodoxy. Du Quesne had beaten the greatest seaman of the bitterest enemies the king had; yet, when he was presented, after the death of de Ruyter, he heard more reproaches on his faith, than compliments on his valour. The devoutness of the court was exemplary. Through a reign of seventy years Louis never ate meat on a fast-day, except from illness, or omitted to attend mass, except on a march. But, with all this, the Roman Church had a most undutiful son. Like another most royal Catholic, Louis demurred at all spiritual authority, except as represented in his own person. He quarrelled outright with Innocent XI., than whom a more upright and virtuous pontiff has seldom filled the chair of St. Peter. In 1682 he summoned an assembly of his clergy; and the convocation, at the suggestion of the court, passed four articles, which might have headed the Confession of Augsburg. Within a few months after he had driven the Protestants from France, he sent an ambassador to Rome with three squadrons of cavalry, and the servant of the most Christian king deliberately insulted the head of his Church in his own palace. A few steps more would have led to open schism. The papal nuncio was imprisoned; the French ambassador excommunicated; and the royal troops had entered the states of the Church, and were investing Avignon. In the end Louis succumbed, though not during his opponent's lifetime. So strange a combination of circumstances had this quarrel produced, that in 1687 Innocent was actually transmitting subsidies to William of Orange, the hero of Protestantism, against Louis of France, the most Catholic sovereign; and the stores of the papal treasury might have aided in establishing for ever the reformed religion in these islands!

But, absolutely as this monarch ruled, there was a power to which he could not attain,—a power to which few have made

any approach, except the society of which we are presently to speak.—the dominion over the consciences of men. Every one is acquainted with the nature and origin of the opinions which are comprised in the title of Jansenism—opinions which spread in spite, and greatly in consequence, of the opposition which they encountered from the throne. It is not meant to assert that there was no sincerity in the Jansenist party. It, probably, contained a due proportion of members whose Calvinism was conscientious, and whose moroseness was unfeigned. But it, undoubtedly, also numbered many in its ranks whose motives for enlisting were wholly secular. Politically speaking, it was the only ground (except one) which could be taken in opposition to the court, and court doctrines, and to some minds opposition of some sort is absolutely necessary. All who were disaffected to the king, all who envied the reigning mistress, all who were unsuccessful at Versailles, all, in fact, who were of any party at all, and were not of the court party, joined the Jansenists. One of its earlier leaders was Madame de Longueville! Theologically speaking, dissent from the Roman Church had assumed, as its last phase in France, the form of Jansenism. More overt and violent measures in times past had been tried and checked. Jansenism was a convenient creed for all who were unsatisfied at being Catholics, and were indisposed to become Huguenots. All whose spiritual pride could acquiesce only in a creed and preacher of their own election, all whose distempered minds craved the stimulus of persecution, swelled the ranks of this sect. There was one more shape of opposition to the Church and crown, which was to come by and by; and its shadow was already faintly cast before it. It is well remarked by Schlosser, that even as early as these times, the court no longer exclusively or mainly set the fashion to the city. There had sprung up, in Paris, small circles of society, characterized by freedom of thought and discourse; circles, independent of Versailles, the influence of whose opinions over the public mind was gradually extending itself. These circles had no real sympathy with any religious party, but they gave admission and encouragement to the learning and talent which was exiled from court to make way for hunting and minuets, and they speedily included many noble and powerful associates.

The reign of Louis had seen the growth of Jansenism, and it was to witness what, to all appearance, was its fall. The real strength of the party died with the Port-Royalists. In the times of Pascal and Tillemont, it could boast not only of much of the piety and sincerity, but also of the wit and wisdom, of the kingdom. But from this character it had sunk to the strange condition we have described in the paragraph above, as the defenders

which it had so fortunately found died away without leaving successors. In the meantime, too, the attacks directed against it by the Jesuits began to tell, and this not only by diminishing its influence and curtailing its opportunities, but by injuring its principles and infecting its adherents. The first fair blow was struck by Innocent X., at the close of his pontificate. On the 1st of June, 1653, he condemned the five propositions which had been laid before him for this purpose. The Jansenists acquiesced in the condemnation, but abjured the ownership of any such tenets. The next pope declared formally that the propositions were to be found in the book of Jansenius and the creed of his admirers. The refractory party still disputed his infallibility in matters of fact, though they saved their orthodoxy by admitting it in matters of faith. Indeed, on this point a strong body of the Gallican clergy joined them; a new pontiff, in 1668, relaxed the strictness of the test, and for some years they continued to thrive, or at least to hold their own. At length, in 1713, their indefatigable enemies procured the famous bull *Uniquenitus*, which was carefully made so sweeping and so decisive, as to leave the Jansenists no further hope of escape, and no alternative between accepting the constitution, or defying the Roman see. It was not to be supposed that this bull would be very amicably received; and some of the tumults attending its introduction we shall hereafter allude to; but we have now brought the Jansenists down to the death of Louis, and we must turn to another subject. Meantime, the reader will bear away with him the leading facts, that the party at this period had degenerated in talent and repute, in principles and power, and that they had at length been formally condemned by the papal court.

It is quite unnecessary to advert to the establishment, or objects, or achievements, of the order of the Jesuits, even if we could afford to throw the opening of our story so far back as the sixteenth century. Unquestionably, they well deserve the praise of having performed the service on which they were sent, and answered the purpose for which they were intended. precisely at the critical period that Port Royal was rising, and Pascal writing; precisely at the moment that they were pitted against the ablest adversaries they had ever met; precisely at this time, of all others, had they assumed a position and a spirit totally opposed to the maxims by which they had been originally guided. They were established as the firmest defenders of the Roman see; they were now generally indifferent to its interests; often hostile to them. They were sworn to the renunciation of worldly ties; they were now the richest merchants, and most eager manufacturers in Europe. They were bound to give gratuitous instruction to the youth of their provinces; they had now neglected this duty, or occasionally

set a price on its performance.

Yet there was something to be said on all these charges. century of peace had introduced as much indolence, and as much corruption into the papal court, as into the Society of Jesus. would be difficult to name a legitimate administration of any age or country, under which Church goods were less secure or more perverted than under Innocent X. and Alexander VII. There was no longer any danger of Europe becoming Protestant; and there was no longer any active effort to make it Romish. peculiar services, therefore, of the Jesuits were less in demand, they were less intimately connected with the court of Rome, and they were left to secure friends and to build fortunes in their respective countries. At this period their order supplied a confessor to every Roman Catholic sovereign; and in France they were so well satisfied with their influence and their position, that they unhesitatingly adhered to the king in his early skirmishes with the pope,—a piece of conduct which the Roman see repaid by forbidding some of their customs, and proscribing some of their opinions. Commerce, it was true, was interdicted by their rule. Yet, to a certain extent, it was absolutely unavoidable. They had missions in every corner of the earth, including even Japan and China. Their colleges were all in the closest communication with each other. A system of exchange, and of monetary transactions, was as indispensably requisite to their operations, as a banker and treasurer to those of the Church Missionary Society: and their wide connexions, rapid information, and characteristic acuteness, speedily secured them a pre-eminence in these affairs. Even their more ordinary mercantile engagements were not without excuse. In their kingdom of Paraguay, they provided for the temporal as well as the spiritual wants of a whole population; a provision, of course, involving all the machinery of exportation. If a society of such a heterogeneous nature were to exist at all, it seems impracticable to put any bounds to their operations. Their compactness, their ubiquity, their discipline, their correspondence, gave them enormous commercial advantages. They could not only manufacture cloth, or transmit money beneficially for the use of their own body, but they could do it for the people at large better and cheaper than any body else,—a circumstance which was very soon discovered; and the Jesuits speedily monopolized in many districts the trade in the most lucrative articles. All this while commerce was expressly forbidden by the institute!

The principle of teaching the young was one which the order had observed with somewhat more fidelity. It was, in fact, too promising a source of influence to be altogether neglected. But now, all in accordance with their change of policy, they selected principally the sons of rich or noble houses; and not only this, but they exacted from them, under some pretence or other, a periodical honorarium. Their aim was to substitute something or other for the necessity which first called them forth, and which now seemed to exist no longer. Their object was dominion; their road to it through the consciences of men. To this end their wealth was made subservient. To this end they fashioned their morality and accommodated their conduct. They wanted to monopolize the keeping of men's consciences, and to make themselves indispensable, as confessors, to all Catholic Christendom. For these offices they made the best bidding, and were

accepted.

Against a society so disposed did Pascal and Arnauld write. There was no difficulty in exposing this system of convenient There was no difficulty in showing, that if they wished to subjugate nations, it was no longer for the Roman see; if they wished to make converts, it was no longer converts to Christianity. Perhaps it was not clearly demonstrable that they had knelt to Confucius in China, or that they had legalized the idolatry of the oriental Uranus; but there did seem to be reasons for coming to the conclusion that, for a due consideration of power or place, they would barter any doctrine of morality or religion. We have mentioned this Order in connexion with the Jansenists, because it was necessary to the ready comprehension of the story, that an outline should be premised of their respective positions at the accession of Louis XV. Moreover, as far as mutual hate and incessant conflicts can connect two parties, their histories are undoubtedly allied to each other. But the idea that the Jansenists effected the ruin of the Jesuits is altogether mistaken. The Jesuits were the hereditary and disciplined enemies of Calvinism in every guise. Against this they had been bred, trained, and kept; and on this point they never lost or intermitted their instinctive hostility. Abundant, however, as the Order had always been in learning and talent beyond all others, they could produce at this period no writer able enough to exchange epistles with Pascal, although in the principles of the Port-Royalists, there was matter for a counter-volume of provincial letters, as ample as any antagonist could have required. Still, the Jesuits suffered little at the time, beyond the insensible injury to their cause which such an exposure would be perpetually working as long as the book was in circulation. They had the ear of the king, and they exercised the patronage of the court.

We have now to trace a further change in the relative positions, and in the principles also, of these two parties. In 1709. the king's confessor, Pere La Chaise, died, and was succeeded by Le Tellier, provincial of the Order. The conduct of this man has been most violently assailed; but D'Alembert, no strong partizan, admits his belief that he was conscientious and sincere. His first act was to level Port Royal with the ground. This act of barbarity was not forgotten when the day of retribution came: the memory of the dead Jansenists did more harm to the Jesuits than all the spite of the living. The next act of Le Tellier, with the same end in view, was to procure the bull *Uniquenitus*, which we have mentioned before. It was issued in 1713. Its publication, independently of all other results, produced these two remarkable effects. It made the Jansenists heretics, and it made the Jesuits papists. Formerly, Jansenism was inaccessible. If an accused individual were inclined to prevaricate, there was no way of bringing the charge home to him. He could accept the bull of 1653, in a sense fixed by himself. He could demur to the bull of 1665, without compromising his orthodoxy. And as to his tenets on disputed points, he might explain them away. He might aver himself a good Catholic, and there was no refuting him. But the test now was not Jansenism, it was the Bull. It was not an indefinite term, it was the constitution of 1713. Le Tellier and Beaumont could grapple with the miserable Calvinists as effectually as Claverhouse with the wretched Scotch Covenanters thirty years before. "It was just, 'Will ye tak the test?' if not, 'Make ready-present-fire'!' and there lay the recusant."

Not less striking was the change on the other side. After hesitating and vacillating for years, the court of Rome had at last spoken out, decidedly, in favour of the Jesuits; and the Jesuits returned the compliment, by a renewal of their ancient fealty to the Court of Rome. From this time, we shall find them no longer in opposition to the interests of the Pontiff, but amongst his firmest supporters; and from this period, too, can be dated an alteration in their general policy, which, if we could trust the conscientiousness of their motives, would redound considerably to their credit. It was not to be expected that they would spare their ancient enemies now they had them so utterly prostrate. "The Jesuits," says old Fuller, "owe no man any malice, making always present payment thereof." They certainly did their utmost to crush the Jansenists, but they also attacked worse people than these; they revised their ethics, and repaired their discipline, and whether

in sincerity or otherwise, they were not seldom to be found on the side of religion and order, as we shall presently more

fully see.

At length, on the 1st of September, 1715, after a reign longer than that of any monarch except Aurungzebe, as miserable as Louis XI., and as utterly deserted as William the Conqueror, Louis le Grand expired. The first act of the parliament was to set aside his testamentary dispositions. A regency was formed from the late opposition party; and the policy of the new court may be briefly characterized as the reverse of the old one. The differences with England were exchanged for the most amicable relations, which in a few months resulted in the Triple Alliance. Estrangement from Spain was a natural consequence. As for religious parties, neither the Regent nor Dubois had the smallest consideration for them, except in a political point of view; an exception, however, which, as we have before implied, is a wide one. As the Jesuits were in power with Louis, it followed, according to rule, that the Jansenists should come into power under the Regent; for this party, though crushed by persecution, was still looked upon somehow as the opposite to the Jesuits. Moreover, St. Simon was a Jansenist. All imprisoned victims of this sect were accordingly released; but the new government was by no means inclined to gratify their equitable desires for retaliation, and the Jesuits were, therefore, simply dismissed, to leave room for a short ascendancy of Jansenism. A chaos of plots followed. Alberoni, in Spain, being out of confidence, leagued with all in France who were out of office, including of course the Jesuits. The aim of the conspirators was to set up their own party instead of the Regent's; in other words, to subvert the whole administration, depose the Regent, and transfer the succession (in the event of Louis XVth's death) from the house of Orleans to the children of Madame de Montespan. This reversion of the crown was thought a most important point. It had formed one article of the Triple Alliance. So little trust was then placed on the life of the sickly young king, who afterwards lived for fifty years a life that would have killed a camel, reigned only twelve months less than our George the Third, and died at last the death of an innocent child, from never having been inoculated.

The detection of this plot was followed by no severities; and the lapse of a few months brought peaceably round to that party of the conspirators in whom we are most interested the objects they had sought through violence and treason. The reader will remember that the bull *Uniquenitus* had provoked great opposition; in fact, it had never been fairly received. D'Alembert says, that

when Louis XIV. first read it, he imagined the condemned propositions were articles of faith; and was astonished when his confessor told him they were recited for his abhorrence. He adds, that it was submitted by the monarch to a synod of forty prelates, of whom a minority of nine were opposed to it. The king was lamenting that he could not procure unanimity. "There is nothing more easy," observed a lady near him; "your majesty has only to imply your permission that the thirty-one bishops may join the other nine!" It did not seem very probable that the Jesuits, exiled and disgraced, could achieve what they had failed to do as favourites and rulers. Yet so it actually came to The agent was Dubois. St. Simon says, that ecclesiastics make bad ministers, because they sacrifice to their own chance of a cardinal's hat all advantages resulting to the state. There seems some ground for his remark. At all events, it was not likely that Dubois could resist what even the good Fleury desired. Having succeeded in becoming an archbishop, he wished to be a cardinal. An exchange of services was soon agreed upon. Jesuits were reinstated at court, and allowed to provide a confessor for the young king. The parliament happened at this moment to be in exile; the minister recalled them, on condition of their formally enregistering the bull, which then became law. The Regent easily leagued with the Jesuits against his old friends; and the Jansenists, both religious and political, were thus in a worse plight than ever. Dubois enjoyed for the short remainder of his life his hat and his title. Neither his being consecrated an archbishop, nor created a cardinal, is a much more remarkable circumstance, than his ever having been introduced into public notice at all, except in the pillory. When he was first trusted in a station of decency, his royal master, who well knew the failings of his old companion, read him a monitory lecture, which for brevity and moderation is a perfect pattern: "L'Abbé, un peu de droiture, je t'en prie!"

But neither the Regent nor his councillor remained much longer on the scene. The Cardinal expired in 1723, unattended by any minister of religion, for he had despatched the priest from his bedside to learn the necessary forms of administering the *Viaticum* to a prince of the Church. His master followed in a few months, leaving his duchess surviving him, and three daughters, whose lives suggested the following epitaph for their parent's tomb: "Here lies Idleness, the mother of all vice." Meantime, the young king was coming to an age of discretion, a period which arrived seven years sooner with the kings of France than with natives of England. His good preceptor, Fleury, had done for him all that he could, all perhaps that could be done for

Louis XV. He had given him some feelings of religion, feelings which developed themselves in some shape or other, however profitless or miserable, throughout his life. The king was not stupid, not cruel; he was not eager for war; he was not jealous of his noblesse; he was not didactically mischievous; he might have exerted his power to procure more immediate and universal desolation; but as far as regards his positive individual duties as a man and a prince, it must be acknowledged that his life could not have been more infamous and disgraceful, if he had been educated by Dubois or Ripperda. At this period, he was attached to Fleury with the fondness of a child; but the old man offered no impediment to the appointment of M. le Duc de Bourbon, as prime minister, reserving only to himself the management of ecclesiastical affairs. This short administration is chiefly remarkable as having provided Louis with a queen. When Philip of Spain acceded, in January, 1720, to the Quadruple Alliance, one of his inducements had been the promise of the young king's hand for the Infanta Mary Anne, who had accordingly been sent, at the mature age of four years, to Paris, to be educated in her future country. Various considerations had now combined to render this alliance unpromising and distasteful; and there were no surer means of nullifying the contract than concluding a fresh one. Our George the First was sounded about the Princess Anne, but he boldly avowed that no daughter of his should become a Roman Catholic. There was a man wandering about the world in embarrassed circumstances, who had been a king, and who was destined to become a king again. He had a daughter, who was gentle, good, pious, pennyless, and homeless; and for her hand he one morning received a proposal from the king of France and Navarre. Stanislaus could make no objections to such an offer, and Maria Leczinska became the Queen of Louis XV. As the Infanta was now a dead weight, the Duc de Bourbon packed the little lady up carefully, and sent her back to Madrid. It may be imagined what the Spaniards, of all the people upon earth, thought of such a proceeding! There never was such an uproar-not even at the Popish Plot or the South Sea Bubble. The course which naturally suggested itself to the populace, was the immediate massacre of every Frenchman in Spain. In fact, they were prevented with difficulty, and by stratagem. The Queen tore off her bracelet, which contained a miniature of Louis, and trampled it under her feet. William Stanhope was then our ambassador at the Spanish court. The Queen turned round to him, "Here's a one-eyed blackguard" (the Duc de Bourbon unfortunately shared the deformity of Hannibal and Philip of Macedon), "here's a one-eyed blackguard," said

she, "has been and sent back my daughter "!" The infuriated lady actually procured a proclamation, by which all Frenchmen were desired instantly to quit the soil of Spain, and was only mollified by a device of her husband, who coolly proceeded to prepare for his own departure, as being included in the proscribed nation. A more important consequence of this very unhandsome step, was the instant reconciliation of the courts of Madrid and Vienna.

The vear after this diplomatic exploit, the Duc de Bourbon was summarily dismissed from power. He could not contain himself within the reasonable limits marked out for him by Fleury. He would have all or none; and the latter portion accordingly became his share, and the former the share of the cardinal. Fleury's sole ministry here commenced; an administration pretty nearly corresponding with that of Walpole in its duration and its policy; though there was difference enough in the character and motives of the two leaders. The period of Fleury's death has been taken as a point at which to separate this reign into two great divisions. As a matter of convenience, there is no objection to this arrangement: it divides the time equally; and, looking broadly over affairs, the first half appears peaceful, and the second warlike. But we shall be quite mistaken if we suppose that the loss of this statesman turned the current of things, or that the extension even of his long life would have averted much of what followed. The death of Fleury was no such signal for changes as the fall of Wolsey or the disgrace of Clarendon. All the elements of political, and social, and religious disorganization had developed themselves, and were at work during his life time. He saw his country plunged into wars; he saw his king plunged into debauchery; he saw the people plunged into infidelity. Versailles in 1740 differed only in degree from Versailles in 1760. Madame de Pompadour was at least as respectable as Madame du Mailly. The Parisian coteries were in full operation. The worst of Voltaire's poems had appeared; and a more infamous writer even than he, the physician La Mettrie, was thriving and publishing in the heart of Paris. The cardinal saw all this, and could only suppose that "when all reverence for heavenly things, and all respect for earthly things, were thus lost, the end of the world was drawing nigh 7." The only troubles which had not yet arisen were those of finance. In Fleury's time the court had been but venially extravagant, and the wars had not yet been paid for. The good old ecclesiastic had removed all the most oppressive

6 Coxe. Bourbon Kings of Spain, ii. 334.

⁷ See the Cardinal's own words quoted from Rauchon's MS. by Schlosser, c. ii. § iii.

imposts; he left a rich revenue without a burdensome tax, one sixth of which paid all state debts,—and died poor. A noble character for a minister of France in the eighteenth century!

A return to our history of the Jesuits will show that another and most powerful element of evil in this wretched kingdom—the quarrels between different classes of society—was actively at work during Fleury's ministry. We left the two religious parties still skirmishing, the Jansenists foiled, and the Jesuits triumphant. We still couple the Jansenists with their redoubtable adversaries, though the real representatives of these principles were now nearly powerless. But a stronger body of auxiliaries was presently to appear on the field, on whom we may say a few words, as they will play a most important part in following scenes. The parliaments of France, eighteen in number, with that of Paris at their head, were the administrators of the law, civil and criminal. throughout the country, and, as they asserted, the guardians of the law also; and their registration of any enactment was necessary to make it binding on the subject. These bodies will appear in most violent opposition to the court, the Jesuits, and the dignified clergy. Evidence will be given to shew that their actuating motives did not generally include a spirit of justice, a spirit of liberty, or a spirit of religion, though such feelings were often pretended, and were, perhaps, sometimes influential with individual members. From the very foundation of the society, they had always looked with an evil eye upon the Jesuits. The Order was a powerful body, living in the heart of the kingdom, with laws of its own, independent of those administered by the parliaments, and perhaps in opposition to them. It was a kind of manifestation of the spiritual power, as distinguished from the temporal; it looked to an Italian general instead of a French king. All this was extremely offensive to the judicial bodies, and their jealousy was exasperated by the rise and success of the Order in spite of them. Especially was their anger excited by the bull *Uniquenitus*, which they asserted, and not without reason, was in derogation of the laws of the land, and the dignity of the Nevertheless, by stratagem and by force, they were constrained, as we have seen, to register this signal triumph of their enemies. But they were ready to exact full compensation for all injuries as soon as an opportunity offered. Fleury's policy towards the Jesuits was such as might have been expected from his character. He was no unflinching partisan of the Order: but he was still less inclined towards Jansenism. He used to say, that the Jesuits were good servants, but bad masters. He saw that infidelity was rampant, and he knew that they would now be its most disciplined antagonists. He was a good Roman Catholic, and

he saw that they were now the sworn allies of the Pope. On the whole, he looked upon them with favour, which was quickened, perhaps, by the compliments of their master. He received a cardinal's hat, and declared himself in support of the bull.

An event soon occurred to bring the parties into actual collision. A bishop had preached what was considered Jansenism; after investigation, he was exiled. The parliament took up his cause on legal grounds, and were only subdued by the introduction of the royal prerogative. Even then they adopted the extraordinary measure of proceeding in person to Marly to remonstrate, but they were dismissed without an audience. Just at this crisis occurred a death which created as great a stir as the death of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey. It was that of the Abbé Paris. He had been (as indeed were many individual Jansenists) a man of great piety and benevolence. His tomb was crowded, first with visitors, and then with worshippers, and the event was, the exhibition of those alleged miracles which every body is acquainted with. These circumstances served to keep the whole city in a tumult; and at this period, even under Fleury himself, the quarrels and recriminations between the parties got to such a pitch as could only be exceeded by the scenes of twenty years later, and were attended with the same dreadful exposure of all reverential subjects to the infidel philosophers. Even as early as this, a bishop actually inserted, in his charge to his clergy, a chanson

against the parliament!

Such was the state in which the cardinal left the kingdom at his death in 1743. There was little probability that any one would be able to check, in their full career, the evils which he had been unable to curb at starting. There was little room for any fresh element of mischief, but the old ones continued working with tenfold activity. The ways of Louis had been evil: they began to get worse. Whatever undisgraceful points of character this monarch possessed, were the remains of his boyish education. After the age of twelve years he made no step in wisdom or knowledge; in firmness or dignity. He was far from being deficient in natural acuteness. He was a shrewd judge of character, and, after Fleury's death, was little under the influence of any of his own sex. His carriage towards the ladies of his court was remarkable for courtliness and grace; towards men his manners were reserved and distant, his replies curt and shy. He shunned all public society. His only occupation was hunting. When the hounds were not ordered of a morning, the word in the palace used to be given with literal truth, Le roi ne fait rien aujourd'hui. In England, though we still have a master of the buckhounds, yet the real barbaric taste for hunting is not traceable in our monarchs below James I. But in France the last Louises were like our first Henries. And certainly it was more royal to hunt boars like Louis XV., than small birds like Louis XIII. Cinq-Mars was very nearly entering into a conspiracy against his master, before that one which cost him his head. It was not that Louis was personally harsh towards him, but no human being, as he said, could stand and catch thrushes more

than seven hours a-day.

Louis XV. was a little in advance of this, but not much. On the first of January he used to mark in his almanack the days of the year on which he intended to migrate successively to Compiègne, Choisy, or Fontainebleau; an arrangement with which the most important political considerations were never allowed to interfere. On rising in the morning, he used to come down a little staircase into the room of his eldest daughter, Mme. Adelaide, often bringing with him a cup of coffee which he had made himself. There he used to drink it, and Mme. Adelaide used to ring for Mme. Victoire, who in turn summoned Mme. Sophie, and Sophie again Mme. Louise, till the royal sisters were all assembled. But poor Mme. Louise slept the farthest off, and was very diminutive and sickly besides, so that by the time she arrived, the king had frequently finished his coffee, and started off to the chase. On his return, he would sup with small parties of his intimate associates, whom he used to weary with perpetual stories of his hunting and his dogs. The rest of his time was spent in pursuits which are but too well known. As regards the relations of his kingdom with foreign states, he does not appear chargeable with much besides neglect. The war of 1741 was the work of his marechals; of 1756, the work of his mistress. All he did was to rival the expenses of the wars by the enormous extravagancies of his private pleasures. Since the days of the Romans so much money had never been spent on the debaucheries of one man. There was no party in the state with whom he was allied. He let his ministers have their own way, because he was indifferent to them and their doings; but he neither esteemed nor trusted them, nor heeded them till he was summoned to a lit de justice. His parliaments he hated, for they opposed him. His clergy he half disliked, for they gave him trouble, and half feared, because of their spiritual powers. His religion was little beyond a dread of the devil, which rose to the highest pitch at the slightest symptom of indisposition. Still, up to the middle of his reign, he was universally popular with those of his subjects who knew the least of him—the body of his people. He had never vexed them much by wars, and his old servant Fleury had relieved them from many of their burdens. His recovery from a sudden attack

in 1744, was hailed with more universal rejoicings than a victory. He was called Louis le bien aimé.

We have said little yet about the secular clergy,—a body which was very influential from their wealth and connexions, and would have been more so had they been united. Many were ex-Jesuits. more held Jesuitical opinions, and a smaller number were Jan-The arrangement of the king's ministry, and the nature of ecclesiastical patronage in France, gave a much greater power to a single individual of infusing his own opinions into the body of the clergy, than exists in this country. The minister who held what was called the Feuille des bénéfices, had almost the absolute disposal of the patronage of the Church, and his sentiments were accordingly represented and propagated in such of his appointments as were not the result of court favour. During the reign of Louis XIV., the efforts of La Chaise and Le Tellier were of course directed to the establishment of Jesuitical influence. Fleury's moderation in this office was very characteristic. would not on any account promote Jansenists, whom he regarded with much dislike and some apprehension. He had a better opinion of the Jesuits, whom he did not altogether exclude, but he was half afraid of any thing decided, peu porté, as D'Alembert expresses it, pour ce qui avait trop d'éclat en quelque genre que ce He therefore bestowed a considerable share of his gifts on the respectable but mediocre community of St. Sulpice, filling up his appointments with men who had neither awkward abilities nor inconvenient activity,—a rule of patronage which has been observed in later days than Fleury's. It did not, however, in this case, exactly answer the good cardinal's expectation; for though his élèves were restrained by a consciousness of inferiority from stirring any questions or creating any strife, yet when times of trouble arose, they were found as helpless as they were innocent, with nothing but lukewarm principles and languid propriety to oppose to the fierce attacks of their clever and malignant foes. But a different system was soon adopted by his successor Bover, Bishop of Mirepoix. This prelate, a man of strong feelings, and energetic disposition, pushed the Jesuits forward into all places of power, and lost no opportunity of depressing their opponents. He was succeeded in 1755 by Rochefoucauld, who reverted to a more temperate policy through the two years of his office. In 1757 he made way for Jarente, Bishop of Orléans, who continued in power till the end of the reign,—a minister, says Sismondi, in no wise distinguished, si ce n'est peut-être par ses mauvaises

From an observation of these facts and dates, the reader will be able to form some idea of the disposition of the French clergy

about the middle of the last century, and he will remark the strength of parties on such occasions of division as we shall mention. The bull of 1713, he will remember, was accepted, in a manner, by thirty-one to nine. There seems to have been generally a very decided majority in favour of the leading principles of the Jesuits, as opposed to the leading principles of Jansenism, whatever may have been the motives of the parties. As far as we can discover, there was no marked inclination to either side shewn by the superior or inferior clergy, as such; nor does there appear much of that jealousy between the two classes which was developed in 1789. It is agreed on all hands, that within a few years of this time, the influence of Jansenism was gone, and that its existence promised to be prolonged but for a short period 8. The party had been worsted in all the conflicts with their opponents. They were low in numbers, and miserably lower in talent. They were disliked by the court, and ridiculed by the nation. It was indeed a most anomalous position which they now occupied. They were heretics in communion with the Church¹. They prayed the Pope's grace, and rejected the Pope's bull. They united the most repulsive tenets of Calvinism with the most corrupt tenets of Romanism. After hearing a sermon which might have been preached by John Knox, they betook themselves to ceremonies which might have been performed before our Lady of Walsingham. They professed unity like a Romish priest, and split among themselves like a meeting of Baptists. They quarrelled even about the scenes of their own composing, and the convulsionistes mitigés looked with the utmost malice on the convulsionistes décidés. It was as if the school of Geneva had declared mesmerism a branch of theology, or as if Dr. Candlish had travelled about with a living Addolorata to testify to the sanctity of the Free Scotch Church. Yet in this state of their affairs, they saw their old enemies prostrated by another and a stronger foe; and, weak as they were, they found means, as an observer remarked, de causer plus d'embarras par leur mort qu'ils n'avoient fait pendant leur vie. Unfortunately, however, we cannot yet get at the story, which is short and clear enough in itself, as the reader will see by and by, but which requires a great many preliminary sketches of persons and parties before it can be intelligibly told. One of these is now coming on the scene.

The royal mistresses had hitherto been short-lived and with little personal influence. Louis, on his sudden illness in 1744,

⁸ D'Alembert. Œuvr. ii. p. 41. 68, ed. 1821. Lacret. iii. 187.

¹ Voltaire indeed says, that "plusieurs commençaient à dire hautement que si on rendait les sacremens si difficiles, on saurait bientôt s'en passer à l'exemple de tant de nations," Siècle de Louis XV. c. xxxvi.

had obeyed the suggestions of his few conscientious attendants, and sent for his queen, whose rival, to the great joy of the nation, was dismissed the court. But he recovered his habits with his health; and at the fête given on the dauphin's marriage, in 1745, the king's attention was attracted by a lady present. She proved to be the wife of Norman d'Etioles, a revenue contractor, and after a short time she appeared at court as the Duchesse de Pompadour. By means of scheming and intrigue, this lady, in course of time, obtained all the privileges she sought, excepting one; she was reconciled, under penance, to the Church; she had her seat, in due place, at court; she corresponded, by and by, with crowned heads: but she could not obtain a Jesuit for a confessor.

The Order had now assumed a very striking position. young dauphin and his queen had by this time a little court of their own, which may be described as the very reverse of their father's. So far from being licentious, it was even ascetical. The dauphin was devout and sober, the queen staid and pious; and as was the master, so of course were the servants. At this court the Jesuits were supreme. Though it had little power in possession, it had some in reversion. Louis's queen and her daughters were known to be this way inclined in secret, and it is confessed that about this point rallied all those of the noblesse who had any attachment remaining to decency, order, or virtue². La Pompadour vainly attempted to ingratiate herself with this little court, with which the Order was now identified. devices, which were successful up to this point, were fruitless beyond; and she remained tacitly rebuked, to abide her opportunity against men who had injured her predecessor and slighted herself, and who only wanted an occasion, which might at any time arise, for returning her to the place from which she came.

Meantime, public affairs looked worse and worse. The king had lost his popularity. The philosophers had gained strength and power. The finances and the ministry were in equal confusion. The peace of 1748 was as little liked in France as in England, and the expences which the war had entailed began to be felt. The distress of the country was universal, and Paris, as usual, was crowded with an enormous influx of desperate beggars. It was thought advisable to clear out these emigrants periodically,—a process, it may well be imagined, of no slight difficulty. In the month of May, 1750, on one of these occasions, the police hit upon the notable scheme of seizing the infants of these miserable creatures, by way of bringing their parents to reason. Their

mothers immediately set up an outcry which ended in a general insurrection. The most absurd and frightful stories were circulated about the destiny of the little wretches who had been taken; stories which most of our readers will remember, and which were not forgotten forty years after. The boldness of Maupeon quelled the tumult, but the most horrible odium rested on the king3. One very great advantage of Fleury's administration had been its stability. What his talents were, has in some measure been seen; but even had they been less, the nation would still have reaped the benefit of unity and uniformity in its government. His years of office were nearly twenty. Few of his successors ruled above a tenth part of the time. Between the years 1756 and 1763—years requiring the utmost ability and management—there were no less than twenty-five ministers in the six departments. And these changes were produced, not, as in our own country, by the simultaneous accession or retirement of a cabinet, but by capricious removals and appointments of individuals, one by one, without reference to their colleagues or to the circumstances of the state. In the year 1749, Machault was minister of finance. The treasury was nearly empty; the drafts upon it increasing. For it may be observed, that at those two periods of exhaustion, following the peace of Aix-la-chapelle and the peace of Paris, the French court, instead of thinking of retrenchment like the English government, actually exaggerated its expenditure to the most enormous extent.

But to return to Machault. Like most financiers, he wanted money. Like many financiers, he cast his eyes on the church. English writers have found serious fault with the French clergy for not consenting to be taxed, and taking their share of the national burthens. Without here enquiring how far the premises are true, or the conclusion sound, we will remark that on the present occasion the clergy were undoubtedly justified in resisting the minister. He did not simply wish to tax them fairly; he wished, and they well knew it, to confiscate a large portion of church property for the immediate wants of the treasury. In particular, he wished to suppress several of the richest monasteries at once. In August, 1749, he procured an edict of mortmain; "an enactment," says Lord Mahon, "which is shown to be unnecessary by the very state of public feeling which permits it to be passed 4." In the same month of the following year he ordered a valuation of all benefices and ecclesiastical foundations whatsoever; a step

³ Lacret. iii. 176.

⁴ Hist. of Eng. ii. 282. But if this remark be just, may it not be said again, that the continuance of the enactment is shown to be necessary by the very state of public feeling which demands its repeal?

which our readers will recollect amongst the preliminaries of 1534. There was no doubt about his intentions. But his projects were disturbed by an outbreak, which monopolized the cares of the ministry and the people, and which, the reader will rejoice

to hear, will bring us still nearer to our story.

It will be readily conceived from the analogy of our own church. that very considerable influence over the secular clergy would rest with the prelate who filled the metropolitan see. The Cardinal de Noailles had been Archbishop of Paris towards the close of the late reign, and through some years of the present. His theological sentiments were strongly opposed to those of the Jesuits; and he had offered a very conspicuous resistance to the bull Unigenitus, which, however, at last he received. His two immediate successors were men of no decided opinions. But after the death of Bellefond, Boyer, the minister for ecclesiastical affairs. whose energetic character we have noticed above, appointed Christopher de Beaumont to the vacant archbishopric. The new metropolitan was a man of noble carriage and brilliant talents; devout and ascetic in his habits, mild in his manner, but stern in his resolves, charitable even to the appropriating the whole of his revenue to almsgiving, but severe and unrelenting towards heretics or schismatics. His influence was soon enlisted on the side of the Jesuits, whether by the intrigues of the order, or by his own discernment. A serious change in the aspect of things speedily occurred. It is impossible to approve, and difficult to condemn, the conduct of the archbishop and his supporters at this period. They were situated as men in other countries and other times had been situated before them. With an eager zeal for God's service, and a readiness to dare or endure any thing in such a cause, they found themselves intrusted with power at a time when sore schisms and gross impieties were staring them in the face. The irreligious doctrines of the infidel philosophic school were now openly disseminated, and had certainly risen to the highest members of the body politic, if they had not yet begun to descend. A tenfold augmentation of what had frightened Fleury might well alarm Beaumont. But he did not commence his attack upon this point. His intention seems to have been first to set the Church in order, to protect its revenues, to secure its unity, and to promote its efficiency. Perhaps with restored discipline, and improved confidence, he meant afterwards to lead his troops against their open foes. An assembly of prelates, under his instructions, protested against the designs of Machault. They also received instructions of a different kind. The pitiable sect of the Jansenists was fast expiring under what had been more fatal than persecution—ridicule and neglect. It is acknowledged that

in the eyes of all, even of the Jesuits, they appeared to be crushed. Yet against this wretched and enfeebled band did Beaumont commence his conscientious crusade. It is worth remarking, at this point, that both Voltaire and D'Alembert gratuitously record their belief in the sincerity of his motives, and the honesty of his

purpose 5.

It seems to have been an occasional practice in former times of religious troubles, for the priest to demand from a dying invalid, or his relatives, some certificate of his faith and doctrine, before administering to him the last consolations of the church. practice Beaumont revived against the Jansenists, and instructed his clergy to refuse the sacraments to all who could not produce a billet de confession, attesting, amongst other things, the communicant's acceptance of the bull Unigenitus. Perhaps even this overt persecution would not have revived the zeal, or increased the importance of the Jansenists, had not they met with most obstinate and unexpected allies. The parliaments, who were only waiting their opportunity, rose fiercely against the proceeding, asserting its utter opposition to the laws of the realm and the rights of the subject, and they were joined by many who had been hitherto neutrals, and who denounced the erection of a tribunal which was nearly akin to the inquisition. The archbishop was resolute, the clergy were firm, and perhaps some of the younger priests, as will necessarily happen, outstripped even their leaders in violence and rigour. The parliaments were incensed, the Parisians excited, the philosophers alert, and the Jansenists obstinate. And now there arose such a scene of madness, such a hideous and outrageous medley of death, dancing, comedy, frenzy, frolic, and blasphemy, that the hags in the Hartz mountains never held such a devil's Sabbath.

No country but France ever could be in such a condition; and France had never been in such a condition before. It was in the interval between the two wars, and the people had not even the diversion of a campaign. Their whole attention was given to these quarrels, in which all the ordinary occupations of life were merged and lost. All religion was outraged. The churches were scenes of violence so frightful, on occasions so solemn, that we cannot transcribe the anecdotes recorded. Sometimes the parliament got the upper hand; and the lieutenant-criminal and the police drove the priests to the administration of the sacraments at the bayonet's point. Sometimes the clergy were predominant, and whole districts were laid under an interdict. The

⁵ D'Alembert, ii. 45. Voltaire, Siècle, c. xxxvi. Besenval, too, writing in 1774 says of him incidentally, "Avait toujours eu la réputation et la conduite d'un prélat pieux, et d'un homme de bien." Mémoires, i. 296.

dving were excommunicated. The dead were unburied. At Auxerre and Orleans the corpses accumulated by scores. The Sisters of Charity ceased from their duties, and the sick perished miserably in the hospitals, untended and unheeded. Reality was insufficient. Healthy Jansenists counterfeited illness in order to obtain notoriety. Infidels counterfeited Jansenism to aggravate the mischief, and pretended the agonies of death, that they might amuse themselves with theological quarrels. All law was suspended. The parliaments abjured their functions, and nothing was a crime but the refusal of the sacraments. The inferior courts followed their example, and all justice was at an end. In the midst of all this. neither party omitted the use of the national weapons. Each attacked the doctrinal opinions of the other in satires and epigrams. The Jesuits were strongest with the pen; and they wrote comedies on Calvinistic tenets, which their scholars represented amidst unbounded applause. The Jansenists had the most skilful pencils; and they published daily caricatures of their opponents, which threw all Paris into convulsions of delight. Meantime the philosophers availed themselves of this diversion to speak out more boldly. Infamous publications were multiplied with fearful rapidity, and the rabble howled out the most impious songs in

the street from morning to night.

But where was this to stop? what were the supreme authorities of the land to do? English writers have vehemently censured the court of France for interfering in these quarrels, for meddling in theological disputes to their own odium and peril. A glance at the last paragraph will have shown what was the justice of these complaints. Mr. Pitt might as well be blamed for interfering in the mutiny at the Nore. Not interfere! Why the king was the guardian of the state, and the state was on the point of disruption; he was the keeper of the laws, and the laws were suspended; he was the protector of his people, and his people were cutting each other's throats. The culpability of the court was in its too great indifference, in its too great impartiality. It had the power of crushing either party. It hurt neither. It will be remembered that Machault, the minister of finance, was meditating a blow at the Church when these riots broke out. The minister-at-war was D'Argenson, who had as great a dislike to the parliaments as his colleague had to the clergy. It was clear that either statesman had now an admirable opportunity of achieving his object by throwing the whole power of the court into one scale or the other. D'Argenson might exile the parliaments, and Machault might rob the Church. La Pompadour inclined to the latter plan; the king to the former; but as yet they feared to take any decisive step. The parliaments, in the interval, had

grown still more audacious. On the 18th of April, 1752, they published an arrêt declaring that the bull was not an article of faith. They even decreed the arrest of ecclesiastics, and the confiscation of their property. At last they overshot their mark. A sister of one of the Parisian nunneries (now the strongholds of Jansenism) feigned sickness. The curé of St. Medard refused her the sacraments. The archbishop approved his conduct, and the parliament condemned both. D'Argenson in the mean time took the nun into custody by a lettre de cachet, and removed her from the scene. The parliament grew furious, and in its rage attacked even the legality of the arrest. The older members in vain pointed out the dangerous ground they were here approaching; the violent party (as usual) prevailed, and on the 5th of April, 1753, they passed remonstrances against these arbitrary arrests, in which they were actually foolish enough to reflect strongly on the Lady Pompadour. The student will observe at this point the character of the quarrel, and the various stages through which it had passed either by accident or by intrigue. It was first Machault and the clergy who were the two parties; then it was the clergy and the Jansenists; then the clergy and the magistracy; and, at last, the magistracy and the court. Moreover, the theological question has been, to a great extent, eliminated, and the parties are joining issue on a point of prerogative. It was like a piece of very clever generalship.

In effect, however, the parliaments had now committed themselves, and were beaten. On the 4th of May their revolt was punished by a whole Gazette of arrests and exiles. The struggles between these judicial bodies and the court are extremely interesting; they continue to recur in an aggravated form throughout this reign, till the whole magistracy of the kingdom is at open war with the king; in fact, they terminated only with Maupeou's coup d'état, in 1771. We have no space to follow them here; and it is needless of course to remark how largely they must have contributed to the disorganization of society. The tactics on either side seem curious to us. The court used to condemn the parliaments. The parliaments used to abjure their functions, and thereby suspend all administration of justice. The court then established tribunals ad interim, but advocates and suitors alike disdained them, and the new magistrates were hooted at. On the present occasion the grand' chambre was ordered to take the duties of the parliament, and empowered by an edict to discharge them. It refused to register, and thereby to legalize, the edict which gave it these powers. It was therefore dissolved, and in November a chambre royale was established to administer the laws. But the people treated it with open contempt and insult. Let

the reader imagine the state of society during this anarchy. A thief, who had been condemned to death in the inferior court of the Châtelet, made his appeal to the *chambre royale*, which confirmed the sentence, and secured him in his title to the gallows. The Châtelet politely regretted the occurrence, but assured him that they really could not hang him under this warrant, and that he must make his appeal to the parliament of Paris. This he conscientiously declined, (il avait décliné cette jurisdiction,) and he actually remained for some weeks unhanged, a martyr to his political sentiments 6. But a compromise soon became absolutely necessary, and the birth of the second son of the dauphin, the Duc de Berry, seemed to offer a decent opportunity. The Cardinal de La Rochefoucauld, who afterwards succeeded Boyer in the ministry, obtained from the prelates a promise of abandoning the billets de confession. They obtained in return a dismissal of their enemy Machault, who was transferred from the comptrollergeneralship to the ministry of Marine. The Jansenists were released from annoyance, but enjoined to strict silence on theological topics. The parliaments were recalled from exile, and pardoned under pretext of rejoicings at the birth of the prince; a prince who was afterwards Louis XVI. The court had thus quieted all parties in appearance, and chuckled cheerfully over its ingenuity. In fact, it had made them all enemies, for it had provoked all in turn; it had made no friends, for it had shown that in turn it could forsake all, and all the sensible part of the nation (which was not large) saw its feebleness and its folly. However, things went a little smoother at present; the court danced minuets, the Jansenists wrote long pamphlets to prove that they ought not to write at all; the magistrates again sold justice on reasonable terms, and plaintiffs and defendants, as Voltaire expresses it, eurent la liberté de se ruiner à l'ordinaire.

But it was soon found that neither side could hold their peace. The quarrels recommenced but a few weeks afterwards; and the court this time, to show their impartiality, banished the other side. Beaumont was sent to his country palace, and other prelates and clergy were exiled farther. The court endeavoured to make terms with Beaumont; and, by way of a suitable agent, sent the Duc de Richelieu to him. If the reader can imagine the Duke of Queensberry selected to argue John Wesley into a more orthodox style of preaching, he will have some idea of this notable embassy, and will hardly require to be told that it failed. Two things, however, contributed, for the time, to check these disputes,—a new minister and a new war. On the 20th of August, 1755, Boyer died, and was succeeded by La Rochefou-

⁶ Lacret. iii. 202,

cauld, whose moderate sentiments we have before described. And, in a few months, the seven years' war furnished the nation with something to do, though it speedily grew tired of a war so many miles off, and reverted to its own quarrels at home.

All this while other matters were getting worse and worse. The infidelity of the philosophers was extending itself more boldly and widely every day. The unpopularity of the king was increasing. Louis now grew more wicked and more childish. Amidst all his outrageous extravagancies he made a private hoard of his own. He used to sell bits of crown property, and have the money brought to him in his own chamber by the purchaser. By and by, he even began to trade on his own account. Other monarchs have done this, but the motives of Louis were not exactly those of Edward IV. or the late king of Holland. In the evenings he used to sit down to exceedingly high play with the few courtiers admitted to his intimacy. If he won of them, he used to make it up to them by giving them governments and places; if he lost, he used to reimburse himself from the treasury. To amuse himself on a wet morning, he devised the following ingenious scheme. Independent of his ministry, and quite unknown to them, he had a private secretary for foreign affairs, and a little private office. To this office was brought, every Sunday, a collection of extracts from all the correspondence which during the week had passed through the post, and which had been carefully selected by a secret board of six or seven clerks in that establishment. The adroitness of these subalterns in opening letters without defacing the seals, is said to have been admirable, though they worked without any fear of a Mr. Duncombe before their eyes. By such means as these, the king not only obtained possession of sundry pleasant court secrets, but he checked closely the correspondence of his ministers with foreign courts. At each of these courts was a private agent secretly accredited by Louis; and the orders of this individual the French ambassador was directed to prefer to his official instructions. This conduct of the king was less the result of suspicion than of a wish to amuse himself; but the utter confusion and anarchy produced in the diplomatic circles by this duplicate staff of officers can be readily conceived. The historian, after relating it, simply adds, that amidst the total disorganization of all the other departments of government, it did not attract any particular attention 7.

We have lost sight of the Jesuits for some time; unless, indeed, the reader has traced their secret agency in some of these transactions. There is little doubt that they influenced

⁷ Sism. xxix. 308.

considerably the actions of the Beaumont party, and for objects of their own, though in these objects we may fairly include the suppression of infidelity and schism. They had been successful in all their designs, and triumphant over all their enemies; they were threatened with no attack, and yet their end drew nigh. By a most strange combination of circumstances, they were deprived of every ally at the moment when every post of power was in the hand of their enemies; and at this very crisis an accident occurred, which not only enabled, but compelled, the authorities to pronounce a judgment, of some kind or other, on the very existence of the Order.

There were four parties who might be considered as having, more or less, a voice in the matter—the people, the philosophers, the parliament, and the court. Of these, the people had far the least, if indeed they can be really reckoned as having any at all. They were an ignorant and harmless race; and, during Fleury's administration, had been well-fed and happy. It was not until they had felt the pressure of severe want, that they listened to the frightful tales that were told about their king, and even then their loyalty returned, in the most striking manner, at his recovery from sickness or escape from danger. They had no newspapers, they never saw a journal, they had entered into none of the discussions of the day, for the doctrines of the infidel school had, as yet, only spread upwards. Yet, amongst this class, it is recorded that the Jesuits were almost universally hated. Perhaps fear had no small share in this dislike. The powerful party of the philosophers made no secret of their motives or their aims. They had now designed war against all religion, and declared it against all religious establishments. To destroy the Jesuits was absolutely necessary before they could attack the Church1. This solid column of disciplined soldiers not only checked their advance, but threatened to become the assailants; and they turned on it just as Napoleon, in 1815, moved on Charleroi, well knowing that if he could crush the 35,000 English, he might after-

⁸ See Lady M. W. Montagu's letter, quoted by Lord Mahon, Hist. of Eng. ii. 152.

¹ There is no possibility of mistaking the animus of the philosopher on this point. See D'Alembert, ii. 56. 68. 104. In one place he says, "Les Jésuites étaient des troupes régulières, ralliées et disciplinées sous l'étendard de la superstition; c'était la phalange Macédonienne qu'il importait à la raison de voir rompue et détruite. Les Jansénistes ne sont que des cosaques et des pandours," &c. In another he reckons unhesitatingly on the consequent ruin of all other religious orders, "En attendant ce désastre des communautés monastiques et ce bonheur pour l'état, continuons," &c. Voltaire says of the fall of the Jesuits, "Il fit espérer qu'on pourrait un jour diminuer dans l'Europe cette foule d'hommes inutiles," i. e. monks. Siecle, c. xxxix. See, too, what Sismondi says of the philosophers, xxix. 227, "Se croyant assurés qu'après celuilà les autres (ordres religieux) ne tarderoient pas à tomber." The mixed tone of respect and hatred with which these writers speak of the Jesuits is very remarkable.

wards handle as he pleased the half million of Russians who were marching in masses upon the Rhine. The temper of the parliament we have before described; that it was not mollified by their recent exile, we may readily believe. The court consisted of three parties, which we mention in the order of their influence—the mistress, the ministers, and the king. La Pompadour, by this time, had shown her singular talents; she had long ago made herself powerful, she had now made herself respectable. She had secured the regard or the obedience of everybody, except the Dauphin and the Jesuits; and for their contumacy she threatened full revenge. The minister we shall presently speak of. The king was inclined to the side of the Order, but he was averse to take trouble on any score, and was heartily sick of the bull *Unigenitus*. Nevertheless, it is probable that his consent to their destruction would not have been obtained, had it not been for an event of some little importance. The night of the 5th of January, 1757, was bitterly cold. six o'clock a crowd had collected under the archway at Versailles to see Louis set out for Trianon. The courtyard was badly lighted, and the spectators were all muffled up in thick coats. this dress, a man stepped up to the royal carriage, and, as the king passed, stuck the small blade of a pocket-knife into his ribs. It was soon found that the wound was but an insignificant scratch; but Louis would not be comforted. No assurances of the surgeons could give him courage. For days and days afterwards, though without pain or fever, he laid in bed, dreading momentary death, and horribly afraid—as well he might be—of the devil. Precisely as he did on falling sick at Metz thirteen years before, he professed universal penitence. He sent off La Pompadour; he sent for his neglected queen; and entrusted the state to his ill-treated son. But his amendment, as before, lasted not a day longer than his illness; and not even his fears could prolong that much. The incoherent ravings which torture extracted from the wretched Damiens, were sufficient proof of his character and his crime. It was clear that he was an idiot, without party, accomplice, or motive. But the Jesuits had the credit of teaching regicide, and a vast number of people either believed, or pretended to believe, that they were his advisers. The fact that the king's prepossessions were the chief obstacle to the enemies of the Order, was quite set aside in considering the evidence.

About the same time that our first Pitt became premier, the French cabinet received an accession in the Duc de Choiseul; a person who in some respects bore the same relation to his predecessors that Pitt did to the Duke of Newcastle. At all events, he was full of energy, enterprize, and hope, and by no means

wanting in talent. Like Pitt, he turned all the spirit of the nation to the war; but there ends all resemblance between the actions or successes of the two. It is only with a part of his character and position that we are here concerned. Until he became minister, the court had seemed to hold the balance impartially between the Church and the parliaments; Machault and D'Argenson counterpoised each other; the king trusted neither, and was offended with both. But Choiseul, both from disposition and interest, took a more decided part. He enjoyed the favour of Madame de Pompadour, and had been indebted to her influence. He shared her dislike to the clergy and the Jesuits, with whom he had an ancient feud. He was on good terms with the philosophers, who were old acquaintances of his, and whose views against religion he had little objection to forward. As a natural consequence, he inclined to the parliaments from his aversion to the clergy, but he also adopted such a course from deliberate policy. The parliament, partly from their opposition to the clergy, but more from their resistance to taxation, had a large share of the public favour, and promised to have more; and Choiseul selected them as the most advantageous allies. To this formidable combination of interests, he added a monopoly of power, which had been enjoyed by no one man since the days of Fleury. In 1757, he was appointed to the ministry of foreign affairs; in January, 1761, he was made minister of war; and in the following October, minister of marine. On taking the last appointment, he resigned the foreign affairs to his cousin, the Duc de Praslin, still, however, retaining his influence; which he also exercised in a like degree over the minister of finance. with all this, so great was his dexterity and address, that he even conciliated the old noblesse of the kingdom, who thought him anxious for their advancement. He was indeed a man with some great and a few good qualities.

The reader will now see what a threatening host of foes was gathering on every side around the Order of Jesus. Still it was not probable that any blow would be struck, unless some tempting opportunity should arise. The clouds had collected thickly and gloomily; but, unless some incidental attraction proved too strong, it was very possible they might disperse without a storm. Meantime, the Order waited the event with unchangeable demeanour. Not a man deserted its ranks, not a voice spoke of compromise, not a hand relaxed its efforts. Amidst a cloud of sharp-tongued infidels and clever controversialists, they held on their way, propounding the highest ultramontane doctrines as boldly as they had done two centuries before. The philosophers had now all the field of wit and rhetoric to themselves. Like a

regular army, the Jesuits refused to treat with rebels. Like the indignant Roman in the old forum, they disdained to plead, "Oratio rebus dubiis inventa est." They descended to no reasoning or recrimination. When powerless, they held their own with inflexible obstinacy and dogged silence. When in power, they despatched their unanswered opponents to the dungeon or the stake. They could not argue, but they could burn. And either

actively or neutrally might the verb be taken.

On Monday, the 21st of July, 1755, his Britannic Majesty's fleet of eighteen sail of the line, under the flag of Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Hawke, K.B., set sail from Spithead. The Duke of Newcastle, with characteristic firmness and decision, had proposed that the gallant Admiral should have no instructions at all. but be told merely to go and exercise his fleet in the channel. And he actually did sail previous to any declaration of war, and with an understanding that he might attack a French ship of the line, but not disturb any smaller vessels or merchant ships. But a few days afterwards, another voice made itself heard, and counter instructions were sent out, directing him to seize and destroy every thing belonging to the French king, or the French nation. These counter instructions did a deal of work. They revived the English spirit. They destroyed the French navy. They filled the English ports with French merchant vessels, and English purses with French treasure. Amongst other things, they suppressed the Order of Jesuits in France.

At this period, Father La Valette, a French Jesuit, was at the head of the Society's missions in Martinique, and had the management of mercantile transactions to an enormous extent. But La Valette's ships shared the fate of most other French vessels, and found their way to Spithead instead of to Brest. Against so heavy a loss as this La Valette found it impossible to bear up, and the Order, with a strange want both of liberality and prudence, refused the responsibility of his engagements, and abandoned him to his fate. He accordingly declared himself a bankrupt for three millions of livres. But his creditors were by no means willing to acquiesce in this exemption of the Society from the liability of its members; and one of them, Lioncy, a merchant of Lyons, either bolder than the rest, or rendered desperate by his immense losses, commenced an action against the whole Order for the sum of a million and a half of livres due to him from La Valette. The Society had the privilege of being judged by the grand council, but instead of availing themselves of this right, they had the unaccountable weakness to bring the case before the parliament of Paris, being actuated, as D'Alembert says, by a conviction of the strength of their case. When

the parliament was the judge, and the Jesuits the defendants, the reader will hardly require to be told that the plaintiff got a verdict. On the 8th of May, 1761, the Order was pronounced liable to the whole of La Valette's debts, and responsible, as a corporate body, to each and all of his creditors. But the case did not stop here. The chief plea of the Jesuits was, that commerce was formerly forbidden by their Institute; that La Valette, if he had engaged in trade, had broken his vows, and therefore could not possibly claim any aid from his brethren. Upon this the court demanded the production of their statutes, and the Jesuits were thus compelled to lay before the parliament all their secret laws and ordinances—laws which had never yet been submitted to the public, nor ever yet received that formal approval by the temporal authorities, which was now considered necessary for The consequence was, that the legality of the their ratification. Institute was now called in question, and on the 6th of August following, an arrêt of parliament was published, commanding the Jesuits to appear at the expiration of twelve months from that day, to receive sentence on their statutes and constitution. pending this decision, the provisional closing of all their colleges

was enjoined from the first day of October ensuing.

Yet all this was just nothing at all. The parliament had oftentimes spoken just as loudly, and as often eaten its own words. Its right of jurisdiction in this case was extremely doubtful. A nod from the king, and a score of mousquetaires from the guard-room would have re-established the Order, and sent off the parliament to Pontoise. In fact, there did appear a royal edict postponing the closing of the colleges from the first of October to the first of April. But now came into play all those parties and interests which, with a view to this crisis, we have sketched in the foregoing pages. If the reader will look back either in his book or in his memory, he will see that every power in the state is now in action, by a fatal combination, against the Jesuits. The people backed the parliament; the philosophers dashed at the opportunity; Boyer and D'Argenson were gone; the whole ministry was represented by Choiseul; and the mistress was at the height of her power. Perhaps it would be impossible to name another point on which these usually jarring interests could so have combined. There were still two individuals whom it was necessary to consult after a fashion—the two highest personages in the realm, the dauphin and the king. But the former was almost a cipher. He presented a memorial to the king in favour of the Jesuits, but Choiseul treated him with undisguised insult. "Peutêtre, Monsieur," said he, "serai-je un jour assez malheureux pour être votre sujet, mais certainement, je ne serai jamais à votre service." The king was a more difficult person to secure. He did not love the Jesuits much, but he loved his ministers and parliaments less. His instinct, too, the sole remnant of Fleury's instructions, was against meddling with any religious Order. But this was a singularly convenient occasion. He was not called upon to prosecute or condemn. He had only to sit still and not take any trouble. Still it is probable that he would not have borne even this negative part in the destruction of the Society, had it not been for the late affair of Damiens. La Pompadour was hourly at hand to watch his temper and seize her opportuni-Against his fear of the priests, she set his fear of being murdered. The catastrophe in Portugal was very seasonable, and the Jesuits were attacked by that ingenious evidence, which proves a man guilty of one crime by charging him with another. Then there was the ascetic court of the dauphin, which could easily be represented as a tacit reproach on that of Louis; and his growing unpopularity, which could be traced to the scandalous tongues of these morose monks. Above all, there was the daily repetition of such arguments by a clever and watchful attendant, who could embellish or diversify them to suit the occasion.

In effect, Louis offered but little opposition. When first informed of the arrêt of August 6th, 1761, he seemed inclined to quash it. In the interval he consulted such bishops as were at hand. Forty supported the Order boldly, six suggested a modification of its Institute, one advised its total abolition. The king published a temporizing edict, securing the safety of the Society with some amendment of its constitution. The parliament refused to register this edict, and Louis, at first angry, soon forgot all about it. At length the fatal day came round again, and on the 6th of August, 1762, the parliament pronounced another arrêt, declaring the Institute of the Jesuits contrary to the laws of the realm, the allegiance due to the sovereign, the safety of his person, and the tranquillity of the state. And it thereby condemned the whole Order, secularized it, and directed the sale and confiscation of its property. Louis had now been talked into a compliant or careless mood. When Choiseul requested his final acquiescence, "Soit," said he, laughing, "je ne serai pas jáché de voir le père Desmarets (his confessor) en abbé." And so fell the Order of Jesus.

The other parliaments of the kingdom soon followed the example of the metropolitan court. For a short time the Jesuits lived dispersed over the country, wearing the secular habit; and they were even seen at court, and in greater numbers than before. A more dangerous body to leave half-destroyed could not well be imagined. The parliament presently ordered, that within a week

every Jesuit, professed or non-professed, should take an oath to renounce the Institute or be banished the kingdom. They chose, almost to a man, to suffer exile rather than abjure their vows.

There are many points for consideration in this remarkable event. It was not overlooked at the time by intelligent observers, that a society whose laxity of morals and duplicity of conduct had passed into a proverb, fell at last from the austerity of its devotion and the strictness of its integrity. Had they accepted the overtures of Madame de Pompadour, they would never have been forsaken by the court; had they taken, under any mental reservation, a prescribed oath, they would never have been banished the realm. It seems impossible to impeach their sincerity in this latter step; in the former they may, perhaps, be considered as embracing the party of the dauphin for good or for evil. It is certain that any historian of this singular Order will always have to suspect a secret motive for its actions, and often to discover an unrighteous one. But if we refuse them the praise of frankness, we must at least give them the credit of sagacity; and it is not clear that the line they took in the present case was worthy of the most scheming politicians in Europe. There will always, in every court, be a party of the heir-apparent. A Prince of Wales in opposition was certainly no strange occurrence in the last century, nor would any fault, perhaps, be found with the tactics of Sir Spencer Compton or Lord Bute. But there was never an heir-apparent with so little power or influence as this dauphin. Not when Prince Frederick was banished to Norfolk House, was he half as much set aside. His favour was not simply useless, it was actually detrimental. Nor was there any thing in posse to compensate for this extraordinary poverty in His accession was indefinitely distant, and even altogether uncertain. The king was a good life, and most nervously careful of his health. The prince was not healthy, and of late years there seemed to have been a law of nature against regular succession to the French throne, which, indeed, was confirmed in the present case. Neither did the Jesuits embrace this party in spite or of necessity. There were open arms for them on the other side. What a strange Society it is, of which we can hardly believe the best, even while we admit its greater probability!

Whatever may have been the origin of the Jesuits' policy, it cannot be denied that they fell while defending a glorious position, and fighting in a good cause. Their enemies were the enemies of all religion and right, except where they were actuated by mere party rancour. Their friends were the friends of all decency and virtue, and they had few supporters on any other grounds. On one side were the infidel philosophers, the spiteful concubine,

the unscrupulous minister, and the savage parliaments. On the other were the pious queen and the good old Stanislaus, the devout dauphin and his quiet wife, all the princesses, and all the nobles of the court who were not living a life of licentiousness and extravagance. However it might so have happened, it is certain that they were identified at this time with all the virtue that was left at Versailles. Nor had they altogether fallen from their high estate. It is true they were relaxed in doctrine, ambitious in their views, unscrupulous in their means. It is true that they now toiled less for the Church, than for the Order. But they still showed an imposing front to the world. They were still unmatched in wealth and wisdom. They had won the sovereignty of an empire, which, in many respects, put European kingdoms to shame. They had succeeded in what all other colonists up to that time had failed in doing, and up to this time have failed still. They had imparted civilization to savages. They had come in contact with the red-skinned race, and had not destroyed them. They had landed on their shores, and made them happier than they were before. They had taught them European virtues, and not taught them European vices. Under their guidance the Indians built cities, and amassed wealth, and increased and multiplied into a vast population. Has the London Missionary Society ever done more? or the United States as much? No doubt they overlooked the leading principles of civil and religious liberty; but a reflecting Wesleyan will admit, that popery and priestcraft are elements of less immediate destructiveness than grooved-rifles and gin, and that the Jesuits may be excused for introducing submission, where no other European had introduced any thing but the small-pox. The Order might well be an object of suspicion, of fear, or of avoidance, but it must have necessarily commanded admiration and respect. If its purity was gone, its energy remained. For some purpose or other its members were still making converts in every corner of the earth. They were still preaching in islands that none but Anson's crew had ever heard of, and teaching in tongues that no philosopher could understand. To some end or other they were still pressing onward with determined will; and their bearing would not be the less awful and impressive from the belief that even justice, or mercy, or truth, might oppose their progress in vain.

The sudden ruin of this powerful body is matter both for reflection and surprise. The combinations which destroyed them were all fortuitous. There was no deep strategy employed against them; they fell from a series of accidents. The French vessels were surprised by the English before the declaration of war. The Jesuits themselves selected the parliament as their judges. The

parliament originally had no idea of investigating the Institute. The court at first had no idea of leaving affairs in the hands of the parliament. It is even said, and we think with much probability, that the king actually did order his chancellor to quash the first arrêt, but that the minister delayed till the opportunity was lost². Had the events occurred a year or two sooner, Damiens would have been alive; had they occurred a year or two later, La Pompadour would have been dead. In either case the Jesuits would have been safe with Louis. No parties were more astounded at the catastrophe than the enemies of the Order. D'Alembert can scarcely believe in the reality of the occurrence, even while relating the circumstances. After all, says he, c'est un beau chapitre à ajouter à l'histoire des grands événemens par les petites causes.

The feeble congregations of Calvinists set up a weak and sickly crow, as the towering structure of their enemies' power rushed ruinously to the ground. But their chirping was speedily checked, as they learnt from the most unequivocal demonstrations of contempt and scorn, that if the Jesuits had been destroyed, it was not on their behalf, nor for their advancement. Politically speaking, Jansenism had been long extinct. As a modification of religious dissent in the Romish communion, it numbered its followers then as it does now, and as it probably will do for years to come. But their credit and influence had long since departed. The Jansenists of 1760, to use the expression of D'Alembert, had no more claim to the inheritance of Arnauld and Pascal, than a valet-de-chambre to the title of his master, whose old clothes have been bequeathed to him. In the eyes of the ministry they were totally insignificant; in the eyes of the philosophers they were utterly despicable; and with the court they had no more influence than the editor of the Record with the Ecclesiastical Commission. The reader will have seen how little share they had in the overthrow of the Jesuits. The catastrophe arose from accidents, and the accidents from the general hate and fear with which the Order was regarded; but such hatred was not the mere hatred of theological opposition. Its roots ran much wider and deeper. There had been no Portroyal at Lisbon, nor was there any Saint-Géneviève at Toledo, and yet the Jesuits were expelled both from Portugal and from Spain.

² See all the court-gossip about Louis and Choiseul and the Jesuits in Besenval. Mémoires, i. 242. 248. 287. Beginning one story, he says, "Je tiens de lui (i.e. Choiseul) que ce fût;" &c. We are inclined to think the Baron has described Choiseul's feelings on the subject pretty accurately, and that the Duke was less bent upon the business, at all events at first, than has been imagined. He was not a man to cherish any deep designs of hatred or policy.

It is equally clear that no feelings of religion, or at least of religious liberty, were operative on the parliaments. Perhaps the reader may have imagined a liberal and enlightened body, firmly resisting ecclesiastical tyranny, and running every risk to secure the spiritual freedom of the people. If so, he must obliterate his picture and prepare his canvass afresh. Assemblies of men more bigoted and narrow-minded never congregated in houses made with hands. They resisted taxes and declaimed about oppression; but it was out of opposition to the court, and because they liked no tyranny but their own. In all their own duties they showed as despotic and overbearing a spirit as ever had been displayed at Syracuse or Algiers. Within twelve months after condemning the Jesuits, they interdicted all inoculation till the faculty of theology had been consulted, though the small-pox was devastating the kingdom like an Egyptian plague. At the same period they denounced the philosophers. who laughed them to scorn, and persecuted the Huguenots, who unfortunately could neither resist nor escape. They encouraged the dragonnades, hanged Protestant ministers in their shirts, and cut off the heads of their congregations. The parliament of Toulouse sent Calas to the wheel; and the parliament of Paris showed its lenity to La Barre, by allowing him to lose his head before being burnt alive. As criminal judges they were infamous. They worked with that infernal spirit which Sismondi calls la chasse aux crimes³,—a spirit which supplied the worst features of our worst trials for witchcraft and treason. It would have been fortunate for France if no act of the National Assembly had been worse than that which abolished for ever these iniquitous tribunals.

If the reader's studies have ever been much directed to the various collisions of secular and ecclesiastical bodies which history records, he will be exceedingly surprised that we have as yet made no mention of the corporate property of the Jesuits as tempting or rewarding their opponents. It is true that the Order

The words of the historian at this point are worth transcribing. "Au reste, c'est peut-être encore faire trop d'honneur aux juges que d'attribuer leur cruauté au désir d'agir sur la morale publique; indépendamment d'une passion que l'habitude avoit nourrie en eux et qu'on pourroit nommer celle de la chasse aux crimes, de ce sentiment de succès qu'ils attachoient à une conviction inattendue, ils sembloient chercher bassement la popularité en secondant les préventions publiques," xxix. 299. A pretty picture of a magistracy, it must be allowed! See, too, what he says, p. 216. This chasse aux crimes was the spirit of the Roman courts under the Cæsars; and if borne in mind, it will explain the otherwise perplexing argument which Tertullian continues through the opening chapters of his Apology. "Your object," says he to the Romans, "is to find your prisoner guilty, and punish him. How can you be so mad as to force us to deny our faith, and so damage your own chances of getting convictions?"

was rich, the treasury poor, and the king extravagant; it is certain, too, that mention was made of this little circumstance before the catastrophe. But, upon the whole, after a deliberate view of the case, we confess we have arrived at the singular and anomalous conclusion, that the state did, in this instance, suppress a religious order without being perceptibly influenced by the prospect of its wealth. As a matter of course, when the affair was once over, a confiscation and sale of goods naturally followed; but the venture was as little successful as the more brilliant speculations of 1536 and 1789. Henry the VIIIth complained in the most touching language that he got so little by the monasteries; and he proved the reality of his hardship to the most incredulous of his subjects, by calling upon them for larger and more frequent subsidies than before4. The National Assembly experienced an equally mortifying disappointment in their intelligent calculations. Though the property of the French Church in 1789 was really immense, yet it proved too small to preserve its independent existence amidst the numerous fingers through which it was successively filtered. No state-policy descends from the government to the populace more rapidly than that of confiscation. A host of subordinate patriots, who each plundered to the extent of his private powers, soon left but a nominal residue to the immaculate projectors of the scheme. A like result followed in the present case. The possessions of the Order were all sold; but it is expressly recorded, that the royal treasury was little the richer, and that the minister, if ever he really had reckoned on this resource, was grievously mistaken⁶. It may be laid down as a principle in matters of this sort, that the personal property of the suppressed society comprises almost all its available assets.

As we have alluded to the fate of the Jesuits in other countries, we avail ourselves of the little space now remaining to us, to state some of the facts. The dates should be carefully observed to make them bear on the foregoing history. On the night of the 3rd of September, 1758, King Joseph of Portugal was fired at in his carriage on his way to Belem, and slightly wounded in the arm. Two of his chief nobles with their families were arrested for this act three months afterwards. Of the circumstances of the case we will say no more than that, upon a similar provocation, Lord Capel and the Earl of Derby might have conspired to assassinate King Charles the First. It was asserted that before the act they had confessed and received absolution from three

6 Sism. xxix. 234.

Collier (quoting Sir E. Coke), ii. 161, ed. 1714.
 Alison's Hist. of French Revolution, i. 237.

Jesuits, who were also apprehended. Two died in prison, the third was burnt alive; and on the night of the next third of September, 1759, all Jesuits were banished the realm. In Spain the circumstances of the catastrophe were more curious. Compact, and the influence of the Duc de Choiseul, combined, with the personal inclinations of Charles III., to introduce foreign manners at the court of Madrid. A Neapolitan, named Squillare, in 1766, was Charles's minister of finance; and like other foreigners in like situations, was desperately unpopular. Still the Castillians put up with a good deal. But in all countries some particular measure will every now and then shake the nation like an earthquake. In England it is an Excise Bill, or a Cyder Tax; in Spain it was a Lighting and Paving Act. Squillare tried some odious taxes, and the Spaniards growled audibly. He interdicted the national costume of the cloak and slouched hat, and the people staggered under the shock. At last he lit the streets of Madrid at night with five thousand reflecting-lamps; and the whole city rose as one man in the most frantic fury at this outrageous interference with the right of private murder. A regiment of Walloons was massacred in an instant. The people were rushing into the palace, when the king appeared in the balcony, and gave a verbal assent to all their demands. The minister was accordingly exiled, the cloaks restored, and the lamps extinguished. But Charles could by no means get over the insult; and in the gardens of Aranjuez he brooded secretly over the outbreak, and searched anxiously for the ringleaders. The Jesuits in the eighteenth century were like the Jews in the thirteenth; they were charged with every crime that was committed. They bore the burden even of this. The Count d'Aranda, a correspondent of Choiseul's, brought in his pocket to the king a little inkstand and a sheet of paper, and Charles signed with the utmost secrecy an order for the sudden seizure and shipment of all the Jesuits in Spain. At midnight, on the 31st of March, 1767, they were arrested in their beds, hurried into carriages prepared for them, and driven down to the sea-coast without a moment's delay. Similar scenes occurred in the other Bourbon states of Naples and Parma. The whole of these unfortunate monks were transported to the Italian coast, as their proper settlement, and disembarked at Civita Vecchia literally by ship-loads. D'Alembert asserted that their brethren in Italy offered them no assistance; but in his subsequent writings he candidly corrected himself, and admitted that every thing was done by the Italian Jesuits which charity could suggest, or their means would permit 7. One of the vessels on her voyage fell in with the Algerines; but these corsairs set Christians a lesson of humanity, and

dismissed the poor priests without hurt or insult.

But, the reader will probably say, what, all this while, was doing at Rome? Did the Pope see all this without interference of any kind? The truth is, the pontiff in these times had but The great monarchies were just Catholic enough to desire the use of his name, not Catholic enough to consult his wishes. Benedict XIV, had been disinclined towards the Jesuits. or rather disinclined towards their proceedings. peace to proselytism. His successor Clement XIII. was a strong friend to the Order, but he ascended the papal throne just in time to see its ruin. It was in vain that he prayed and protested. At length he turned upon the weakest Bourbon, and ventured to employ threats. But all the other Bourbons of the Compact took instant part with the petty potentate of Parma, and their troops were speedily at the gates of Avignon. Clement found no aid in any of the Italian states, at Venice, or at Vienna. He sate a helpless listener to the ambassadors of all the Bourbon states, who, in 1769, boldly demanded the entire and formal abolition of the Order of Jesus throughout the world. Reluctantly, and in the utmost distress, he called a consistory for the 3rd of February to take the matter into consideration. But on the night preceding he suddenly dropped, gasped convulsively, and expired. The object of the royal conspirators was now to secure the election of a more tractable pontiff. Lorenzo Ganganelli, whose letters teach school-girls Italian, was the mildest, the most accomplished, and the most promising candidate. He soon became Clement XIV.; under which title, after a long investigation of the subject, he pronounced, on the 21st of July, 1773, the following sentence:—

"Inspired, as we humbly trust, by the Divine Spirit, urged by the duty of restoring the unanimity of the Church, convinced that the Company of Jesus can no longer render those services to the end of which it was instituted, and moved by other reasons of prudence and state-policy which we hold locked in our own breast, we abolish and annul the Society of Jesus, their functions, houses,

and institutions 8."

Few decisions have more nearly expressed the real motives of

the judges.

A more than ordinary interest is given to these events of a past age by a glance at the occurrences of the present. It is seldom that the theory of the cycle has been illustrated so curiously in human affairs. That the Order was re-instituted under the papal sanction, some thirty years ago, is a fact of which every

⁸ Ranke, viii. § 18.

reader is aware; but it may not perhaps be equally notorious that on this occasion they have run their race in a shorter time, and that they have already arrived at a period almost exactly analogous to that at which we have been considering them. The writer of these pages is at this moment in an insignificant French town, where theological quarrels are carried on with an ignorance and a virulence that would be a disgrace to Cheltenham. The Jesuits and their enemies are fighting precisely as in 1760, except that the latter are no longer formally termed Jansenists. The books most prominently put forward in the shops are attacks and replies on this question 9; and the arguments of either side resemble so closely those formerly employed, that they might have been literally cited in the foregoing pages as extracts from the pamphlets of D'Alembert or the Journal de Trevoux. Perhaps some distant number of this Review may tell the story of the second struggle.

⁹ Amongst other publications sent down from Paris, is one which we should have been glad to consult for this article, had we seen it soon enough. Its title is as follows:—"Histoire de la Chûte des Jésuites, au XVIIIme Siècle; 1750—1782. Par Le Comte Alexis de Saint-Priest, Pair de France. Paris, 1844." As it is, we have only time to point it out for the reader's pleasure. The first lines of the Avant-propos show that the author is no especial friend to the Order. There does not appear to be any introductory matter previous to 1750, and the period from 1750 to 1762 is comprised in a short chapter. The references are not numerous, but they include what purport to be some MS. notes of the Duc de Choiseul, which would be of great interest and value.

ART. V.—1. The History of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the present time. By Thomas Stephen, Medical Librarian of King's College, London. Parts I.—XVI. London: Lendrum, 1843-4.

2. The Episcopal Church of Scotland before and since the Revolution. By John Parker Lawson, M.A. Edinburgh: Gallie

and Bayley. Two volumes, 1843-4.

Among the encouraging symptoms of our religious and ecclesiastical condition at the present day, is the lively interest and sympathy with which the Catholic communion of Scotland, the legitimate representative of her devastated and (nationally) demo-

lished Church, is regarded among ourselves.

We may infer the existence and increase of this regard from a variety of circumstances; of which the first, and not the least important, was the Act of Parliament obtained in 1840, by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, which gave the recognition of the State to the communion between the Churches north and south of the border respectively, by authorizing a Scottish bishop, priest, or deacon, under licence from the diocesan, to officiate in England: and we cannot but deem it probable, that before many years elapse, a further extension of this liberty will be conceded. At the present moment, however, it is our purpose to draw attention mainly, and very briefly, to such signs as are connected with the press. Within the last few years no less than three distinct histories of the Church in Scotland have issued from it: and during the present year there has been elicited a further and most healthy sign of public interest in the formation of the Spottiswoode Society, which has for its object the republication of such works of former generations as are calculated to illustrate the same subject. The first three volumes selected by that Society are about to appear, as we perceive, in the course of a few weeks.

The three original Histories to which we have referred are, firstly, that by the Bishop of Glasgow, Dr. Russell, which, we trust, has taken its place amidst the literature of the day, and which, therefore, does not now call for specific notice from us; the second is Mr. Parker Lawson's work, in two large volumes; and the third, that of Mr. Stephen, which extends to three thick

octavos.

We ought also to mention the copious work of Mr. Lyon, on

the "Metropolitical See of St. Andrew."

We are firmly persuaded that there is no portion of the whole field of history which, for the purposes and the honour of the Church of England, it is so necessary thoroughly to explore. An absurd

impression has gone abroad, that, since the Reformation, the apostolic order of the bishops has taken no natural root, and produced no wholesome fruits in Scotland; and it had become (and until recently had stood unquestioned) a sort of canon in all circles of society which were not possessed by the spirit of the Church. that there was some essential adaptation in the Presbyterian system to the nature of the Scottish people, which made it no better than a mere fanaticism to dream of tending and cherishing the Episcopal communion of that country, in the hope of its future expansion. The question, however, for reflecting men comes to be this: Is there a Catholic constitution and authority ordained for the Church, and perpetuated by personal succession, or is there not? For if there be, then of course we must put down to the account of adverse casualties the privation which the great body of the people of Scotland have so long endured in respect of it: and as it would be deemed very irrational, with reference to any particular pagan country, to hold the impossibility of its being converted to Christ, so are we entitled to protest against the injurious assumption, that the Scottish character is incapable of accordance with the organization of the Catholic

But we firmly believe, that the best preparatory process for the introduction of sound theories and rational expectations with respect to Scotland, will be the patient and careful development of her ecclesiastical history. We have at present to deal, not with a single error or prejudice, but with a completely and compactly constructed system of misrepresentation and of misconstruction. Every source of information accessible to the ordinary reader has been corrupted; and we doubt if there be a proposition current in relation to the main outlines of Scottish ecclesiastical events since the time of Knox, which is not liable to very grave

exception.

The cause of this great mischief has lain in the exclusive hearing of one side. For an hundred and fifty years the reformed Catholic Church of Scotland has had no voice that could reach the public ear. Her natural and powerful ally, the reformed Catholic Church of England, was separated from her at the accession of king William III. by the circumstance that the northern episcopate adhered to the exiled family, while the great mass of the southern one followed the triumphal car of the Revolution. The bond of sympathy between them was thus snapped, and it is not even yet effectually and thoroughly restored. The religious party which had been engaged in conflict with the Church under the Stuarts, was one of almost unexampled virulence; and it is but just to add, that the narrowness and harshness which had distinguished Presbyterianism from its origin,

were rendered vet more narrow and more harsh by the remembrance of the severities its adherents had themselves endured. But it was not only the severity of its antagonists and the alienation of its friends, that told against the Scottish Episcopate and its followers. The whole power of the favourable recollections with which the people of England have looked back to the Revolution, as a deliverance from religious and political tyranny, has been directed against a religious body of which the greater and ruling part readily separated itself from that Revolution, and clung with a desperate fidelity even to the last living wrecks of the ancient line of Stuart. And what was still worse, the association which its tenacity thus maintained between itself and their name, united the Episcopal Church of Scotland in the public sentiment with the last and worst recollections of their dynasty; with the designs of absolutism; with the oppression of private rights; with the disgraceful dependence on a foreign crown; with the personal profligacy, and even with the religious aggressions that had so unhappily distinguished the last Charles and the last James.

Now even the excavation of ancient ruins, buried in rubbish, is a delicate and perilous work, requiring time as well as care; and the application of the same process to history, is as much more formidable as the moral elements of creation are greater and higher than those which are material. Let not, therefore, any Churchman of England, nay, or of Scotland, repine or murmur, if the memory of the Scottish Bishops and Clergy of former ages be lightly esteemed; if the vocabulary of abuse be exhausted against them; if those who traduce them be taken for oracles; if those who opposed them be upon that very and only ground exalted as saints; if even those who assassinated them be enrolled by an infatuation in the glorious army of the martyrs of Christ; if the present episcopate be treated as a nonentity; if its censures be contemned and ridiculed; if the expectation that homage may yet be paid to its rightful authority by some of those who now disown it, be regarded as a token of insanity. To the venerable persons who compose the sacred order in that country, the stirring words of a French writer might be used: Que craignez-vous? n'étes-vous pas évêques? But those who glance over all the particulars of poverty, neglect, and scorn, combined for many years with very sharp legal oppression, through which they and their predecessors have passed, may be led to reflect, that these are the instruments of the true discipline of Christ; may remember that suffering either destroys or sanctifies; and may augur, that those who have been so tried and so preserved, have surely in the counsels of the Lord a special work to perform for His glory, at the time He shall appoint.

What, then, we have to hope is, that patient labourers may go to work with their mattocks, and spades, and pickaxes, and clear away the rubbish piecemeal, and bring out inch by inch the forms of the structure that lies under it. This is what Bishop Russell has been doing; what the Spottiswoode Society, we have no doubt, will do; what Mr. Lawson and Mr. Stephen have strenuously, and not without effect, endeavoured to do. Proceeding in this mode, and always keeping proofs abreast or a-head of pretensions, we shall, by God's grace, make the surer work; we may disappoint the most sanguine; we may not bring out any picture of ideal excellence unmixed with human infirmities; but we shall keep upon the firm basis of historic truth, and upon that authority it will perchance be seen that Scotland not only had, but also loved, her Apostolic Church; that in the bosom of that Church, at the era which many have sought to mark as one only of disgrace, the fruits of sanctity were reared within her pale, in cases of very signal and peculiar excellence, to the glory and praise of God; and that it is owing to circumstances and considerations quite distinct from those of her religious character, that she does not to this moment continue to hold the station of the National Establishment of religion.

Mr. Stephen and Mr. Lawson possess in common what appear to us to be very great merits, and serious defects. Both of these gentlemen have used exertions, as we are led from their works to judge, that merit the highest praise, in the examination of contemporary works and original documents, the true materials of history. Both of them, we are also bound to confess, write with an ardour of dutiful feeling towards the Church which we think has perceptibly blunted the edge of their discrimination, and which thereby detracts from that judicial character which ought to attach to works of history, and which forms indeed the legitimate foundation of their highest value, namely, as authorities to aid the judgment of their readers, and not as mere repo-

sitories of information.

In one instance, indeed, we have read with pain, what we are nevertheless sure has been written without any intentional depreciation of truth, or departure from impartiality. We mean Mr. Stephen's account of the proceedings in the year 1678 against the wretched man Mitchell, who had some years before attempted to assassinate Archbishop Sharp. He then made a confession of his guilt, upon a promise from the Chancellor, Earl Rothes, that he should have impunity of life and limb. This confession he was unhappily induced to retract, and thereupon the privy council declared that they should be also free. But he was condemned and executed upon evidence of the confession; so that, in fact, the same use seems to have been made of it as if it had never

been retracted. Mr. Stephen relies upon the circumstance that this promise had never been formally confirmed by the council; but there is no doubt that the promise produced the confession, and the confession the sentence; and although it be true that instigations to assassination appear to have been very wickedly used at the time, this cannot excuse a departure from good faith, and we heartily wish that Mr. Stephen had not scrupled to cen-

sure roundly so disreputable a transaction.

We have stated our sense of the obligations under which Mr. Stephen has laid the public, by his examination of works and documents not in the hands of the ordinary reader: we wish, however, that he had been more uniformly careful in giving his authorities for some statements of great importance; and we are the rather led to offer this suggestion, because his work is not vet complete, and any omission that has occurred may, therefore, be supplied. Thus, for instance, on the important occasion of the Assertory Act in 1669, Mr. Stephen says, "The primate and the other bishops, as Bishop Leighton, made a vigorous though ineffectual opposition 2." Now Burnet says, "Sharp did not like it, but durst not oppose it: he made a long dark speech, copied out of Dr. Taylor, distinguishing between the civil and ecclesiastical authority, and then voted for it: so did all the bishops that were present: some absented themselves 3." According to this writer, Leighton was among those who thus voted.

Again, Mr. Stephen states that, after the rout of the Pentland hills, "the bishops and clergy throughout the kingdom petitioned the king and council in favour of the prisoners "Bishop Burnet says," The best of the episcopal clergy applied to the bishops, and "many of the bishops went into this," but "Sharp could not be mollified "." Now we are not questioning Mr. Stephen's accuracy; but where he desires to supplant or amend current relations of fact, it is manifest that, in order to attain his end, great preci-

sion is required on his part.

This is the more important, because the old disposition to distort the history of the Episcopal Church in Scotland is not yet extinct, and has even revived, we fear, to some extent, with the late disruption of the National Establishment. We must never forget, that much more than ordinary accuracy is justly demanded from those who come forward with the promise to remove prevailing misconceptions; and that the detection of even few and slight errors in their statements may produce a powerful prejudice, and completely neutralise the effect of a vast mass of irrefragable testimony.

Vol. iii. p. 88.
 Vol. ii. p. 622.
 Own Times, an. 1669.
 Own Times, an. 1666.

ART. VI.—The Past and Prospective Extension of the Gospel by Missions to the Heathen: considered in Eight Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford in 1843, at the Bampton Lecture. By Antony Grant, D.C.L.: late Fellow of New College, Oxford, &c. Rivingtons, London, 1844.

THE subject of Missions is a vital question for the Church of England. Clearly as we may distinguish in our minds the work of the Church at home and abroad, a moment's reflection will show us that the distinction is not one of principle, but of accident: that home and abroad express no more than the distinct localities in which one and the same power of life and of expansion manifests itself. It is the Church of England, as one living and identical person, whether in the mines of Staffordshire or in the plains of Central India. The missions of the Church abroad are the surest tests of its true spiritual vitality. Custom, interest, Christian civilization, domestic policy, may set in motion schemes of Church-extension at home; but nothing except the force of charity and faith will suffice to send forth missions to the heathen world. It is, therefore, nothing less than a test whether faith and charity are yet alive in our Church. Moreover, it is most certain that neither worldly interest, nor Christian civilization, nor enlightened policy, have ever excited the British government to attempt the systematic extension of Christianity in the colonies of this empire: nor to base the social and political order of our foreign dependencies on any surer foundation than that of secular measures and experiments. Whatever has been done, or is likely to be done, in the way of Christianizing our colonies upon any lasting principle, has been, and will be, the work of the Church alone. The British government, so far from initiating or even heartily co-operating in such hallowed undertakings, has not only treated them with coldness, but has in times past even set up positive obstructions.

But this is a subject on which we shall have to speak fully and plainly hereafter. For the present it is enough to notice it so far as to show, that as the work of missions has rested hitherto on the spiritual forces of the Church alone, so in all likelihood it will rest hereafter; and that the vigour and expansiveness of our missions will be a sign how far there is reality and life in the Church of England. And we are not unwilling to put our hopes upon

this issue.

Dr. Grant's course of Bampton Lectures, preached before the University of Oxford, is a valuable addition to our literature. The subject, and the manner of treating it, are indeed rather ecclesiastical than theological: and it is well that in such a pulpit as St. Mary's, matter of a directly practical sort should sometimes be thus systematically treated. Certainly the subject of Missions. though it cannot be classed with the topics of dogmatic theology, may very fairly be brought under the directions of the founder of the Bampton Lecture, who prescribes that the subjects therein treated of shall be "to confirm and establish the Christian faith." There can be no doubt that expansion with perpetuity and missionary success are among the properties of the true Church of Christ. It must, therefore, be of no little moment to the confirmation and establishment of the faith, to investigate the principles on which the missionary or expansive efforts of the Church ought to be conducted: and also, as regards later controversies, it is not unimportant to inquire what success, positive and comparative, has been vouchsafed to our branch of the Catholic Church. We remember, some years ago, in reading the lectures of Dr. Wiseman, being struck with the evident incorrectness of his statements respecting the Roman and the English missions. We did not suppose the misrepresentations to be intentional; but there was about them something which perpetually raised the belief that they were sweeping and one-sided. The missions of Rome were shown to be universally successful: all other missions to be worse than labour in vain. There is a clearness and exactness about some cases which inevitably suggest the notion, that the writer is dealing with his subject as a boy who plays a game with his right hand against his left. With the fairest intentions the favourite will always win; and the game is so hollow, as to hint that the loser has had all along more than his share of odds against him.

In this anomalous and mingled world there is no success without failures; no failures without successes. All through Dr. Wiseman's statements we could not help feeling that the Roman missions had neither been uniformly successful and permanent, nor the English always fruitless and barren. We were anxious to hear what would be said of China and of Paraguay; and we could not help thinking of Tinnevelly and Travancore. Dr. Grant has, we think, done good service in examining and restating this part of the case. It is to be wished that he had been able to do so more at length; but as we shall hereafter say something further on this matter, we will now proceed to give an outline of

this very interesting and useful volume.

In the Preface the writer states the reasons which determined

him in the choice of his subject. After referring to the evils inseparable from the societies which have hitherto attempted the work of missions, to their unhappy rivalries, and to self-obstructing schemes, Dr. Grant goes on to say:

"These thoughts, together with the taunt which was frequently repeated, that, since its separation from Rome, reformed Christendom had lost its expansive power, gave rise to a consideration of the subject. It naturally occurred to examine the truth of the statement, to reflect upon the cause of it, as far as it was well-grounded, to turn to Scripture and past experience, and discover wherein the defect lay. And here it was perceived that the subject had not been treated of in our books of theology, that no specific rules had been laid down, nor organization provided for the execution of this great function of the Church, the evangelizing of the heathen. On referring to the publications that were constantly issuing from the press, it was found that, instead of supplying the want of information that was felt, they served only to increase a sense of it. It was impossible, on reading them, not to be struck with the narrowness and unfairness with which most of them were written. On the one hand, Roman Catholics clearly did injustice to the missionary efforts of Protestants; while, on the other hand, the treatises and writings of many Protestants seemed composed under the impression that no such thing as Roman Catholic missions existed; that, at least before the Reformation, the design of evangelizing the world was a thing unheard of; that it had been reserved for this age almost to commence the work, for which a new theory of missions, new methods, and machinery, and system of action, were to be provided.

"A sense then of the insufficiency and faultiness of the recent modes of conducting missionary enterprises;—the absence of a work, accessible to ordinary readers, which offered a general view, past and present, of these operations;—a pressing conviction that the Son of God had provided a means for executing His last command, and the great purpose of His redeeming sacrifice; -- a recollection of those two great triumphs of the Church, over Roman civilization, and mediæval barbarism;—the wonderful expansion of the empire of Great Britain, whereby, through her colonies, she is brought into contact with almost the entire heathen world; —the great national responsibility which lies upon her, and upon the Church within her borders, to discern God's hand in this conjuncture, and to execute his will;—these considerations pointed out the subject as one that opened a field of solemn enquiry and reflection, that deserved and demanded attention, and would soon thrust itself upon the notice of the Church,—one that might suitably be brought before, as it was sure to engage the interest of, a body of the youth of England in one of our universities, destined to occupy, ere long, the most important posts in the Church and State, and to exercise a vast influence on the future interests of our country."—Preface, pp. ix.—xii.

A slight sketch of Dr. Grant's book will lead us to those

topics on which we desire especially to dwell. It was necessary to the completeness of his statement, though we hope not to the conscience of any member of the Church in this land, to show, that the missionary duty of the Church is enjoined upon us, both by the universal harmony of the Gospel with the nature of mankind, and by the direct command of our divine Master Himself. It is, indeed, impossible for any Christian to have more than a most imperfect charity and faith, who does not hold himself bound, both by prayers and alms, to help forward the spread of the kingdom of Christ on earth. If a man believe that there is but one "Name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved," and yet can coldly leave the millions of the heathen world to die without the knowledge of Christ, where is his charity? and if he do not believe in this mystery of our fall and of our redemption, where is his faith? Nevertheless, many profess to have both faith and charity, and yet give neither alms nor prayers for those "that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death." It is manifest, as is here well shown, that we are bound, by the command of Christ, by the debt of charity, by the debt of justice, by the hope of blessings which will come back upon our Church and upon ourselves, to make the conversion of the world a subject of our daily intercession, and the support of missions a part of our personal religion.

Who can say what consequences may flow from our missionary work hereafter? how the last great strife of the Church against the powers of darkness, for the revealing and concentrating of which all things seem now combining, may be helped or hindered by our present acts? Can we doubt that we are called to bear a signal part in the future destinies of mankind? And what may not be the blessing or the curse with which our present probation

may be fraught?

An objection has often been taken to the whole enterprise of missions, on the ground of want of success. But it would generally be found, either that the objector is misled as to the matter of fact, i. e., the extent to which missions have actually succeeded, or that the objection is founded upon a view of the Gospel, its progress and purpose, which is simply false. Of the extent to which missions have succeeded, occasion will be found to speak hereafter. To the other objection Dr. Grant has given, clearly and well, the true answer: namely, that the expectation of an universal acceptance of Christianity in all the world, during the probation under which we now are, is groundless. The partial extent of Christianity, as it has always been an objection with freethinkers, so it is a deep mystery with faithful Christians. There are vaster things in the dealings of the Divine Head with

His Church than we are wont to imagine. To any thoughtful mind there is inexhaustible matter for reflection in the words, "When they had gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia, after they were come to Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia, but the Spirit suffered them not 1." It is most certain that the course and history of the Church, both in its expansion and contraction, is a special subject of the Divine Government: and this fact is consistent with the missionary duty of the Church, as the fact of a particular Providence is consistent with individual responsibility. In the Lectures before us, the true view, according both to Scripture and to the faith of the Church, is maintained. namely, that in the latter days, not an universal reign of the faith. but rather an apostasy from Christ is to be looked for, and that the days will darken on the earth as it draws on to the morning of the resurrection. It is also shown, that a slow, painful growth is evidently the law of Christ's kingdom in this world; that it always has been so; that persecutions, heresies, judgments, such as the Arian and Mahometan scourges, were permitted to afflict the Church of old; and that the same has ever been, is now, and ever will be its portion. Dr. Grant has with much thoughtfulness indicated a line of inquiry which may be very profitably pursued, in contrasting the hindrances of early and of later times, to the spread of the Gospel. In early days the first promulgators of the Gospel were weak, illiterate, rejected in their own country, and the Church stood alone with all the powers of the world arrayed against her.

"The revolution that has passed over the face of Christian Europe, and of the world, has totally altered the relations in which the Church of Christ stands in regard to the heathen. Europe, which was the battle-field in which the kingdom of God for thirteen centuries struggled for ascendancy, has become Christianized, and thence the Church now has to look forth on the distant nations of the earth as from the centre and citadel of civilization, and to devise means for bringing the farthest lands under the dominion of the cross

"1. This reflection alone suggests the almost exact contrariety between the circumstances under which the Gospel is to be preached now, and those which existed on its earlier promulgation. It is, indeed, necessary to distinguish the period which preceded the establishment of Christianity in the Roman empire, from that which followed it, but the contrast of the present period with each of these remains equally marked and instructive.—Consider the Apostles and first preachers of the word, going forth among the polished nations of the earth; reflect on the condition of the cities which they visited, the firm hold which paganism

had on the people, the splendour with which it was arrayed, its sumptuous temples, and gorgeous processions, the numberless associations, historical and political, with which it was bound up; then contemplate the position and character of the simple teacher of the Gospel of Salvation; and as far as human eye can see, there is the appearance only of weakness and simplicity, opposed to the whole force of worldly power. authority, and learning. Or take a later period. All this array in which paganism was enthroned has passed away; in the room of it the antagonist of Christianity is seen in the dense masses of brute force that overspread the land. Still the aspect of Christians remains one only of weakness, or even of suffering. Christians were scattered about defenceless; they began to assemble themselves in religious houses, for piety or for safety;—and then was first seen the striking sight of men, dead to this world, retiring, sometimes alone, sometimes with a few associates, to solitary rocks or forests, and awing their barbarous conquerors into reverence, by their very austerity and sanctity. But now the whole scene is again changed: 'the stone' has become 'a great mountain; worldly power, and all the weight of learning and influence, are on the side of the Gospel; Christians are the invaders and conquerors, and encircle heathenism with the armaments, and with the violence too, of war; and the contest now, is that of truth advancing with a resistless weight of temporal might and enlightenment on its side, against a paganism, in some parts rude and unlettered, and everywhere debilitated and powerless.

"2. Or again; what had the earlier servants of Christ to offer, wherewith to attract the superstitious Greek or Roman, but that one blessing, (above all blessings, indeed, but which has nothing in itself to engage or conciliate the worldly mind,) the soul's salvation? Civilization had already reached its highest pitch; and to become a Christian, was to retrograde from the heights of polished and cultivated life, and to join a poor and despised sect, whose doctrines seemed to denounce the glory which the men of this world had learnt to look upon with pride."

—pp. 50—52.

But in these later days, the heathenism of the East, unlike the loose floating idolatries of Greece or Rome, is a compact, speculative, complex reality, interwoven with the whole life of nations, and matured by the lapse of ages. What comparison in the point of solidity, earnestness, and stubborn strength will the worship of Cybele or Diana bear to the rigorous and energetic religion of Mahomet, Brahma, or Buddha? It cannot be doubted that the very civilization of Greece and Rome secretly detached them from their mythologies. There was little heart-worship or faith in philosophers or people. The one class found no rest, the other no truth in their national religion; and for their personal, ascetic religion, they seem to have possessed but little. The religion of classical Paganism was an expiation, not a rule of life. The

Paganism of the modern world is founded on a discipline of penance and asceticism, viz., the Brahminical, severer and more searching than the world ever saw before the age of Christianity: as if the great enemy would encounter the scheme of redemption from sin by an extravagant counterfeit of its own truths and laws. This is not the place to go further into so large a subject, interesting as it is. For great as this hindrance to the spread of the truth must be, it is nothing compared with the defeats which Christianity has had to endure through our own sins, e. g. the vices and divisions of Christians. What hope is there for the poor heathen, when he sees in one and the same place eleven separate societies, almost all antagonists, holding no communion together, professedly engaged in extending the same Gospel?

"At the Cape of Good Hope, the following missionary associations are represented as having stations; viz. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; Scottish Missionary Society; United Brethren; French Protestant Mission; German Missionary Society; London Missionary Society; Wesleyan Missionary Society; Baptist Missionary Society; American Board of Missions; Rhenish Missionary Society; Paris Missionary Society. No account is taken here of the Roman Catholics, who, according to the 'Annales de la Foi,' have one bishop and four priests at the Cape."—p. 65.

In the appendix to his second Lecture, Dr. Grant has collected further evidences on this subject, so useful and direct, that they may well be quoted here in full. On the effect of disunion in hindering the spread of the Gospel, he says:—

"This did not escape the sagacity of Voltaire, who, in his 'Essai sur les Mœurs,' (tom. i. cap. iv.) has these words: "Le plus grand obstacle à nos succès religieux dans l'Inde, c'est la différence des opinions qui divisent nos missionaires," &c.

"The following more recent testimonies, from all quarters, confirm the same observation, which is, day by day, pressed more forcibly on the attention of all interested in the success of missions. Bishop Middleton, in a letter to Mr. Courtenay, dated April 25, 1817, observes, "While writing this letter, I have heard from a Brahmin at Benares, who is quite disgusted with idolatry, and has, with several others, made some progress in the knowledge of Christianity. But he tells me that they have had among them not only Protestants (meaning the Church of England), but Roman Catholics, and recently Baptists, and that their ways are quite different; 'by which,' he says, in his imperfect English, 'the poor Hindoos is in a great confusion!' "—Life by Le Bas, vol. i. p. 410.

"In the famous speech of a North American Indian, of the Seneca tribe, to a missionary in 1805, the following remonstrance occurs: "Brother, you say there is but one way to worship the Great Spirit. If

there is but one religion, why do you white people differ so much about it? Why not all agree, as you can all read the book?"—Howitt's Chris-

tianity and Colonization, p. 399.

"A Roman Catholic Missionary thus writes in the 'Annales de la Foi,' vol. iii. p. 63, note: 'Dans les dernieres années que j'ai passées dans l'Inde, toutes les fois que j'ai entrepris de parler à des Indiens d'embrasser le Christianisme, j'ai presque toujours reçu cette réponse... 'Vous, missionaires Catholiques, vous nous dites que la vérité est de votre côté, et que vos antagonistes, les missionaires Protestants, sont dans l'erreur: ces derniers, venus long temps après vous, nous disent le contraire... vous, Catholiques, vous nous tirez d'un côté; vous, Protestants, vous nous tirez de l'autre. Dans cette position, quel parti voulez-vous que nous prenions, nous, pauvres ignorans, qui ne connaissons rien, ou presque rien, du sujet de vos disputes? Commencez donc par vous accorder entre vous, et vous viendrez ensuite nous prêcher vos dogmes.'"

"One great cause," (writes Rev. Krishna Mohana Bannerjea,) "which has occasioned the short-comings alluded to, and proved such a drawback upon educational and other agencies of the Missionary Societies, is the want of union, and consequently of strength in the Church."—On

Female Education in India, p. 138.

"And, lastly, in the Introduction to his recent Charge, the Bishop

of Madras has the following pithy remark:-

"To those amongst us, if such there be, who think agitation better adapted than quietness, peace, and love, to promote the Gospel in the East, I would commend for their most serious consideration a remark made lately to one of our missionary clergy by a shrewd Mahometan, to whom he was speaking of the claims of Christianity as 'worthy of all men to be received;' 'First settle among yourselves what is the truth, and who of you has the truth, and then perhaps we will listen to you as its ministers.'" p. 12.

"The following observations on the conduct of missions, since they especially touch on the point here illustrated, are extracted from the private correspondence of a gentleman in India, who has considerable opportunities of watching the progress of our missions, and are worthy

of attentive consideration.

"As to the method of conducting missionary operations, there should be several well-trained men always in and out among the people of each district. These men should live together at the head-quarters of the mission, but go and live out in the villages, from time to time, and by turns. The present class of native readers should be utterly abolished; the services of the Church should not be performed (as is now done) by unordained catechists, and even by these readers; there should be some one with chief authority in each mission; and some one over all the missions, who shall repeatedly visit them and confer with the men employed in them. But after all, as long as there are two Church Societies missionarizing with different rules, on different plans, giving different salaries, &c. &c. . . . one may attempt what one may

in the way suggested, and it will come to nothing, or very little. Bishop Middleton mentions an anecdote in which a poor Hindoo states himself to be in great confusion owing to the conflicting teaching of the Church, the Roman Catholics and the Anabaptists."—Appendix, No. vii.

One other disadvantage by which the spread of the Gospel is now obstructed must be named, though at the naming of it our faces burn for shame. It is an awful truth, that one of the chief hindrances of the missionary is the wickedness of Christians—the personal fraud, violence, impurity, falsehood, of baptized men. In early days it was the living and resistless energy of faith in the deeds and sufferings of Christians that preached the Gospel, no less than Evangelists and teachers; the unearthly meekness, purity, and peace, which made the presence of a Christian felt in the Mamertine prisons, in the encampment of Roman legions, in the booth of the tent-maker. The world not only heard a voice but felt a power. It was encountered by something even mightier than truth—by the virtues and arms of the Spirit, by the will and sanctity of regenerate men. Not so, alas! in our settlements among the heathen at this day. It has been remarked as an universal law, that the morals of colonial societies are always more corrupt than those of the mother country; and naturally so, because the traditionary restraints, the strong power of old conventional rules, cannot be transplanted. They cannot be shipped off with merchants and speculators, nor included in bills of lading, nor transcribed with arts and sciences. Men are no where more unfavourably placed than when they are drafted off from an old society into new and arbitrary systems. The forces of law and right, of morality and religion, are no where weaker than in new colonies, especially in colonies formed on shallow schemes of emigration, or on mere calculations of commerce and aggrandizement, instead of the sacred principles of enlightened political science. We do not scruple to call such principles sacred; and we may learn a lesson of wisdom even from the heathen of old, who sent forth their colonists with offerings and libations, enshrining the gods of their forefathers in the prows of their Not such has been the colonial policy of Great Britain, the mightiest, and widest empire that has ever over-shadowed the earth. The morals of calculators and convicts, of camps and navies, have been the first-fruits of our Christianity, our offerings of peace, our first benedictions of the Gospel to the heathen. We have grafted our ripe and civilized vices on their rude and vehement nature, and the end has been, that whole races have consumed away by the wasting of our contagion, and our Christianity has become a by-word among the nations, and our civilization a fatal boon.

The subject of the third lecture before us is, the means ordained for the extension of the Gospel. The Gospel being a kingdom, is manifestly in its nature two-fold; not only a spiritual influence, but a spiritual and visible institution. Throughout the whole dealing of God with man, we find analogies and types, teaching us to expect such to be the character of the Gospel kingdom, that is, the Church. The prophecies and types of the Old Testament are full and clear to this point; every symbol taken to express the Church being chiefly and emphatically visible and definite. The language of the New Testament is equally plain. It is manifest that the parables of our Lord, such as the mustard-seed, foreshadow the expansion, not of an unseen influence only, but of a body, one and organized, in which that virtue dwells. And such in effect was contained in the apostolic college, and has been developed and continued ever since. Hence arose the Catholic Church in all the world. The importance of this view, as bearing on missions, is very obvious. It shows at once, first, that the Bible is only one of the means of conversion; and next, that a fragment of the Christian ministry without its complement and fulness, i. e. the polity of the Church, is not sufficient for the needs of mankind. The social and the individual life of man demand the twofold means of the Church and Gospel, to speak unscientifically, for his perfect discipline and illumination: and the energy of individual characters will be found to depend for its development and strength upon the spiritual authority and organization of the Church. We would willingly follow Dr. Grant in his course of remarks on the use of Holy Scripture in the work of missions, but it would lead us beyond our present limits. We must be content, therefore, with quoting the following most true and stirring words:-

"By what means was the Gospel appointed to be propagated, and how in fact was it propagated? By preaching: living witnesses went forth, and besought, and pleaded, and warned, and suffered. They showed it was a real thing that had possessed their own souls, that made them no longer dear to their ownselves, and could fill them, even to self-forgetfulness, with the burning zeal of bringing others to Christ. Christian men preached, and resisted unto blood; and heathen men saw, and heard, and believed. Christ's servants came as ambassadors with a message; they came to draw men together into a new society, under one Head, not merely through a mental acquiescence in certain doctrines, but by a real union with the incarnate and invisible God, through visible ordinances, imparted on the reception of that holy faith which they were commissioned to preach. To this method all historical records of the propagation of the Gospel bear witness."—p. 89.

We may now pass from the abstract questions relating to the

principles of missionary enterprizes, and the obligation to undertake them, to the realization of these duties and principles, as they

have been exhibited in practice.

The fourth lecture treats of the extension of the Gospel by the missions of the Church before the Reformation: the fifth and sixth of the missions of Christendom since that date. In the fifteen hundred years before the Reformation, there would appear to be two marked periods; marked, that is, in the character and success of the means used for the spread of the Gospel.

In the first four hundred years, the Gospel spread throughout the circle of the Roman empire. The Apostles appear to have carried it throughout its whole area and circumference. The work of their successors was to fill up their outline, and to com-

plete their original design.

"The first four centuries have commonly been considered as those in which the Gospel made its most rapid and most extended conquests. It has been thought that, during them, the Church of Christ was carried forward by the supernatural impulse which it received on the day of Pentecost, and of which the last vibrations were felt, and expired at the verge of that period; -that afterwards, if it was not wholly arrested in its course, yet it expanded itself further only languidly and slowly, by natural or doubtful means, and that for centuries it lost all its pristine vigour and purity. There is perhaps just enough of truth in such a statement to account for the general impression; but certainly as regards the territorial extension of the Church, it is far from correct. For history would not lead us to conclude, either that the actual boundaries of the Church continued progressively to enlarge themselves during the first four centuries, or that, at the close of them, the tide of its rising waters was stayed by any barrier, or any cessation of the invisible power that had first set them in motion. That it did indeed increase and multiply, according to the blessing bestowed upon it, so as to gather constantly fresh children into its bosom, is most true; not however, commonly, by pushing its lines further into the domains of darkness, but rather by filling up and occupying more completely the ground already acquired."-p. 104.

The period following the conversion of the empire was in marked contrast to that which went before. Into the heart of the empire, all Christian as it was, there burst a strange and fearful irruption of barbarian and Pagan hordes. Christendom was deluged by the Gothic nations in the West, and by the followers of Mahomet in the South and East. The faith of the elect must have been sorely tried in those days, when it would seem as if the Son of Man would scarce find faith in the earth. It must have been a strange shift in the phenomena of the world, when the face of Christendom, so fair and full of fruit,

where Paganism and persecution had given place to holiness and unity, seemed all at once to change like a scene in a mask, and to become heathen and Mohammedan.

"At the close of the fourth century a new order of things arose for the Church,—fresh labours and trials, widely different from those in which it had hitherto been engaged. The Roman empire was now shaking and crumbling from its inherent social decay, and from the assaults of the northern tribes, which gathered, like birds of prey, round the dying body. Hitherto the Gospel had contended with civilization, with a popular and systematized religion, with intellect, with well-ordered government; it had made its way passively, by gradually spreading its influence through the mass in which it had been hid to leaven it; for a time, too, it had delayed the breaking up of the Roman polity by the new life it had infused into the hearts of men, and the fresh bonds of union which it had created. But now the Church looked out, and saw lawless force coming down as a flood, threatening to bear away before it all law and civilization, and the very landmarks of social existence, and it had to arm itself for the conflict."—pp. 106, 107.

"For two centuries, countless hordes were poured forth from the central plains of Asia; one after the other they took up their position in the most fertile countries of Europe, and inclosed within them the Church of God, which, stripped now of the worldly defence by which it had been strengthened in its later conquests over Roman paganism, was thrown upon its inherent vital energy and spiritual resources. Worldly power had, indeed, failed to arrest the progress of the impetuous hosts; and it was a new sight for mankind to gaze on, to see the Church of God, armed only by the force of truth and the invisible presence of the Most High, brought into close contact with the savage wildness of human nature. The world seemed fallen back into the days of its infancy; and in such a field it is that we have to watch the progress of the Gospel, softening, humanizing, converting, civilizing. Every form of uncivilized life, of savage habit, of deep-seated prejudice, of victorious insolence, was brought before it; and, by turns, in the course of succeeding ages, was controlled and brought into subjection."-p. 108.

"Cheerless, indeed, was the commencement of the seventh century, and gloomy the scene on which the first Gregory closed his eyes; the barbarous hosts still pressing the Roman empire on the north, and the Arabian impostor breaking forth from his sultry sands, as the avenger of the Lord, scattering the flock from field to field, and obliterating the once flourishing Churches in the east, and along the African coast. And yet at that very time it was that a spirit of missionary enterprise arose, and chiefly from the north; from the monasteries of Great Britain and Ireland, men went forth glowing with the desire of bringing the Gothic tribes within the fold of Christ. It seems as if a special impulse was imparted to them; for ceaselessly, we are told, in the ear of one of the earliest adventurers, St. Columban, sounded the words of our blessed Saviour, 'If any man will come after me, let him deny

himself, and take up his cross and follow me.' Along the banks of the Rhine, in the Black Forest, in Bavaria and Thuringia, the Church extended itself by the labours of men thus devoted; among whom shine the names of Fridolin, St. Gall, Rupert, St. Eustasius, Willibrord, and, above all, St. Boniface, as apostles of the German nations."—pp. 109, 110.

And so from the end of the sixth to the ninth century, the Church went on pouring itself forth again over the new surface which had been formed within its original limits, and even beyond its former boundaries. Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Prussia, in the west, and Sclavonia, Sarmatia, Poland, in the east of Europe; and in the far east, Hindoostan, Tartary, Mongolia, and China received Missions of the Faith. In the following passage, an interesting contrast is made of the means by which, in the two periods respectively, the Gospel was spread abroad.

"The conflict with civilization and organized society had ceased, and the conflict was now begun with barbarism and social disorder. The world was almost broken up into its primæval elements; and there was one power alone on earth able to re-assemble the shapeless masses, and reduce them into order and harmony. The great work that the Church undertook was to Christianize and civilize the barbarian hosts; and it was evident at once, that these were not to be affected either by direct appeals to the intellect, or by exhibitions of meekness and enduring patience, which would only wear the appearance, in their eyes, of weakness and timidity, and excite contempt. The peculiar characteristic of the German tribes was a rude personal independence; their virtues were those of the individual; they wholly wanted social order, and those principles on which civil existence depends. On this account we shall perceive, first of all, that the means adopted for their conversion and civilization were aggressive and bold; and, secondly, that they were such as peculiarly to set forth the social life of Christians, controlled by an unseen spiritual power, by which the rude warriors were most likely to be attracted, since it exhibited what they most needed. Hence, together with the sixth century,—that period when thick darkness threatened to extinguish the light of the Gospel,—the first systematic attempt was made by missionaries for the conversion of the Pagans. Sometimes a solitary Christian, harassed by despair, and by the sight that daily met his eyes, and in the hope of reclaiming some one soul from the power of Satan, would seek a retreat in the clefts of the rock, or on some barren height, and draw around him a small community of men won by his austere sanctity, and lay the rudiments of a future At other times, after the pattern of the first Apostles, twelve men of devoted minds would throw themselves into the forests or plains that bordered the Rhine or Danube; and form a Christian society, which grew into a religious house; and from thence commenced that continuous aggression on the hordes of Germany and Sarmatia, which ended in their subjugation to the law and discipline of Christ.

"It cannot be denied, that one means whereby the minds of the barbarians were affected, was by dazzling their senses, and working on their imagination. Hence, with this period, the pomp of ceremonial in religion was largely increased; expressive signs and symbols were unsparingly used, and frequently abused; spectacles were multiplied in accommodation to the coarse taste and intellect of the age, which were thereby at least impressed with an idea of power, and a sense of respect for Him in whose honour they were displayed.

"Purer, and, as the result proved, far more effectual methods were adopted for the conversion of the heathen, in the introduction amongst them of the elements of learning and of the practical arts, the reduction of their language to written characters, the translation of the Scriptures into the native tongue, the instruction and training of the young in the

habits of civilized life."-pp. 120-123.

In the fifth lecture, Dr. Grant treats of the Missions of the Roman Church since the Reformation. It is a painful and invidious subject to enter upon; for in the history of these Missions, both in the great and holy men who led them, and in those who believed through their word, there have been examples of pure and burning charity, of intense and absolute devotion, of unshrinking faithfulness even to tortures and to death, such as may well enrol its missionaries and converts among the confessors and martyrs of the Church. Nobody can read of the labours of St. Francis Xavier and of Ricci, nor of the persecutions in China and Japan, without a penetrating sense of the likeness therein exhibited to the life and cross of our Master. It is therefore deeply painful to find such glorious annals tarnished by unworthy Yet such, alas! is too true, even themselves being witnesses. The Roman Missions were at first chiefly conducted by the Jesuits; the field of their labours being India, Japan, Tonkin and Cochin China, Paraguay, Africa, and Abyssinia. These great flourishing missions, we are told by writers of the Roman Church, have visibly and extensively declined. In some places they have become wholly extinct. It is melancholy to read that.

"On Xavier's death, the missions seem to have languished; till, sixty years later, one of the same fraternity set himself to re-establish them. By this time the tendencies of the principles adopted by the Jesuits began to work themselves out, and a system of accommodation, and of unscrupulous expedients, was employed by Robert à Nobili, which ended in those disgraceful contests which exhibited Order in bitter conflict with Order, Pope opposed to Pope, and the Jesuits in turn set against the decrees of the sovereign Pontiff, and against episcopal authority, to the scandal and injury of the Christian faith. From the time of the bull of Benedict XIV. (1744) the missions declined:

whatever number of converts were reckoned at that period, they at once decreased; and we have the unquestionable authority of a Roman Catholic missionary for stating that, in the space of about seventy years from this event, they were reduced to one-third of the previous number, in the extensive districts of the Marawa, Madura, the Carnatic, and Mysore."—p. 147.

So, again, we find the stations on the coast of Africa near the Congo, after two hundred years of struggling existence, as well as that of Sierra Leone, is expunged from the list of the Roman missions. The same fate befel the missions in Abyssinia: so likewise in the Island of Moro, in the Indian Archipelago, one among the triumphs of St. F. Xavier, it is stated in the Annales de la Foi, "la trace de l'évangile en est entièrement effacée²:" Again, speaking of the Indian mission in the same work, it is said, "telle est, en abrégé, l'esquisse de la naissance, des progrès, et du déclin de la religion Chrétienne dans l'Inde 3." To this, if we add Paraguay and South America, it will be manifest that there has been a vast and almost universal decline in the missions, glorious in their beginning, on which the Church of Rome has so confidently rested part of her controversial proofs to establish her The causes of this declension Dr. Grant has, in some measure, pointed out. They were missions, for the most part, of orders within the Church, rather than of the Church itself: witness the Jesuit missions in China and Paraguay: they were at last even in direct collision with the supreme authority of the Church: they were, moreover, conducted on principles of economy and concession, which yielded up too much of the severe reality of the Gospel of the Cross; and, lastly, sorrow that we should be compelled to say it, they were marred by a policy we hardly know how to speak of as we ought. Dr. Grant says,

"The first thing to be noted, is the principle of alluring the minds of the heathen by an adaptation of the Gospel, and of the worship of God, to pagan practices and prejudices. The least objectionable form of this is discerned in the large use of pictures, and images, and amulets, and even the sale of consecrated corn by which the converts were frequently attracted. For the last religious instinct that lingers in the human breast is that of a superstitious trust in magical virtue, with which, as in the Fetiches of Africa, the fears of the savage will invest the commonest, and even the most loathsome objects. To this feeling the Jesuit missionaries largely addressed themselves; and we may see at once the extreme danger that was thereby incurred, of only supplanting one kind of idolatry by another. How far this result followed will be illustrated presently. But a much more vicious form of this prin-

² Grant's Bampton Lectures, pp. 155, 156.

³ Ib. p. 159, note.

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ciple soon exhibited itself,—one which we might have discredited, had it not been established on evidence that cannot be gainsayed. It was that which was employed first by Robert à Nobili, when he and his colleagues represented themselves as European Brahmins, adopted the manners, dress, and superstitious rites of that caste, bore the cord of dignity, and the very mark of idolatry on their forehead; and proclaimed themselves to the very Hindoos as having emanated from their Hence followed the forgery of a deed purporting to authenticate their story; and, at a later period, that of a Veda, to be classed with the sacred books of the Hindoos. It is altogether shocking to think of the deceptions that were thus unscrupulously practised; as when Lainez proclaimed a false decree of the pope to sanction the wellknown rites of Malabar, which had been condemned. Parallel and contemporaneous with these acts were the controversies respecting the adoption of the practices and language of the Chinese idolatries. worship of ancestors, and the appropriation of a term to the Deity, which is constantly represented as conveying to the Chinese mind merely the idea of a material first cause, were freely allowed and defended; and, in justification, it was maintained, that the same acts, though idolatrous in idolaters, ceased to be so in Christians: and thus, by a sophistical refinement, which involved a practical falsehood, the outward religious act was disjoined from the inward, and a mere intention of the mind was substituted, in the worship of God, for the homage both of 'body and spirit which are His.'"-p. 161.

"Even now, the Christianity resulting from such a system as this wears all the guise of Paganism. For hear a missionary of the Roman Church thus speak of India:— 'The Hindoo pageantry is chiefly seen in the festivals celebrated by the native Christians. These processions in the streets, always performed at night-time, have indeed been to me, at all times, a subject of shame. Accompanied with hundreds of trumpets, and all the discordant noisy music of the country, with numberless torches and fireworks, the statue of the Saint placed on a car which is charged with garlands, and flowers, and other gaudy ornaments, the car slowly dragged by a multitude, shouting all along the march, the congregation surrounding it all in confusion, several of them dancing or playing with small sticks, or with naked swords; all shouting or conversing with one another, without any one exhibiting the least sign of respect or devotion: such is the mode in which Hindoo Christians

in the inland country celebrate their festivals." -p. 167.

It is worthy also of remark, that the success of the Roman missions appears to have coincided, in point of time, with the extension of the colonial empires of Spain and Portugal, and to have sunk with their decline. It has always therefore appeared to us, that this is among the last subjects to which a skilful or a candid controversialist would appeal in establishing the peculiar claims of the Roman Church. That among her missionaries have been men of God and of the Cross, worthy to be reckoned with Evan-

gelists and Apostolic teachers, we rejoice to declare; that they have sown good seed in God's field, and gathered in souls for their Lord, we thankfully record; but that their missions, whether in success or permanency, in growth or depth, in severity of true Christian discipline, or in their internal history and administration, afford any distinctive proofs of the claim advanced by the Church of Rome to be, by exclusion of all others, the true Church, is a notion we cannot for a moment entertain. It were rather to be thought, that with such facts as are presented by the history of the Jesuit missions, the Annales de la Foi, and the Abbé Dubois, whose authority is quoted by themselves, and who, on his return from India, was appointed Director of the Seminary of Missions at Paris, it were rather to be thought that they would speak with reserve and with humiliation, than with a tone so challenging and vauntful on the later missions of their Church. Not a word that has been said is designed to detract from their great meed of honour. We have but recounted their own admissions, and we stand in no need of such detractions. We hold no theory which makes it needful in controversy to decry their efforts. It is neither gain nor gratification to us to hear of their failures and their falls. In this we have the better of them twofold; we can rejoice over both their true labours in the Gospel and over our own. Our theology does not mulct us of half our hope and rejoicing for the heathen world. And here we may leave this subject, well assured that little is to be gained by them in controversy on the score of their later missions. We hope to be able to show, that neither, in controversy, shall we sustain much loss on the score of our own.

The three remaining Lectures relate to the missions chiefly of the English Church since the Reformation; to the present condition or wants of our Missions; and to the prospects and encouragements which are before us. And as these subjects are of a nature so directly practical, we may be allowed, instead of following the arrangement and details required in the work before us, to make such remarks as the present position of the English

Church seems to prescribe.

We have no hesitation, then, in declaring, that the English people, both Church and nation, have fallen short of their duty in the work of Missions. Our absolute neglect of the whole heathen world down to the beginning of this century; the long and bitter bondage, both of body and soul, in which our slave population was oppressed; the bloody extermination of the aboriginal tribes; the cold-hearted disregard of our countless emigrants; the frightful abandonment of our miserable convict felons; the direct countenance we have given to the idolatries of the East; and the positive obstructions we have offered to the spread of Christianity in our

heathen possessions; all these—in the West India islands, in Canada, in Australia, in Hindostan, witness against us with an awful and condemning testimony. The facts and details of all these particular subjects have been so frequently and so fully stated of late, that we shall not dwell on them. The sketch of the religious state of India given in Mr. Le Bas' Life of Bishop Middleton, is enough to make us burn for shame. A Christian people, with a handful of military chaplains scattered up and down in an empire of a hundred millions, without a hierarchy, without visible worship, the ordinances of religion wholly abandoned, or ministered in mess-rooms and riding-schools 4, -who can say how great a burden of guilt may lie upon us for these things? What shall be the thoughts of the stately and speculative people of the East, whose idolatry is elevated by the grandeur of a majestic visible worship, and by the sanction of long-descended antiquity, whose altars are adorned with gorgeous rites, whose whole life is instinct with a fanaticism of reverence, and an enthusiasm of self-devotion—what shall they conceive of a faith, the followers of which appear to live the lives of traders, and to hold the creed of atheists? What, but such as has been already the effect of our guilty negligence. The answer of a Cingalese boatman to Dr. Buchanan is a sample of the whole. When asked what religion the English professed, he answered, he did not know; the Portuguese were Christians, and so were the Dutch, but for the English, he did not know of what religion they were, or whether they had any. And what wonder? When Cevlon was surrendered by the Dutch into our hands, there were (it was said, though the number is doubtless too great) 340,000 Protestant Christians. The Dutch had divided the districts in which these lived into 240 churchships or parishes, and in each had erected a church and a school. They provided also seminaries to train native youths for the office of missionary catechists and preachers⁵. It is not too much to say, that on the British government lies the sin of suffering this entire system of Christianity to expire, so that there remained, some years ago, only a single school, and not a single church.

Again, let any one read Mr. Justice Burton's volume on the state of education in Australia, or, to see our earlier neglects, Dr. Hawks' History of the Church in Virginia: let him trace out the history of the British plantations, and of the formation of our

⁵ Le Bas' Life of Bishop Middleton, vol. i. p. 97, 98.

⁴ From an official document issued by the Bengal Government in 1807. "The Commander-in-Chief has directed a riding-school to be included in the estimate for public buildings at Meerut, upon the scale of the riding-schools at Ghazeepoor and Cawnpoor, for the double purpose of a place of worship and a riding-school."—Le Bas' Life of Bishop Middleton, vol. i. p. 86.

vast colonial empire, and he will tremble at the motionless and stubborn apathy with which this country has stopped its ears against the plaints and cries of the nations, committed to its charge. The two great commercial people, whose empire shadowed all waters, Portugal and Spain, even with all the accumulated sins through which they fell, stand as a twofold witness against our practical atheism. They colonized and founded institutions: the Gospel entered with their first enterprizes: the Cross of Christ was among their insignia: the societies they founded were krit together by the order of the Church, and quickened by the faith of the Gospel. Without doubt they used the day of their visitation more faithfully, earnestly, and systematically, than we have ever attempted until now. God grant it be not too late. And yet He, in His inscrutable dealings, has plucked from them province after province, and people after people; and as He has stripped them of their greatness, He has laid upon us their majesty and their duties, their empire and their responsibilities. It is truly an awful thought, that at this moment there is entrusted to the sway of Great Britain more than a seventh of the earth's habitable surface, and a full seventh of the race of mankind. Can we believe that it is given us only as the material of war, science, and merchandize, to make us rich. pampered, and heartless? Does not the whole history of the world show us that the destinies of mankind have been controlled by a succession of mighty empires, each taking up, and for a time, carrying on God's work in the world? All the subordinate and secular appointments of His providence have relation to this great end. "Reflect only," says the writer before us, in words so natural and eloquent that we cannot forbear to give them.

"Reflect only on the gigantic power which is put forth by this our country. It has already peopled one half of the American continent. Austral-Asia seems wonderfully destined to grow up under its influence to be a central source of improvement to the barbarism of the South. There is scarcely a heathen people with whom we are not brought into contact. We carry the conveniences of life into the hut of the remotest savage, and our land is the resort of strangers. They flock from under every sun to learn our arts, and search out the source of our earthly greatness; and we might truly tell them, that all these blessings have flowed from the influence of Christian truth. The language of England is spreading itself with a rapidity far exceeding any other. It is the tongue of half the western hemisphere. It is become the instrument of education in India. Our modes of thought, our principles, our literature, our history, are thus carried into other lands; they cannot perish there; rather are they not pioneering a track

⁶ Grant's Bampton Lectures, p. 11.

along which the Gospel may advance, when those are found who are willing to proclaim it? We cannot reflect upon these elements of power, and not see in them the means provided for a fresh advance of the Church of Christ,—means which would scarcely have been equalled in the first ages of the promulgation of the Gospel, if instead of the few fishermen of Galilee, the learned and powerful of Greece and Italy had been its propagators, and, instead of Jerusalem, imperial Rome had been the centre of its diffusion.

"But though these secondary means must be deemed powerless in themselves, yet tokens are they and signs of His will, towards the accomplishment of which all things surely tend. We may note that, in those onward movements which have marked particular periods in the history of the Church of God, the lines of His providence have ever run concurrently with those of His grace; and that a combination of subordinate agencies have betokened 'the fulness of the time.' Was it not thus at the first coming of the Lord of Life? The general peace; the intercourse between nations along the highways of military conveyance; extended colonization; the application of the papyrus to the purposes of writing; the circulation of the Septuagint; a common language of communication; all conspired to aid the promulgation of the kingdom of heaven. So was it at the subsequent religious crisis of the Reformation. The settling down of the nations into order; increased skill in navigation, by means of the mariner's compass; fresh commercial enterprizes; emigration to a new world; the invention of printing; the translation of the sacred Scriptures; the use of Latin as the channel of thought; these combined to urge onward that fresh outbreak of revived Christianity which agitated the whole of Europe. And can we close our eyes against the same concurrence of means, now concentrating their force into one mighty effort;—the application of a new power to navigation; the rapid transit to every spot in the globe; the founding of new settlements and of future kingdoms; the invention of arts, and discovery of new sciences; the circulation of the word of God; the ubiquity of the English language from Quebec to Canton, from New Zealand to the Himalayas; and lastly, the universal peace, so merciful and unexpected, which may seem to be hushing the world into stillness, and to resemble the silence that was 'in heaven for about the space of half an hour' at the opening of the seventh seal. we discern nothing in these conjunctures but the chance on-drivings of a restless world, aimless and uncontrolled? Or as it watches the feverish strivings and agitations of men, can the eye of faith discern no hand weaving out therefrom the web of the world's destinies, and tracing upon it the legible character of God's eternal decrees?"—pp. 288 -291.

We confess that with this view of God's probable designs before us, the past neglect of this Christian empire becomes appalling. We are almost tempted to ask, Is not the time already past? Can we be yet spared to do this proffered work, so long despised? We feel little disposition, then, to make the most of our missionary

efforts hitherto, but to confess our neglects with shame, and to

say the worst of ourselves.

Nevertheless, it is but truth to affirm, that these grievous omissions have not been wholly those of the English Church. In the sixteenth century, while the trials of that eventful age were upon it, the Church of England was literally shut up within the four seas. As yet, Spain filled the colonial empire of the earth: the old world was closed against us, and our enterprizes had not as yet pushed onward into the new. At the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, when the American plantations began to be formed, the Church at home was pressed almost out of life between the assaults of Roman and Protestant adversaries. The same was the history and fortune of the Church through the reigns of James I. and Charles I.; still more true was it in the time of the Commonwealth, when our West Indian colonies began to be acquired. At that time the Church was overwhelmed; all its powers for a time suspended, and the cares and labours of its people drawn away from missions abroad, by the necessity of toiling for the restoration of the Church at home. Such are the mercies of nonconformity, of that short-sighted party which reviled and rebelled against the Church in the seventeenth century. To them may be truly ascribed the retarding of our missions by half a century at least: division ever has been one of the main obstacles to the missions of the Church. It then paralyzed the Church at home; it now opposes its work abroad. It is no exception to this, that we find Cromwell devising a scheme, never after all carried into effect, for a Propaganda, which should unite all Protestant bodies in opposition to the Propaganda at Rome. The design is just such as his hardy, bold, and masculine spirit would conceive. The realization was not so ready as the conception. The materials of which this broad and venturous scheme had to be composed, were of a kind to elude even his decisive hand. As soon as the Church was restored to its own altars again, the thoughts of earnest men began to turn to the propagation of the faith in the colonies or plantations of the empire. Robert Boyle occupied himself with endeavours to spread the Gospel in India and America: he published at his own cost the four Gospels and the book of Acts, in the Malay language, and at his death left a large sum of money for the propagation of the Christian faith. In 1694, Dean Prideaux published his account of the English settlement in the East Indies, together with a proposal for the propagation of Christianity in those parts of the world. And so clear sighted and systematic was he in his schemes, that what has since been realized, he then fully suggested, namely, that the existing evils and deficiencies cannot otherwise be remedied than by settling bishops and seminaries in those countries, where

ministers may be bred and ordained upon the spot⁷.

About the same time, this feeling, which had been growing and spreading itself in the mind of the Church, found its expression in the formation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. It is therefore manifest, that in the earlier period, that is, for nearly a century after the Reformation, the colonial empire of Great Britain was only beginning to form itself, and the Church was crippled and exhausted by attacks at home. In the next period, as our foreign dependencies were multiplied, and peace was restored to us, the Church immediately entered upon deliberations, which issued in the Society or Propaganda above mentioned. That the same spirit was still working deeply, is proved to us by the offer made by Bishop Berkeley. then Dean of Derry, to resign his ecclesiastical dignities, and to go to the island of Bermuda, to found there a college for the "converting of the savage Americans to Christianity." This offer immediately brought three of the Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, to a resolution of joining with him in his venture of faith. From the year 1701, the time of the incorporation of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, that Society has witnessed, in the name of the English Church, to the great duty incumbent on the British empire. For a hundred years it stood alone, bearing its solitary testimony. It cannot, then, be said, with any truth, that the duty of missions has not been at least recognized by the English Church. In the year 1800, the Church Missionary Society was formed for Africa and the East. But notwithstanding all this, it is too true that the work of missions has never hitherto been undertaken with a just measure of zeal and of devotion. This we do confess, and trust we confess it in humiliation. But it is precisely in this that we find a cause of encouragement and hope. If, indeed, the Church had hitherto put forth all its strength in the field of missionary toil; if all the appliances and aids for the work of converting the heathen had been fully employed; if missionaries, evangelists, and bishops had gone forth from our shores; if colleges and seminaries had toiled to rear up a perpetual fellowship and to keep the sees and missions always full of wise and devoted men; and if, after all, the darkness and idolatry of the West and East had stood as fast and stubborn as before; if all this tillage and seeding had borne no better harvest, then, indeed, we might have

⁷ Le Bas' Life of Bishop Middleton, vol. i. p. 33.

⁸ Life of Bishop Berkeley, prefixed to his Works, pp. iv. v.

listened with an awakened and a fearful ear to the controversial arguments of our adversaries. But it is because this has hitherto never been done, that we need pay but little heed to their reasonings; it is because this has not been so; because of the means employed, some have been most imperfect, and some have been most faintly and hesitatingly applied,—for these reasons we say it is that the time is not yet come to judge the Church of England by its missionary success. Nothing seems clearer than that it has been seriously obstructed in its missionary undertakings by external hindrances; and that, according to the means it has been able to apply, a full and proportionate success has already followed.

In addition to the obstructions we have already spoken of, there is one yet only slightly referred to, that is, the impediments opposed by governments at home. It were a lighter matter if the civil power had only failed to give the direct aid which its bounden duty requires it to offer to the extension of the Church throughout our colonial empire. It has done more than offer this negative opposition. During the whole of the time in which the states of America were united to the Crown of England, an urgent and ever renewing appeal was made by our fellow countrymen and fellow Christians in America for the benefit of a resident episcopate. It was again and again refused; not by the We have seen how Dean Prideaux, in 1694, expressed the sense then entertained of the need of planting episcopal sees abroad. A scheme, we are told, was ready drawn, in the early part of the last century, for the distribution of the North American plantations into dioceses. It was frustrated by jealousies of state-craft, and the wiliness of politicians. The same calculating temper which, to our sin and shame, has entangled this Christian empire in the idolatries of Hindostan, set a mark of political incapacity on native converts, resisted the spread of the only Word of life in that blinded and perishing people, and yielded the appointment of the Indian episcopate only when it was wrung by the power of faith and righteousness from its grasp 10,—this was the cause why the consecration of an order of bishops for the American Church was refused until the British plantations had won for themselves the style and independence of the United States. It is an instructive moral on the infatuation of rulers who would be wiser than God; and a warning for statesmen that now or hereafter shall hold the powers of the great

It will one day be thought incredible that Great Britain should

⁹ Grant's Bampton Lectures, p. 194.

¹⁰ Le Bas' Life of Bishop Middleton, vol. i. p. 33.

have been a colonial power for two hundred years before the episcopate of the English Church set a foot upon its foreign shores. It will scarcely be believed, that at a time when one-seventh of the habitable earth obeyed its rule, there was not one organized church or diocese throughout its world-wide dominions.

And now to turn to the brighter side, if bright it can be called. A slight summary of what the Church of England has been permitted to do will suffice to show, that results fully proportioned to the means have actually followed upon its missions. And first, let us cite the American Church. Who would have dared to expect, after nearly two centuries of neglect, and the fatal effects of two internal convulsions, that the seed we planted with so niggard and repulsive a hand, should have sprung up into such fruitfulness and stature? The American Church, with its twenty bishops, its thousand priests, and its million of people, is a direct lineal, multiplying offshoot of the Church of England. If this be not an undeniable evidence of vitality in our missions, where shall we look for it? But perhaps an objection may be taken at the outset, that these cannot be fairly classed with missions, not being by way of conversion, but by the simple extension of a people already Christian. Let it be so. The present state of the Church of England missions, properly so called, may be thus given: the two chief missionary societies of the Church, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and the Church Missionary Society in Hindostan, alone number between 15,000 and 20,000 converts under the care of their missions, and the latter, above 19,000 under instruction. At Barripûr and Krishnagur, whole villages, in the last few years, have received the faith. In one year (1839), on the visits of the Archdeacon and the Bishop of Calcutta, 980 heathen were baptized, which increased the number of converts to 1490: in the year following (1840), the baptized were again increased to 2000, and 3000 more were preparing for the laver of regeneration 1: and this at Krishnagur alone. The Bishop of Madras speaks of "whole Christian villages in the Tinnevelly district." He states, "that lately 3000 had been added to the Church, and that in four stations alone he had confirmed 1500 native converts 2." We pass by the missions at Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and Vepery, having already given facts enough to make the reader feel astonishment and pain in reading the following remarks of Dr. Grant upon the statements of Dr. Wiseman.

"The words, which Bishop Heber used in 1826, and which are quoted by Dr. Wiseman, are these:—'The number is gradually in-

¹ Grant's Bampton Lectures, p. 199.

creasing, and there are now, in the South of India, about two hundred Protestant congregations, the number of which has been sometimes vaguely stated at forty thousand. I doubt whether they reach fifteen thousand; but even this, all things considered, is certainly a great number.' (Journal, vol. iii. p. 460.) Dr. Wiseman's comment upon the passage is, 'And certainly it is a great number, and I have no hesitation in saying very much too great, as I shall at once proceed to show you.' (Lect. vi. p. 175.) To fulfil this announcement, he refers to the missions founded by Schwartz, as if the bishop were speaking of these alone, whereas he did speak of 'the South of India.' Within this sphere of operation he then selects three facts, viz., that the bishop confirmed fifty natives at Tanjore, and eleven at Trichinopoly; and that in a set of villages which formed but 'one circle' in the Tanjore mission, the number of Christians returned in 1823, was one thousand three hundred and eighty-eight. 'So that,' adds Dr. Wiseman, 'the number first stated at forty thousand, then at fifteen thousand, is, by the report of the missionaries themselves, reduced to thirteen hundred and twenty-eight!' Thus, then, though Bishop Heber spoke of the Protestant Christians in the whole of Southern India, Dr. Wiseman attempts to refute his calculation, by computing the number of Christians in two missions only, and then limits his computations to one circle only in one of these missions. And so, by this process, and by adducing three insulated facts, he has 'no hesitation in saying' that Bishop Heber's computation was 'very much too great.'

"This is an instance of the fairness with which the missions of the Church of England and other Protestants are examined. Now what

is the state of the case?

"It may perhaps be urged that this able writer was unable to discover any other traces of converts in connexion with these Indian missions. And in reply, I observe, that in the very same page of his Journal, in which Bishop Heber mentions the fact of his confirming the natives alluded to at Tanjore, he adds, 'that he pronounced the benediction on above one thousand three hundred natives,' on the evening of Easter-Day. 'This however,' he subjoins, 'is only in the city of Tanjore. There are scattered congregations to the number of many thousand Protestant Christians in all the neighbouring cities and villages; and the wicker-bound groves, each distinguished by a little cross of cane, of the poor people by the road-side, are enough to tell even the more careless traveller, that the country is in a great measure Christian.' It is hardly possible to conceive that Dr. Wiseman had not read this.

"So here there were several thousand Christians, besides the one thousand three hundred in the city of Tanjore, in this one mission. But besides, I find that in this same year, 1826, in one village congregation in the Tinnevelly mission, ninety-nine natives were baptized by a native priest, named Nanapragasam³. Further, in 1824, official statements were sent in to Archdeacon Robinson (an account of which he

³ Madras' Committee Report, p. 302, to the Society for Promoting Christian Knows ledge.

has kindly furnished me with) of the several missions of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which give the number of converts in charge of that Society alone at about eight thousand two hundred and sixty. Even at an earlier period than this, in 1820, a similar return was made of the mission conducted by the Church Mission Society; and in one of these missions at Tinnevelly, the converts were stated at seven thousand five hundred; and there were other stations which might have been added.' "—Appendix, pp. 363—365.

This, it will be observed, was the rough estimate of the native Christians twenty years ago. Since which time, even our enemies being judges, "the heretical communion of the Anglican Church has grown with a giant growth." Instead then of being surprised that our success has been so little, we are rather astonished that it has been so great. The number of missionaries scattered through Northern India, with its seventy million heathens, is thirty: in the diocese of Bombay ten; and in Tanjore, among six hundred thousand souls, four. "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few."

Perhaps the most striking example of the success with which it has pleased God to bless our missions, is to be found in New Zealand.

"A more solid, and no less marked advance of the Gospel has been effected in a mission which, from the hopes and anticipations which are centered on that new country and its rising churches, must engage all our sympathies,-the mission of New Zealand. A more striking instance it has not been permitted to later generations to witness, than was exhibited on this field, of the conversion of nearly a whole nation. In 1814, the Church Missionary Society first commenced its labours in these islands, but for fifteen years no native was affected by the word of life, which was wholly checked in its course, chiefly through the savage opposition of one native marauder. The fact of the natives being scattered about in tribes under separate chiefs, was another source of hindrance, not only from the perpetual jealousies and wars to which it gave rise, but from the absence of any such influence as was found to aid the reception of the Gospel in the Society and Sandwich groups, where the several islands were subject to one king or ruler. From the period of 1829, the gathering in of the heathen has been gradual and We may probably trace the more favourable reception which the missionaries then began to experience, to the conviction of the natives, that they were come to settle among them for beneficent purposes; in their own expressive language, they found they were come 'to break their clubs in two; to blunt the points of their spears; to make this tribe and that tribe love one another, and sit down as brothers and friends;' and hence they listened to their teaching. Thus converts were gained; the inhuman practices which before distinguished this savage race were discontinued. With a surprising facility they gave themselves to instruction, and 'to thousands of our fellow-creatures in

that distant quarter of the earth God gave a new heart and a new spirit. During the year 1841, the increase of those who were under instruction, including baptized and hearers, advanced from twenty-nine thousand, to thirty-five thousand. Distant tribes are constantly being wakened to a desire to become Christians, and send for a teacher to come and instruct them.'"—pp. 209, 210.

It would be easy to add other proofs drawn from the West Indies, and the Cape of Good Hope, but what has been given will suffice to show that God's work is growing in our hand; that all we need is faith, love, zeal, patience, wisdom, and the energy of self-devotion; that there is no limit to the harvest we may

reap for God, but the limit of the seed we sow.

The scope of our remarks has naturally led us away from that part of Dr. Grant's work, in which he mentions the missions of Protestant bodies abroad and at home. But we should do a violence to our feelings of Christian justice if we were to pass by the labour of those who, according to their light, have laboured with a great and noble devotion. Above all must be mentioned the Moravians, a body of Christians most deservedly esteemed for their simple and earnest faith. In their missions they have exhibited a devotion and fearlessness worthy of all reverence. Of later missions Dr. Grant mentions the Baptist Missionary Society, formed in 1792; the London Society, in 1794; and the Wesleyan Association, in 1817. Although it is impossible to be blind to the incalculable evil of division in confounding the poor heathen with perplexities and doubts of the divine origin of a religion, whose professors are divided against themselves, and the bitter fruits which such divisions bear, yet we cannot but be thankful for any diffusion of belief in the Godhead and Atonement of the Son of God, and of the majesty and power of the Divine law of moral purity: moreover, we cannot but honor, according to the measure of just proportion, the personal endurance and devotion of many Christians who, alas! are not of us.

We return, then, to the great question of practice which so urgently forces itself upon us. In what have the means hitherto used for the diffusion of the faith been defective, and therefore ineffectual? It is not to be doubted, on the one hand, that successes have been awarded to the labours of our missionaries; neither, on the other hand, is it to be denied that there has been an inadequacy in the result, and, in time past, a want of continuance in the work achieved. It would seem that the decline which has been found in the Missions of the Roman and English Churches, as well as those of Protestant communities, has, strange to say, a common origin. We have seen that the Roman Catholic missionaries were for a long time the missiona-

ries rather of certain orders in the Church, than of the Church itself; and that collision with the Church ensued. The same is true of the Missions of the Church of England. They have been until now the work of Societies in the Church, and have been wanting in the vigour, unity, energy, continuance, which nothing but the perfect organization of the Church can give. This the

Dissenting Missions have not at all possessed.

The Missions of Schwartz, Ziegenbalg, and Schultze, suffered a marked declension after their death. Whether this would have happened if their Missions had been taken up and fostered by the care and oversight of a spiritual Father, charged with the welfare of all the Missions in his diocese, we shall be better able to conjecture when time has tested the conservative effect of the Colonial Episcopate upon our existing Missions. In one word, then, the true answer is this:—The Missions of later times have not been Missions sent forth by the Church as such. They have not been as of old, when S. Athanasius sent Frumentius as Bishop of the Indians, and S. Gregory sent Augustine as Apostle of the Britons; but private orders and societies have attempted what can really be done by the Church alone. For some time, to our humiliation be it spoken, our chiefest Missionaries were not even in holy orders; even after the societies had sought and obtained ordination for their Missionaries at the hands of our Bishops, they still sent them forth without either the mission or jurisdiction of the Church. Complicated evils have resulted from this anomaly. But they are now in the way of correction, and need not be particularly specified. There can, however, be no doubt that the difficulty of bringing into organization and unity the Colonial Dioceses, is greatly increased by the character of our earlier missionary efforts. The Episcopate has not been the source of our Missions, but is now tardily superinduced upon foundations of a diverse and incongruous material. In the Lectures before us, certain remarkable points of similarity between the evils which have attended the Roman and our own Missions are well stated: such, for instance, as the neglect of Episcopal authority, and consequent dissension among the Missionary bodies.

"The dissocializing principle that has characterized and formed the Protestant sects, has in a degree infected the Church, and has too much broken up its organization into societies, which (acting with more or less of countenance from its rulers) have yet framed their own rules, and pursued their own objects, by their own means; have appealed to the faithful on behalf of themselves; have sent emissaries to urge their own claims; have redistributed the country into fresh districts for their own operations, disregarding the ancient ecclesiastical divisions; have called on the clergy to co-operate, with no concurrence of their

Bishop; thus, in many cases, introducing disorder and perplexity, and charging individuals with a duty which belongs to them only in subordination to divinely-appointed authority. The office of carrying the Gospel to the heathen, in particular, is undertaken by a professedly "Lay Association," which nevertheless selects, appoints, and sends missionaries; superintends and directs their operations; forms new missions, and relinquishes them; and so assumes an authority and responsibility which was ever wont to be reposed in the chief pastors of the Church."—pp. 232, 233.

In Japan, Paraguay, and in India, the Jesuit missionaries exhibited a like spirit. Even Papal decrees, when opposed to them, were set at nought.

"Two bishops were consecrated at Rome in 1657; one, Bishop of Heliopolis, the other, Bishop of Berithe, to take charge of the congregations in China, Cochin-China, &c. The Jesuits opposed them, as intruding on their ground. 'Ils firent savoir aux fidèles qu'ils n'eussent pas à reconnoître les Evêques, ni à leur obéir 4." In 1626, a Bishop of Chalcedon was appointed, with the authority of ordinary over the Roman Catholics in England; and undertook to extend his jurisdiction over the Jesuits; but they threw such obstacles in his way, that he was obliged to retire. Hence arose a controversy between the Jesuits and the adherents of the Bishop, in which, among other things, it was disputed, whether regulars were under the jurisdiction of bishops."—p. 235, note.

"There was not a more melancholy sight than the strife that arose between the rival orders of Rome in China, in India, and throughout Europe, each charging the other with a departure from the faith; so that in Malabar a Jesuit Christian was set in opposition to a Capuchin Christian."—p. 236.

There is too little need that we should continue this parallel. Another remarkable coincidence is the tendency of men, isolated and independent of the Church, to fall into secularity. The commercial pursuits and gains of the Jesuit missionaries, both in the West and East Indies, were a scandal to Europe. What should we say to the failure of Father La Valette, in Martinique, for 1,500,000 livres, if we did not know of a recent Mission, in which six Catechists and three Clergymen together held 96,399 acres of land ⁵? Well may the poor New Zealanders declare "We feel ourselves upon a fish's back:" i. e. shoved into the water.

In this, then, we note one of the chief defects of our Missions hitherto; and we are thankful that at length the principle has been recognised and recorded with the sanction of unusual solemnities. It has been declared by the highest spiritual personages,

⁴ Histoire Abrégé, p. 95.

⁵ Grant's Bampton Lectures, p. 239, and Appendix.

that the principle of our Missions is in the Episcopate of the Church, and that our spiritual rulers will never stay their hand, till they have made the Episcopate of the colonial Churches co-extensive with the British empire. No man that was present in the abbey church of St. Peter in Westminster, on that Feast of St. Bartholomew, when, among the shrines of kings and confessors, five chosen pastors were consecrated, and wedded to their distant Churches, but felt in his heart a boding of great and blessed destinies awaiting our spiritual mother. The question will now be fairly put to issue in the sight of Christendom, whether or no there be in her life and charity, the spirit of the cross, and the presence of her Lord. We are no worshippers of the episcopal form of Church government. It is precisely because we do not believe it to be a form but a reality that we love and revere it. In the shallow and wasting theology of those that contend about forms of Church polity and the like, episcopacy, as they are wont to call it, is no doubt a lifeless ceremonial, and at best a scheme that is politically expedient. Believing as we do, that it is the means divinely ordained for the multiplication, development, unity, organization, permanence, and energy of the Church, we confidently hope in God that the work of grace among the heathen will henceforward advance, and hold its ground as it advances, so as we have never seen before. One vital defect of our missions hitherto has been want of concentration; and how should there be concentration without a centre? And this want of concentration has brought both failure to the work of the Gospel, and premature death to the exhausted and broken missionary. It is a matter of rejoicing, therefore, that already our colonial Churches possess an episcopate of fifteen members; that in every part of the empire, in the west, and east, and farthest south, not only are our brethren gathered under the oversight of a spiritual Father, but the bishops of those Churches also are able to take common counsel for the spread of our Master's kingdom. It was something almost incredible, that until lately there was no sufficient number to effect a canonical consecration in case of death, without recurring from Australia and Northern India to England. Three more sees, i. e. New Brunswick, Ceylon, and the Cape of Good Hope, will speedily be added; and it is to be hoped that the nominal dioceses of Australia and India will, in this generation, be subdivided, and entrusted to many missionary bishops.

Another great and signal defect in our Missionary system, has been the want of any institution for the education and discipline of a body of clergy and catechists for the work of Christ among the heathen. It is literally true to say that no such thing has

The institution formed of late years by the Church Missionary Society is no exception; for that institution is no work of the Church as such. It is not to be believed that this state of neglect could long have been endured if there had existed a colonial episcopate. What were the first-fruits of the first bishopric planted in India, but Bishop's College in Calcutta? Imperative as it is on the Church at home to train up a body of clergy to serve at her domestic altars, it is a thousand-fold more urgently required, that the missionary clergy should be prepared for their work by a specific and well-conducted training. At home the insensible education of every man in a Christian society, the knowledge of life and of mankind, which is not so much an acquisition as an instinct gained by habit, render men of little ecclesiastical or theological attainments not wholly unable to meet the office of a parish priest. Not so with the missionary. He has a new tongue, or it may be many new tongues, to learn from their very alphabet. He has to acquire a knowledge of the people among whom his field of toil is to be appointed: he must master their habits of thought and life; their national, philosophical, and religious prejudices and persuasions: he must enter into their ideal world, if he would draw them from thence into the light of the Gospel. And very little do people realize what all this means, when they talk so glibly and emptily of missions. To take Hindoostan alone. "The eastern superstitions," Dr. Grant well says, are "like the huge fortresses which crown the heights of India, bearing the impress of a rude grandeur, and witnessing to an ancient civilization; the strongholds of a stern despotism, under the shelter of which there has grown up a cultivation of arts and sciences, with an advancement of social life, and, among the privileged classes of natives, an extravagant but abstruse philosophy, which will offer at the least a strong inert force against the advances of Christianity 6."

If anybody would have a fuller knowledge of the subtilty of the speculations with which the missionary must contend in dealing with the Oriental mind, let him read the deep and able essay of Mr. Morris, on the conversion of the learned and philosophical Hindoos, to which the prize offered by the Bishop of Calcutta has been adjudged by the University of Oxford. It would surprise some people not a little to meet with such metaphysics and dialectics as are there treated of, on the source of revealed knowledge, the relation of the soul to matter, the foundation of immutable morality, the personality of man, the nature and freedom of the will, and the like. Now it will not do to talk in a lofty strain about philosophy and vain deceit, or to quote misinterpreted texts

⁶ Grant's Bampton Lectures, p. 244.

of St. Paul, to show the inutility of such studies to a preacher of the cross. The Oriental mind must be approached by us as the Athenian by St. Paul himself. He is our example in this very point. It is only by penetrating into the mind and system of heathen, and by duly appreciating it, that the missionary knows how to elicit and to perfect what of truth it still retains.

But not only in discipline of intellect and speculative power does the missionary need a special education for his work. The endowments of modern science are peculiarly helpful in gaining the confidence and the ear of heathen nations. Astronomy, chemistry, geometry, mathematics, mechanical skill,—above all, practical surgery and medicine,—arts that are deemed to be sacred, together with the lesser arts of life, which tend to embody the reality of the Gospel in tangible examples of Christian civilization,—all these are of the greatest and most direct service to missionary enterprise. There is something peculiarly striking in the picture of a Senior Wrangler, of boyish aspect, drawing diagrams on the floor of a Persian court, and confounding the mathematical pretensions of Moolahs and Moonshees 7. Not any part of Martyn's academic discipline was thrown away in the labour of the Gospel; and the senate-house in Cambridge found its appointed work in the halls of Shiraz. Indeed, the very highest gifts are needed for the missionary's work; and hitherto we have been contented with sending forth oftentimes the lowest; for the most part, indeed, whatsoever we have been able to find. But surely, if we are to do the work of the Lord in his faith and fear, this must be so no longer.

Again, it is not only in these, which are of the nature of particular endowments, that the missionary must needs be provided, but also in a true, and, whether consciously or not matters little, a scientific knowledge of the principles on which the work of conversion must be carried on. So important is this point, that it forms the subject of one of St. Augustine's formal treatises, and occupied the most careful attention of the early Church. The principles of catechising, and the method of presenting truth to the unenlightened, is a matter of the first moment and difficulty. The process must be almost infinitely varied, and sometimes wholly inverted, according to the traditionary character of nations, or the habitual moral state of individuals; and when the subjects of these attempts are the complex and fanatical minds of China and Hindoostan, the need of careful and exact

preparation cannot fail to be evident.

It must not, however, be imagined, that in thus dwelling on the

⁷ Martyn's Journal, vol. ii. p. 376.

need of theological and intellectual discipline for the work of a missionary, that this is all, or even the chiefest part of the preparation necessary for that noble and arduous toil. The great Apostle of the Gentiles, himself the very symbol of the missions of the Church, has in this again by his own example set us a deeper lesson. All learned as he was in Jewish and Gentile literature, and called by direct revelation of the Son of God, nevertheless he made his retreat for two years into Arabia, that in humiliation and self-chastisement he might make ready for his life-long work. Much as the gifts and acquirements of the intellect are needed, the gifts and endowments of the Spirit are needed more. It is the zeal, boldness, endurance, love like the Apostle's, far more than the knowledge and power of the student, that this work demands. And for this the choicest sons of the Church, and those whose hearts God has kindled with a pure and burning enthusiasm, must be singled out, and brought under the strengthening and chastening discipline of prayers, fastings, and meditations, in a system where all things breathe the spirit of apostolic charity: where sufferings and martyrdom for Christ are emblazoned as the bearings and legends of their holy fellowship: and the white raiment and branch of palm are held forth as the only true reward. In this our forefathers are examples to us:

"It was thus in the middle ages, that seminaries were attached to the religious houses, which were the citadels of Christianity. As early as at the close of the fourth century, Lerins became the source of enlightenment to southern France. The monastic houses at Bangor, Iona, Lindisfarne, and Neuf-Corbie, were for centuries the nurseries of evangelists for northern Europe; and within their seminaries were trained those master spirits to whom the Christianity of nations is due, Columban, St. Gall, Aidan, Boniface, and Auschar. In the sixteenth century similar institutions were founded by the Church of Rome,—twenty-three by one pontiff alone, and subsequently were attached to all religious houses."—pp. 252, 253.

Next, then, to the multiplication of the colonial episcopate, the most urgent measure is to form colleges for the colonial and missionary elergy, both abroad and at home. The cry, which has come to us over the waters, from the East, West, and South, has been for men. "Send us men, before all money and gifts; send us fellow-workers, willing to spend and be spent with us in the Lord's harvest-field." This has been the urgent appeal again and again, especially from three of the ablest and most devoted pastors, the Bishops of Calcutta, Australia, and New Zealand: and from the earnest representations of the two last, there is already in course of being matured a proposal of the

highest and deepest moment—the founding of a missionary college, on a scale adequate to the sphere of evangelical labour committed to the Church of England. This plan may be said to emanate from some of the most devoted of our colonial bishops, though the privilege of originating it at home belongs to one who is worthy to hold the pledges of such an undertaking.

"You are, no doubt, fully aware," he says in a private circular, sent to certain earnest friends of his design, "that the want of an adequate supply of ministers, duly prepared in heart and mind to labour with effect in the dependencies of the British empire, has long been felt and deplored by those who have been called to preside over the colonial Churches. Few, in proportion to the daily increasing demand, have been found willing to devote themselves to a work demanding so many sacrifices in the beginning, and so full of difficulty in the accomplishment; and of those who have left all for Christ's sake, men full of zeal and sincerity, some, it must be confessed, have failed altogether, and others have only partially succeeded, from a want of appropriate training for the duties to be discharged, the difficulties to be encountered,

and the hardships to be endured.

"To apply a remedy, under God's blessing, to this great and, I fear, increasing evil, it seems to me that two measures are primarily necessary; the first, to provide an education, embracing, as nearly as may be, all the advantages which our ancient universities now offer to those who are destined to holy orders, but at a less expense, and with greater simplicity and frugality of habits; -the second, which is, in part, consequent on the former, the drawing more largely on the pupils of our endowed grammar-schools. From very recent communications with the masters of these schools, I am induced to believe that a large supply of missionary students may be derived from them, provided the foundation, laid in those preliminary institutions, can be completed at a less expence than is at present necessary at either university. I would propose then, with these objects in view, to found, if possible, at one of the two ancient universities, or in some other suitable place, a college for the education and training of such young men as may be willing to dedicate themselves to the ministry of the Church in the British colonies. Such an institution will, I believe, meet with the general concurrence and approval of the colonial bishops; especially, when it is known that the project itself emanates in great measure from the suggestions of the bishops of Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania; and that it will, if established, be under the immediate management and control of Bishop Coleridge, who has most kindly expressed his readiness to undertake the office of Honorary Principal.

"I would propose, then, that the buildings should be on a large scale, but so devised as to admit of their being completed in portions; and that we should begin with the chapel, hall, and apartments for fifty students, with the necessary offices and servants of the institu-

tion; in the hope that, ere long, a demand would be made for accommodation for two hundred. The building should be raised entirely, and the establishment be maintained in part (at least for a time) by donations and subscriptions; but no such means as shares or nominations should be resorted to.

"You will be glad to learn, that the scheme of a systematic plan, within the Church itself, for supplying clergymen, in sufficient numbers and suitably qualified, for our colonial Churches, has received the general sanction of their Graces the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Lord Bishop of London, the three prelates to whom, in this country, the interests of the Churches in the British colonies are more particularly a care."

It is earnestly to be hoped, that on the first authoritative publication of this undertaking, such an universal and abundant contribution may be made as to realize at once, at least, the ground-plan and idea of the whole work. But in such a place as this, it would be hardly fitting to say any thing of its details. Fully aware of certain advantages to be obtained in planting such a missionary college within the precincts of Cambridge or Oxford, we have nevertheless the strongest reasons for believing that the tone, character, scope, and, as we may say, atmosphere of our universities, would be found alien and injurious to the practical working of a missionary college. Our own judgment and desires strongly incline to a cathedral church on some ancient ecclesiastical site, such as Beverley, Southwell, St. Cross, or St. Augustin at Canterbury, which we believe might at this moment be obtained for the purpose. The very omen admonishes to the choice.

The subject we are upon is so extensive, so full of manifold and inexhaustible details, that we hardly know where to stop. But our limits warn us to draw to an end; and we will therefore notice only one other defect in our practice hitherto, which, as it is more of a homely and untheological kind, hardly enters into the range of the Lectures before us; we mean the imperfect and ineffectual mode adopted hitherto for the gathering of the Church's

alms for the work of missions.

The modes hitherto in use have been, 1st, subscription lists, and branch societies, as by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; or, 2ndly, these, together with collections after sermons and at public meetings, as by the Church Missionary Society, and of late by the former likewise. Now on this it is obvious to remark, that these expedients are based on no religious principle as such; they embody no religious motive; they have no universality of operation; and they do, as a matter of fact, excite and maintain a theory and mode of giving to religious objects which is

liable to be infected by the highest measure of irreverence and worldliness. We are not saying that these evils must follow; but without fear of contradiction we affirm that they do; neither are we saving that religious motives are not appealed to, but that the system itself does not, as such, appeal to religious motives. What can be worse than the miserable parade of subscription lists; the heated and false excitement of public meetings, and the niggardly contributions which are accepted without rebuke from those to whom God has entrusted, if not great wealth, as it often happens, at least an abundance of all things and to spare? And that this most imperfect practice has been ineffective, we need offer no proof. The income of the Church Missionary Society is put at 70,000l. or 80,000l. The income of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the year 1835, was 10,000l., and now, at nearly 150 years from its formation, it is about 47,000l. The whole amount contributed by the members of the Church to these two Societies, and therefore to the work of missions through the Church, is less than 127,000l. a year; and that is in a country whose income, to judge by the property-tax returns, made by persons possessing 150l. a-year and upward, is 170,000,000l. and the annual value of whose real property has increased from 52,000,000*l*. in 1815 to 62,000,000*l*. in 1841; that is, 10,000,000*l*. in twenty-five years.

"A nation whose legislators boast that they have saved to the holders of property 16,962,070l. from 1834 to 1842, such being the difference between the assessment for the poor-rate in 1834, and that made in each subsequent year; out of which amount 13,389,348l. consist of moneys saved to the rich by an actual diminution of expenditure for the relief of the poor:—a nation whose Church population in England and Wales is acknowledged by Dissenters to exceed 13,000,000, and, from among whose total population of 16,000,000, 723,328 persons, chiefly domestics, mechanics, petty tradesmen, and farmers, who might, if they were duly influenced by our clergy, contribute their quota to the National Society, possessed on the 20th November, 1842, a capital in savings' banks alone of 20,792,602l.

Let any one take the returns made under the Queen's letter to any of our great Church societies. We give one which is ready to our hand in the striking pamphlet already quoted. Let any one compare the column of the population of the places named with the column of their contributions.

⁸ From an admirable and able pamphlet, "Can the Church Educate the People?" pp. 17, 18.

" Amount 1	aised und	er National S	Society's	Roval Le	tter for	184	10. in
	nd Westm			,	£.	S.	d.
\mathbf{L}_{0}	ondon	£1,038 0	5]		1 704	11	4
W	estminster	666 10	11	• •	1,704	11	4
Pa	arish of St	. George, Han	over Squa	are	301	18	2
		arylebone			437	5	7
	,, St	t. Martin's in t	he Fields		59	12	9
	,, St	. James's	, ••		170	14	10
Population in					ch Collec		
1841.				Ivatio	nal Socie Letter i		
282,656		Liverpool			325	4	9
240,367	••	Manchester	••	* *	289	12	10
181,116	• •	Birmingham	• •	• •	100	10	10
151,063	••	Leeds	••	• •	146	17	10
123,188	• •	Bristol	• •	• •	132	6	3
109,597	• •	Sheffield	••	• •	82	1	0
92,943	4 *	Wolverhamp	ton	• •	14	7	5
,	• •			*,*	52	13	2
69,430	• •	Newcastle-or Hull	1-1 yne	• •	32	9	9
65,670	••	Bradford	• •	• •	32	11	1
66,508	* *		4,4	• •	56	8	3
60,982	• •	Norwich	* *	• •		Vil.	0
ra 010	• •	Aylesbury	• • •	* *	10	N11.	c
52,818	• •	Sunderland	* *	• •			6
51,441	••	Nottingham	* *	• •	57	17	6
44,132	• •	East Retford	* *	* *	16	17	6
52,346	• •	Bath		• •	140	13	4
*48,567	• •	Brighton	* *	• •	253	15 3	9
37,668	• •	Stroud		• •	15	13	8
32,407	• •	Derby	• •	• •	61		10
31,207	• •	Cheltenham	• •	* *	178	$0 \\ 2$	4
30,152	• •	York	• •	• •	95		11
26,306	• •	Worcester		• •	45	18	6
23,656		Oxford	• •	• •	99	0	5
23,455	• •	Cambridge	• •	• •	123	11	9
35,040	• •	Plymouth	• •	• •	54	4	2
40,559	• •	Devonport	J C and barr	• •	8	3	0
340,032		Lambeth and			233	16	9
		d in the Dioce			5,696	17	8
		ishop of Lond	ion's Past	oral	6.000	0	0
Letter	for Chine	se Missions	• •	• •	6,000	0	0

^{*} Since the above list was in print, I find that Brighton, already a larger proportionate contributor than any other parish, has remitted 560l in answer to this year's Letter.

Amount co	ontributed fr	om Birming	ham		£.	s.	d.				
	e National										
in				1823	102	7	4				
,,	99	,,		1832	80	6	1				
**	. 39	,,		1837	101	0	10				
,,			• •	1840	100	10	10				
Number of Churches and Chapelries to											
	turns are se			13,081							
Ditto		do.		Í							
made no	2,669!!!										
No. of Cat	11										
Total amount of Cathedral collections						4	6				

"It appears from these returns, that the great cities of the empire, those possessing the largest churches and the wealthiest congregations, contribute a bare pittance to the National Society."

"Thus Birmingham, for instance, has yielded altogether 384l. 5s. 1d., and received 1,685l.; leaving a balance of 1,301l. 5s. 1d. to its debit.

"Yet Birmingham has the benefit of King Edward's rich Grammar School foundation to assist its own inhabitants. It remits nothing to its Diocesan Board; to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in 1843, 162l.; to that for the Propagation of the Gospel, in 1843, 71l. 4s. 4d."

Now, is this surprising? Far from it. With a system so radically weak, it would be a wonder if more were effected. Let it be said at once, then, that the present mode of collecting the contributions of the Church is unsound in these cardinal points.

1. It is not identified with acts of faith, i. e. of obedience and worship.

2. It is not based on the law of proportion.

This is not the place, even if we had the room, to state at length what remedies should be applied to this most vicious part of our practice. It must suffice to say, that there is no way of restoring to our contributions both their religious character and their religious motive, in which the law of proportion will always be continued, but by making the act of alms-giving a part of our stated public worship; nor any way of making the contributions to the work of the Church universal among all her members, but by making it a part of the pastoral ministry of the clergy periodically to instruct their people in the duties and works of the Church, and in the full meaning of the words of the Lord Jesus, how He said, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." If this had been heartly believed and taught, it is perfectly incredible that we

^{9 &}quot;Can the Church Educate the People?" pp. 101, 102.

should ever have heard of parish priests who not only neglect to move their people to this Christian duty on the plea of their poverty, or of their unwillingness, but even go so far as to omit, on the same pleas, the ordinary collection at the offertory at the time of administering the holy communion. What is this, if the words of our Lord are true, but to rob our people of a blessing? And if almsgiving be a precept of the Gospel, what is it but to teach them disobedience? But this subject is too wide and full of stirring thoughts that we should enter upon it here. We trust that the letter lately issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the bishops of his province, in which his Grace, both as Primate of all England, and President of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, commends that Society to the fervent and united support of the clergy and laity of the Church, will open the way for a systematic restoration of this great Christian duty. It is to be hoped that there will be no parish throughout the twenty-six dioceses of the Church, from which contributions will not every vear be gathered for that venerable Society; and that rich and poor will learn to give, not by the artificial standard of guinea subscriptions, which, by shutting out the poorer members of Christ's body, makes almsgiving a luxury of the rich, and by deceiving the rich man's conscience, defrauds him of his blessing, but by the measure of his substance or riches. Already we see signs of a faithful and thankful recognition of the great evangelical law of giving according to a rule of proportion; and whole ecclesiastical divisions are to be found uniting on the principle of making the subject of missions a matter of the pastoral ministry, and of teaching that the duty of giving alms at the parochial altar for the work of Christ at home and abroad, attaches to every member of his Church. And here we would leave this point, were it not that the mention of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel reminds us of a peculiar claim it now possesses on our earnest and self-denying support. Its ancient foundation, ample authority, signal usefulness, stedfast perseverance through the worst times of the last century, and of the Church, as well as the high sanction with which it is now commended to us by the prelates of the Church, gives it the strongest claims on our most heartfelt and vigorous support. But there is one other claim above all others, by which it lays the most powerful bond of obligation upon our hearts and consciences. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in despite of worldly calculations, and of a petty expediency, trusting in God, has boldly violated all the precepts of a timid and cautious policy, and cast forth upon the field of its missions the whole amount of property which past generations had accumulated and invested in the funds. It has

thrown itself, therefore, upon the alms of the faithful; and we revere it tenfold. It has recognized in act the great law that Apostolic missionaries taught; and has done more than all books and preachings could effect: it has offered up itself to prove that the law of almsgiving is a reality. Notwithstanding the vast yearly increase of its income, which, as we have said, in 1835, was 10,282l., and in 1843, 47,000l., that is, nearly fivefold, the Society, conscious that in itself it is nothing, and that in its acts it is but the agent of the Church, has boldly entered into every field of labour which has opened itself to its missions, and has added one hundred and fifty to the number of its missionaries. The effect of this faithful and wise measure has been to compel a choice between narrower missions and funded securities on the one hand, or a broader work for God, with no other pledges than his good Providence, on the other. And it has chosen well. yearly sale of its funded property has so far exhausted its capital, that at the end of 1846, unless it should have either greatly increased its income, or greatly contracted its sphere of mission, there will be a deficiency of 24,000l. But that this will never be. we are well assured. The missions of the Church will at length become what hitherto, except to a handful of Churchmen, they have never been, a matter for self-denial; and the powers of selfdenial are inexhaustible.

Let it only be added, that the British empire in foreign parts contains no less than 97,700,000 souls, of whom more than 90,000,000 are heathen, without the knowledge of the Gospel of life. The Church has sent forth fifteen Bishops and eight hundred clergy into this world of heathenism. This is the earnest of the work which the Church is pledged to fulfil. Her very being as a Church is at issue. If she give way abroad, she will soon begin to faint at home. Our lack of charity on the plains of Asia will soon be chastised at the threshold of our parish churches; and in the decline of the English Church, the

British empire will hasten to its fall.

Truly, we stand at the balance of an awful probation, and which way the beam will lean is doubtful still. This great empire shall surely be either the mightiest power of benediction, or the direct scourge to the nations, on whom the ends of the world are Awful, indeed, if our vast organization were to be seized on and possessed by the god of this world, as a forerunner of the antichrist, whose hour draweth nigh; a power to blast and to wither, to sear and to break in pieces, to trample upon the nations, and to blaspheme the God of heaven. The fraud, force, atheism, sensuality, rationalism, insubordination, schism, religious strife, the unclean and rebellious spirits which have gone forth

from our land into all the world may well make us to tremble. Let us think with fear of the deserted thousands of Canada, and the out-cast convicts of our Australian shores. The offscourings of such cities and towns as ours must needs make a frightful population. With such physical and material forces, with such perilous gifts of intellectual powers, and such arts of civilization, with such excited humours and vehemence of will, what may not spring up from the scatterings of our dominion if it fall from the kingdom of God? and let us not be too sure of our footing. "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall." Be it remembered always, that the work of evangelizing the British empire is no longer among the professed functions of the civil We have entered upon the last phase, it would appear. of the Church's mutations upon earth: we are under that aspect which is both new and old: old, because it was seen when the Church in the beginning reared itself alone within the precincts of the Roman empire: and new, because, since the kingdoms of the earth became Christian, it has never, till these last centuries, been confessed that the spiritual and civil powers were avowedly divorced. But so, in our colonial dominions, it has been, and The civil government, whether at home or abroad, does not charge itself to provide the offices and ministrations of the Church for its people. Witness the Canadas, from which the pittance of a few thousands has been withdrawn: witness the present relation of the colonial episcopate to the government of Great Britain; and the principle of indiscriminate aid offered to all religious communities, howsoever mutually destructive, while the Government holds itself aloof from all. For the future the Church will labour alone, and by her labour shall be judged of her Master at His coming.

On the British empire, as such, in its civil character, must rest the responsibility. No man can see these things, without seeing also, that so far as the civil dynasty is on trial in the balances of heaven, there are just and manifold grounds of fear, lest, like Portugal and Spain, it be weighed and found wanting. For the Church and her work hereafter we have no fear but that which excites to hope and action. The pool was, indeed, long stagnant, but it has been stirred from its very depths. At the outset, we said that the missions of the Church are a sure test of her inward life. Twice in her history she has been crushed by paganism bursting in from foreign lands, and twice restored again. At each restoration the first impulses of life flowed forth in healing upon the very lands from whence the hurt was aimed. The invasion of the Saxons was followed by the mission of St. Augustine, and the light of life was poured back upon the Teutonic tribes.

The Northmen burned our monasteries, and threw down our altars, and in revenge the Church of this land won Norway to the inheritance of Christ. It was when most pressed at home that it wrought most mightily abroad; it was but one and the same principle of life putting itself forth in diverse places. The two great periods in which our episcopate at home was multiplied, are the very same in which the most resplendent missionary works were wrought by our forefathers abroad. It was the age of Columban, Willebrord, and Boniface, which planted the sees of Winchester and Durham, and the age of Sigfrid and Wolfrid that multiplied the bishoprics of England twofold. Is not the third period now upon us? and are not the same signs manifest? with this only difference in order. Then the life and energy unfolded first the episcopate in Wessex and in Mercia; now its multiplication has been first exhibited in Australia and New Zealand. But this is a simple accident; they are only two symptoms of one and the same vital force. It is not in the hands of man, except the Church betray herself, to resist the power that is now expanding; it were as good to contend against the seasons or the tides. The work is God's, and who shall let it?

ART. VII.—The Ideal of a Christian Church: considered in comparison with existing practice: containing a defence of certain Articles in the British Critic, in reply to Remarks on them in Mr. Palmer's Narrative. By the Rev. W. G. WARD, M.A., Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. London, 1844.

It is not our intention to attempt an analysis of this book. Considered in an intellectual or literary point of view, it is a strange concretion of ill-assorted materials, which it would be impossible, or if possible, certainly not worth our while, to reduce to any consistent order. But when we regard it theologically, we really should be guilty of an insult to the common sense, the piety, and the learning of the members of our Church, were we to undertake a formal refutation of the attack upon her principles and practice which forms the staple of the volume. It will be enough, we hope, for all true-hearted members of our communion, if we simply state to them, as briefly as may be, the author's aggression upon those principles which they know to be fundamental, and of which they are fully persuaded. Controversy is not our object, but that grave reprehension, which is fully merited by those who are endeavouring, pro virili, to stir up mutiny within the camp, and under the false plea of "Catholicity" are aiming at the very life of her whose soldiers they profess to be.

Mr. Ward has no right to complain, if we take this summary method. In making an address, as he has done, not merely ad clerum, but ad ecclesiam, he has thought proper to pursue a course, and assume a tone, which would hardly be respectful to any individual of common piety or learning within her pale.

For considering the relative position of the accuser and the accused, and the magnitude and extent of the topics comprehended within this unnatural indictment, the very least which the Church had a right to require from the individual who should presume to prefer it, were surely those of venerable age, of a sanctified conversation, of profound and well-digested learning, of lengthened practical experience, of approved and well tested skill in the mysteries of human nature and of divine providence: the calm dignity of a judicial temper, united to the chastened fervency of a rational piety. Nor would qualifications such as these suffice, unless they were brought into exercise, and enunciated with all the deliberation and precision, both of thought and language, so essential at all times towards the investigation of truth: but so imperatively necessary, when the testimony of

the confessors, martyrs, fathers, and saints of the Reformed Church of England is openly impugned, and the system for which they lived and died is declared to be schismatic and heretical.

That Mr. Ward has the qualifications alluded to, it would be ridiculous to assert; nay, he does not claim them himself. the prime of life, he speaks on the profoundest subjects with all the authority of advanced age: with no pastoral experience whatever, he decides upon the utter inefficiency of the English parochial system; and known to the Church only as a writer of occasional and ephemeral tracts, he comes forth as the arbiter of Catholic learning,—as the confident propounder of new theological systems. With an acknowledged bias—with what is evidently a violent prejudice in favour of the Church of Rome, and with a prejudice as violent against the Church to which he strangely professes adherence, he pretends to hold the balance between them, and in so doing to speak on subjects of which he evidently knows nothing. We say this advisedly. Throughout the whole of his closely-printed six hundred pages, we have scarcely an allusion to any standard English divine. Except a slight reference to Bishop Bull, a well-known aphorism from Bishop Butler, and the simple mention of such names as Sanderson, Taylor, Horsley, Ken, &c., familiar as household words to the merest sciolist, we do not remember a single quotation from any Anglican Churchman of past generations; and as to those of the present, Mr. Newman is his sole authority (indeed, we conjecture that to this gifted man he is indebted for all the knowledge he possesses of English theology); while the English writers with whom he is most familiar are his favourite antagonists, Mr. Mill, Dr. Arnold, and Archbishop Whately. On the other hand, he is deeply impregnated with the writings of Spanish Jesuits, and such devotional writers of the Roman Church as are the most unequivocal upholders of the adoration of the Virgin. he makes the most frequent appeals; and this, while there is scarcely throughout the volume a single quotation from the words of Holy Scripture—a single reference to its substance. Such are his ostensible qualifications. But even with this meagre equipment, how does he prepare for or engage in the contest? By his own acknowledgment, his work is crude and unpremeditated. He sat down to write a pamphlet, and he has produced a thick volume: he has treated the all-important subjects on which it is engaged with all the looseness and flippancy so characteristic of modern periodical literature; and with a carelessness of style, the sure index of undisciplined thought, he flies off at a tangent from one topic to another; from argument to declamation, from facts to theories, from principles to feelings; in the

impetuosity of his course, frequently mistaking the object before him; confounding conscience with fancy, private judgment with Catholic testimony, the Church of England with Luther, Dr. Arnold, or Mr. John Mill: and all this while solemnly professing deliberation and fixedness of judgment, and virtually claiming a moral right to decide on the gravest and most intricate subjects which can come within the scope of human thought and investigation. Truly it is little to be wondered at, that a mind so instructed and disciplined should be utterly insensible to the genuine influence of the Church of England. It is only extraordinary that he should not have felt his incompetence to pass any judgment whatever upon her merits, or to understand her true

position.

If our representation of Mr. Ward's book be correct, (and we have no intention to exaggerate,) we trust our readers will admit the propriety of our opening announcement. We can assure Mr. Ward, that we do not think either him so formidable, or the Church of England so weak, as to need any array on our part of the antagonist arguments which any deacon of tolerable information has at hand. And we further give him clearly to understand, that we only notice his book in order to warn the younger or less settled members of our Church against certain unhealthy and contagious symptoms of which it is the exponent: especially that undisciplined and headstrong indulgence of the fancy and the will, which, in matters of gravest moment, carries out principles beyond their legitimate bounds, distorts the perspective of moral objects, and in consequence darkens and deadens the moral sense. Hence the indulgent toleration of errors the most palpable, on the one hand; the scrupulous enforcement of matters the most indifferent, as if they were vital principles, on the other. Hence that contempt of all real authority, of true Catholic principles, and the substitution of some idol in its place. This utter confusion of the hitherto acknowledged landmarks of right and wrong—a confusion induced, we fear, by the wilful neglect of providential warnings, and safeguards placed within our reach—has stamped a character on the work before us, which not the most felicitous exhibitions of occasional moral or intellectual truths can in any degree redeem or palliate.

This, we hope, will be readily conceded, (we hope—in this unsettled age we can speak with no certainty,) when we have briefly stated Mr. Ward's sentiments with regard to the Church of England, and his present relations towards her. He deliberately avows, in the most distinct terms, and in several passages, a hatred and abhorrence of the system of the English Reformation—his explanations are too detailed to admit a doubt of his mean-

ing-not her practice, but her entire system. He denounces her as schismatical, in having unnecessarily separated from Rome: as heretical, in at least tolerating, if not encouraging, what he calls heresy. He grants, notwithstanding, that she is the channel of grace in the sacraments; yet denies that she is furthering the work of grace among her children to any considerable degree. He accuses her of inconsistency and dishonesty in the very framework of her system; of establishing a Liturgy which contradicts her Articles; of framing Articles which were designedly meant to convey no definite meaning. He allows her hardly any notes of a Church; virtually declares that saintliness is not to be found within her; that she is and has been totally inoperative on the conscience of her people; that her alleged adherence to antiquity is a figment; that her appeal to Scripture is nugatory; that her claim to the title, pure and apostolic, is blasphemous; in a word, that she is utterly and to the very core corrupt. On the other hand, he professes unqualified love and admiration for the Church of Rome, as truly Catholic, as having all the notes of the Church, as being the habitation of saints, as being spiritual in her influence and in her practice. For several prominent errors of the popish system he distinctly apologizes: e.g. transubstantiation, purgatory, the worship of the Virgin Mary and of the saints; while, with a strange and inexcusable blindness, he regards its plain transgressions against God's law and Christ's ordinance as things of so light moment, as to make no allusion to them whatever. Services in an unknown tongue, the denial of the cup to the laity, the sale of indulgences, traffic with the souls of men, and all the abominations connected with the papal usurpation are forgotten! It is with the deepest pain we have made this summary, and we would gladly draw it to a close without any comment; but we must add, what to English minds would a few years ago have hardly been credible, that the person professing these views, in heart an alien to our Church, with his affections and his "conscience" enlisted on the side of Rome, persists in maintaining his place within that communion to which he has openly renounced all love and reverence. He continues "to eat the bread of the Church" (his own expression), that he may bestow his leisure and his emoluments upon preparing weapons against her from the storehouse of her deadliest enemies, the Jesuits: an order of men whom he avowedly holds up as the guides to all Christian doctrine and Catholic practice.

We must select a very few passages in illustration of Mr.

Ward's views.

In defending the language which he had employed in the "British Critic," and which Mr. Palmer has cited in his

pamphlet in proof of the Romanizing tendency of that periodical, Mr. Ward asserts, that

"The various expressions and sentences quoted by Mr. Palmer and others, which seem to have shocked and startled so many excellent men, were not put forth wantonly and without careful deliberation; but were no more (often less) than the adequate exponents of my own deep, intimate, deliberate, and habitual conviction."—p. 4.

The system of the English Church is thus characterized—(the italics here, as elsewhere, are ours):

"Should it be imagined, that when I acknowledge the English system to be in many particulars uncongenial with my own feelings, I allude to the impediments by which it thwarts the aspiration of a holy mind after saintliness, rather than the absence of such helps as may support an erring and sinful mind in the most ordinary path of salvation; should this be imagined, I should be almost overpowered with shame and confusion."—p. 8.

The violent attacks on the Church of England in Mr. Ward's articles are justified in the following manner:

"No doubt the appearance of a slight disorder or unhealthy symptom on the surface of our Church, could never justify such extreme and decided language as that which I have adopted; but believing, as I do from my innermost heart, that our system labours under no superficial disease, but is corrupt to its very core; that 'the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint;' that the generally received form of religion among us is 'another gospel which is not another,' for it is no gospel at all; believing all this, it was a direct duty to use language which, under other circumstances, might have justly appeared wanton, cruel, and extravagant."—p. 6.

All this is quite consistent with Mr. Ward's notion of "dutifulness" to the English Church. We presume that the following is also to be received as a proof of his charitable feelings towards her:—

"Believing, as I most firmly do, that ever since the schism of the sixteenth century, the English Church has been swayed by a spirit of arrogance, self-contentment, and self-complacency, resembling rather an absolute infatuation than the imbecility of ordinary pride, which has stifled her energies, crippled her resources, frustrated all the effects of her most faithful children to raise her from her existing degradation, I for one, however humble my position, will not be responsible for uttering one word which shall tend to foster this outrageous delusion.

. . . . For years—consciously or not, and in various shapes not recognized by me at the time as modifications of the same symptoms—had my feelings been oppressed and (I may really say) tortured by

this heavy, unspiritual, unelastic, unfeeling, unmeaning, Protestant spirit. All this time my ears were stunned with the din of self-laudation, with the words 'pure and apostolical,' 'evangelical truth and apostolical order,' and the like most miserable watchwords. Those from whom I learned at one moment some high and elevating truth, at the next crushed and overwhelmed me by some respectful mention of our existing system. With the single exception of Mr. Froude's work, no external response could I find to my ceaseless and everincreasing inward repugnance against the habits of thought and action prevalent in our Church."—pp. 55, 56.

With reference to the Reformation in England, Mr. Ward's feelings are thus expressed. Having alluded to the principles of "the absolute supremacy of conscience in moral and religious questions," and "the high sacredness of hereditary religion," he proceeds:—

"It may be added, that when we consider how signally and conspicuously the English Reformation transgressed those great principles, (more so, indeed, than any other event on a similar scale in the history of the world,) one part of the reason will be seen for the deep and burning hatred with which some members of our Church (including myself) regard that miserable event."—p. 44.

Lest there should be any mistake as to his sentiments, Mr. Ward adds, in a note,—

"It always appears to me, that a great distinction ought to be made in this respect between the English and the Foreign Reformation. In the latter, moral feeling, partly healthy, in great part perverted, seems to have been the principal agent in forwarding the revolt. . . . But in England I cannot find that, among the leaders, at least, of the Reformation, there was even the allegation that some doctrine in the ancient theology was at variance with spiritual truths which they deeply cherished and prized. I cannot at all agree with those who prefer the English Reformation to the Foreign; so far from it, I know no single movement in the Church, except Arianism in the fourth century, which seems to me so wholly destitute of all claims on our sympathy and regard as the English Reformation."—pp. 44, 45.

The authorities of the English Church are treated in the following way:—

"To call for implicit deference and submission to the doctrinal statements of a certain small body of bishops, who are indefinitely at variance with each other, and who... are separated off from the great body of the Catholic Church; this is a flight of conservative extravagance, an assumption of spiritual despotism, which can find no parallel beyond the circle of Anglican 'high-churchmen.' "—p. 73.

Mr, Ward's views with regard to "high-Church" theology may

be collected from his observations on the principle of the right of local Churches to reform themselves:—

"This fundamental principle of ordinary 'high-church' theology, considered in the temper of mind to which it fitly appertains, is simply anti-Christian, and, considered in its inevitable tendency, is destructive of all religious belief whatever."—p. 117.

The principle of appeal to Christian Antiquity is thus disposed of:—

"What has here been said is sufficient of itself to supersede the necessity of examining a theory often propounded by members of our Church, viz. that our own Church authoritatively refers us to antiquity as our standard of doctrine and practice. Without entering, then, into the other reasons which make me consider this theory wholly untenable, it is obvious here to remark, that antiquity itself remands us back again, as it were, to the existing Church. . . to the whole Catholic body,—and to the Bishop of Rome."—p. 130.

The "evangelical" rule of faith is considered to be "much higher, both morally and intellectually," than that of "ordinary English high-churchmen." In reference to the latter Mr. Ward says, "It is hardly possible to use language too strong in expressing one's hatred of such carnal and worldly-wise views." (p. 230.) With these sentiments Mr. Ward proposes to "highchurchmen" an alliance (p.99) with the advocates of Romanism! Such a proposal will be met as it deserves—with a smile. It comes appropriately enough from a writer who can use such language as we have cited, in reference to the Church of which he is a minister, and yet firmly and resolutely maintain that this language is perfectly consistent with "dutifulness" to the Church and respect for her authorities! Nor can we feel much surprise at such a notion being formed by one who professes again and again that he subscribes the Articles without condemning a single Romish tenet! A mind thus prone to the "ideal" may readily fall into paradoxes and absurdities of any kind.

It must be obvious to the most cursory reader of this volume, that Mr. Ward is in heart a favourer of Rome; yet we should be doing gross injustice to well-informed and sincere Roman Catholics, to identify his system with theirs. They found those peculiar tenets, which they have added to Catholic doctrine and practice, upon certain fixed and tangible principles, many of which we of the Church of England, in common with all Catholics, admit as standards of appeal, though by the Romanists distorted or wrongly applied. But the case is far different with Mr. Ward. Though a Romanist in detail, he cannot be said to be a Catholic in principle. He abandons the recognized and fundamental

standards of Catholic faith. "Scripture, Councils, and Fathers," and those auxiliary tests of reason, experience, and moral sense, which, in subordination to Scripture and the teaching of the Holy Spirit, every Christian, as responsible for the endowments of a heaven-instructed soul, is bound to apply—these tests Mr. Ward well nigh laughs to scorn. Scripture, indeed, he does acknowledge to be one of the tests by which the soundness of a Church is to be judged; but his acknowledgment is little more than nominal: we cannot clearly ascertain what precise place and function he assigns to it 1. To Biblical criticism and exegetical science he scarcely allows a place; of the comparison of Scripture with Scripture he says nothing, nor can we find that he allows it to be the ultimate appeal in matters of controversy. It seems to us that he rather considers the sacred volume as a book for the furtherance of exercises merely contemplative and devotional—as the field wherein the religious fancy is to be exercised, than as the law of the Church, the foundation of the whole Christian system; that infallible voice of God, which actually calls upon the reason and the judgment, no less than the conscience and the heart, to bestir themselves, and to take their place in the great work of advancing His kingdom within us and around us, and which bids them watch with the utmost jealousy, the tendencies of human nature, ever liable to sully the purity and integrity of the Faith with those wide-spread corruptions which are shown in the Book of Revelation to be the destroyers not only of communities, but of Churches. To such views of Holy Scripture, which of themselves afford an à priori apology for a Reformation such as ours, Mr. Ward seems altogether insensible; and, indeed, we look in vain in his writings for any indication of a mind imbued (like that of the distinguished man whom he professes to follow) with Holy Scripture, either in its tone or in its spirit.

The two standards, then, to which Mr. Ward appeals, are such as any one tolerably versed in religious controversy must at once recognise as the fundamental principles of Dissent. They are

¹ If Mr. Ward had paid a little more respect to the common laws of composition, he would not have hazarded the extraordinary interpretation of the XIXth Article, which he has given in pages 100 and 101 (note). He understands this Article to maintain, not that the Church of Rome hath erred, but that certain of her "concrete members" have erred; and justifies this by the use of the word their. He does not see that the antecedents of this word were the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome. It is no wonder that by such methods of interpretation he can make the meaning of the Articles nugatory. But by the same method of interpretation he might construe such a maxim as "the Scriptures are inspired," into "a certain portion of the Scripture is inspired." In fact, he has opened a door to the most latitudinarian interpretation of Scripture. But grammar, we suppose, must not interfere with the supremacy of conscience.

simply these—conscience and sanctity. Conscience is to be the ultimate arbiter of all religious truth. What conscience really means to one who rejects or casts into shade the authority of testimony, of Catholic consent, and of reason, it is impossible to decide. It must resolve itself after all, as in the case of dissenters, into the arbitrary dictates of the will; the suggestions of a diseased or ill-trained fancy: the very principle of private judgment (if judgment is not too solemn a term) which Mr. Ward so strongly repudiates. He does, however, acknowledge, that conscience requires a guide, and that guide is his second standard the authority of holy men. He assumes that saints cannot err in matters of faith; that what they affirm, believe, and practise, must be true; that they are the legitimate exponents of what is Scriptural and Catholic. So that he grounds his whole faith upon this assumption, that good men cannot err; and thus bases Christian truth upon human testimony. But here it is quite obvious, that the choice of these guides of conscience must be made by the will of the individual; so that private judgment is at the bottom of the whole system. That this is so, is quite evident. Mr. Ward assumes the Church of Rome to be most pure, because he thinks the most eminent saints are found in her. Nay, more than this; he argues the Church of England to be corrupt, because he thinks that she has possessed no holy men, or, at least, none who have reached his standard of sanctity. It is true, that he allows some reverence to such servants of God as Andrewes and Ken; but these are perhaps only exceptions that prove a rule: and that he could find but few, we can readily believe, for we apprehend he has taken little pains to search for them. However this may be, it is impossible to reason with one who has set up such an arbitrary standard. In vindicating the holy men of our own or other Churches, it would be in vain to show him how consonant their lives and conversations have been to the rule of God's commandments or his holy word. Mr. Ward has a certain measure fixed in his own mind, certain modes of action, certain habits of thought and expression, the conformity to which he deems essential to the character of real sanctity. Now what is this but Puritanism in another form? or rather, the common error to which all distortions of Christianity and all false religion have been ever prone? It is true, that all men are liable, through the imperfection of human judgment, to be unduly biassed in their estimate of individuals; still, as long as our blessed Lord's criterion, "By their fruits ye shall know them," shall be applied to the Church, so long will the truly wise and good admit that the quality of sanctity may justly be ascribed to those who show, by the whole tenor of their lives, that they obey Him and love Him; that they seek through Christ their individual salvation, and the good of his Church; even though their self-denial may not have taken the form of asceticism, celibacy, or voluntary poverty; even though their devotions may have been clothed in calm and sober language; though their lot may have been cast among the holy occupations of every day life, and their actions such as are inconsistent with the romance of religion. If it be denied that such have been found in multitudes both in the highest order of the ministry of our Church, and in all ranks of our communion, the ignorance and infatuation of those who can make such a denial are alike to be deplored. If the existence of such persons be acknowledged, but the designation of sanctity be denied them, then an arbitrary definition is affixed to the term, which is the mere dictate of private judgment. But if it be conceded, as it must be by all reasonable men, that both in England and in every Church of Europe and the world, wherever the religion of Christ in how corrupted a form soever exists, holy persons have been found in every age, then the test assumed by Mr. Ward must prove altogether nugatory. For it is plain, that between the holy individuals of different Churches, while there has been an agreement in the fundamental Catholic verities, there has been at the same time a discordance of opinion on those points which have formed the grounds of separation from visible intercommunion; as one side or another must be wrong. It is plain, therefore, that holy men may err; and, therefore, sanctity is in itself no test of absence of error. We grant that in this statement, we assume the very positions which Mr. Ward thinks remain to be proved. But as we said before, our purpose is not to argue with him, but merely to point out the evident fact, that his system is based, not upon a Catholic, but a dissenting, or as he would call it, a Protestant principle,—the supreme authority of the individual judgment to decide upon the most subtle and recondite principles of Christian faith and polity.

No wonder that, following such guides, he has imagined it an easy matter to cast down barrier after barrier which separated him from Rome, and which he at first thought were impassable. Had his conscience impelled him in an opposite direction, he would have found it equally easy. The fact however is, that he had no real barrier to oppose his progress. Those who tread the real way, the via media of the Church, will have, of course, hedges to break through, gates to throw down, if they seek to diverge either to the right or to the left, whether they incline to Popery or to Dissent. But when, like Mr. Ward, they leave this middle way, and venture upon the open plain, they will of course have no such difficulties to encounter. They will approach whatever ob-

jects attract their attention, scorning the path by which they are usually attained. Mr. Ward, though led at present Romeward by his capricious Guide, cannot hope to find his resting-place even in Rome. At any moment it may direct him to rationalism, or to utter scepticism: and the very weapons by which he now combats the doctrines of an infidel philosophy, may before long be turned against the principles which he now strenuously, and we admit sincerely, upholds. We cheerfully grant, that in many instances his use of these weapons is both skilfully and rightly applied; but then the quarter towards which they may hereafter be directed, must remain at the option of his self-con-

stituted guide.

It is plainly a mistake to assume that such views are the legitimate consequences of Catholic opinions, properly so called. Mr. Ward's course has been to vindicate Roman Catholic views upon ultra-Protestant principles, unconsciously indeed to himself, but evidently to the by-stander. He has been attracted in his erratic course by certain powerful influences which came in his way, partly of a High Church, partly of a Romanist nature; but these have not given the first impulse, nor do they form the centre of his system. We have neither the desire nor the means of forming an estimate of Mr. Ward, except by the internal evidence afforded by his book and his former reviews; but from these we should collect, that his mind was formed in anything but a Catholic or High Church school. We think we can perceive in him strong traces of his early habits and training, from the evident familiarity which he shows with certain intellectual and moral systems, now abandoned by him, but on which he dwells with a minuteness and particularity very usual with those who, though freed from certain early prejudices, retain a strong impression of them on their mind. Of this tendency we recollect a remarkable instance in the case of Blanco White, who, after he had renounced the errors of the Romish system, was wont in his writings to dwell upon the ceremonial and minute circumstances of the Spanish Church with a particularity which seemed like a lingering fondness for that which his reason and conscience had abandoned. In like manner, Mr. Ward continually recurs to rationalistic and latitudinarian metaphysics, for the purpose, indeed, of combating them, but still with a readiness which favours the presumption, that they had occupied a larger share of his attention than the pursuits which are commonly considered as the only safe foundation for a sound theological superstructure. He acknowledges that he had no connexion, as a writer, with the "Tracts for the Times;" and we strongly suspect, from the evidence afforded by his work, that he has taken the colouring of his present opinions, not from

the earlier tracts, but from those writings of later date alluded to in our former Numbers, in which some of the original principles of the tracts had been evidently distorted or abandoned.

In fact, the perusal of this book confirms us in the conviction, both that the statements in Mr. Palmer's pamphlet, to which Mr. Ward professes to reply, are essentially sound, and that opinions now called Catholic, so far from deserving the name, are contradictory to the first principles of catholicity. Notwithstanding, therefore, the pain which this book has given us, perhaps it may be well that we have so full and candid an avowal of the dangerous principles which it upholds, as a warning to others, and as a means of disabusing the minds of those ardent persons who have trusted rather to their impulse than to their reason, and have mistaken certain circumstances and accidents of religious practice and worship for the very substance of Christianity. are certainly sensible of Mr. Ward's openness and honesty in the avowal of his position and views. He has disclosed to us the foundation of his opinions (for we can allow what he would call principles no higher name); and it is well to know that the ideal structure which he has raised in opposition to the Church of England is based, not upon a rock, but on the sand. And he has supplied us with a very sufficient proof, that men do not advance towards Rome by carrying out the principles of catholicity,—but

by perverting or abandoning them.

This consideration is one which, though it cannot be too strongly urged upon young theologians, is too commonly disregarded. It is not correct to say, that any principle, true in itself, if carried to an extreme, must lead to error. The course of any one truth must lead to heaven, if it proceed in a right line; if it deflect to the right or left, it loses its essence, and is no longer a truth. This deflection may be caused either by the exclusive pursuit of one particular principle, to the neglect of collateral verities, which are essential towards supporting and keeping it straight, or else by the exaggerated fear of contact with some adjoining error, which induces an abandonment of the middle way. Now the very fact, that the way of life, the via media, is strait, supposes a facility of divergence on one side or the other. We acknowledge this to be the case in morals, in practical religion: the same must hold when applied to the course of the Church of Christ. Her course is ever difficult, because she is the narrow path which divides opposite, though nearly adjacent, errors. And hence, not only the proneness of members of our Church holding extreme views to fall either into popery or dissent, but the tendency which exists in the minds of those who have deserted it to imagine, that this narrow path lies within the

territories of the enemy. And even those who have not deserted it frequently mistake the exterior border of the path which they have chosen for the centre, and consequently regard the real centre, which they ought to have kept, as forbidden ground. They thus place themselves within the sphere of some strong magnetic attraction, which eventually induces the abandonment of some

principle, or necessarily weakens its influence.

It would be beyond the limits of our present article to go into anything like an expansion of these assertions. This much, however, we must say, that the unhappy change of position which certain members of our Church have of late adopted, and which we observed upon in our review of Mr. Newman's Sermons, is to be attributed, not to the carrying out of certain principles to their legitimate consequences, but to some essential change in the definition of the principles themselves. Thus universality, an acknowledged test of Christian verity, is often so expounded, as to limit it to one particular age of the Church, even of corrupt and modern times. The appeal to Holy Scripture is indeed recognised; but its functions are nullified, circumscribed, or misapplied. The reverence for authority is sometimes interpreted as synonymous with the submission to the decree of one individual, or of one particular branch of the Church. The dogmas of particular synods are confounded with the testimony of general councils. And the authority of the Church, again, is often represented as a principle co-ordinate with that of Holy Scripture and of the Founders of the Church. And the ground of appeal to the Fathers is changed from the legitimate one of seeking their combined attestation to Christian verity, as links of one great catena, to that of ascertaining their decrees as individual and infallible authorities.

It must be fairly admitted, that a man of Mr. Ward's temperament and habits of thought approaches the consideration of theological questions under considerable disadvantages, when the principles of Catholic belief have been presented to his view in such false and distorted proportions. Still he is by no means absolved by the untowardness of his position, from the grievous charges to which he is unquestionably open. Whatever may be the mistaken axioms upon which he has founded his peculiar system, it little became one so inexperienced and ill-informed, to dictate to the Church of England as a teacher, when he was obviously but a learner. We cannot believe that he has even contemplated with temper or with fixed attention the position, the structure, the real influence of that Church which he declares to be corrupt, uncatholic, and spiritually dead.

His views of the Reformation of the Church of England require

only to be stated in order to show his animus. He declares that that step was unjustifiable. He holds that no local Church has a right to break off from the communion of the Church universal. He seems to imply that separation from another portion of the Western Church is the same as separation from the Church Catholic: the deduction must be, that the Eastern Churches are schismatical. He even holds that no local Church has a right to any independence; any liberty to make a reformation in the circumstances of Divine worship and discipline; not even though such reformation may be a recurrence to Catholic practice, or to the direct injunction of Holy Scripturce: and this in the face of the ancient Liturgies, which, agreeing in essentials, differ widely in particulars, as half an hour's inspection of Assemani or Renaudot might have shown him; in the face of authorities, accumulated by Laud, and Bramhall, and Barrow, which attest this liberty, exercised from the earliest time by provincial Churches. He virtually maintains, that the subjection of Britain to the Roman Patriarchate (an assumption amply contradicted by the tenor of our history) is paramount to the authority of the Founder of the Church itself; and that the assumed earthly head has a right to restrain the Churches under his dominion from complying with the ordinances of Christ and his Apostles; such as the distribution of the cup to the Laity, the use of the vernacular tongue in public prayer, and the worship of God alone. He takes it for granted that the Church of England divorced herself from the communion of Christendom; an assumption so notoriously false, that to enlarge upon it would be a waste of time.

But in his whole estimate of the English Reformation there is most evidently, that sad confusion of circumstantials with essentials, of things indifferent with those of highest moment, which forms so marked a characteristic of our time. On the ground of unity, the view taken by minds of this class is most inadequate. They substitute an artificial, temporary, territorial, mechanical bond, a consentient unity in error with a portion of the Church, for that enlarged and true unity claimed by the Church of England, which holding that the Church belongs to no one time or age, seeks an agreement with those ages and those communities of whatever time, who hold principles which have been common to every age of the Church's existence, and which are founded on the Word of God. And this premised, let us examine his estimate of the grounds of our Reformation. Here he pretermits altogether those vital corruptions which are opposed to Scriptural and Divine truth: and that mutilation of the chief ordinance of Christ's Church, and abuse in public services, already alluded to. He is silent as to the

sale of indulgences, that traffic with the souls of men which was a direct emanation from the court of Rome; and the many collateral oppressions of that usurped tyranny, under which the Church in this country and elsewhere had so long groaned. These, it is presumed, are matters of too subordinate moment even to be mentioned: and we confess we could not read without astonishment the palliating notice of the Papal oppressions which is given in a note (p. 45), implying that it amounted to little more than a somewhat vexatious interference with an ecclesiastical court! He reiterates the often-refuted statement, that the secular spoliation of the monasteries is to be identified with the spiritual reformation of the Church. The former was an accidental circumstance of the times, and originated from one who, at the very time, was opposed to any real reformation in doctrine. Denying to the fathers of our reformation any Catholic principles, he will not concede to them even so much indulgence as to the promoters of the less catholic movement on the continent; and he expressly condemns the principles on which they acted, as if mere self-will, insular pride, and impatience of subjection, were their actuating principles. It is strange that, with Mr. Ward's vehement maintenance of the claims of conscience, he can have overlooked the notorious fact, that it was the conscience of the English nation, long oppressed by the tyranny of Rome, long exclaiming against its spiritual despotism, and now awakened to a full conviction of its unscriptural character, that was the real cause which induced the restoration of the primitive faith amongst us; that the learning and piety of England, long before the time of Cranmer and of Ridley, had instinctively felt the need of some redress; and that the appeal to Scripture, to fathers, and to councils, now facilitated by the art of printing and the revival of letters, confirmed the conviction that the tenets of modern Rome were unauthorized additions to the primitive faith, and that her usurped authority had a tendency to stifle the Catholic principles which still remained. To Mr. Ward we know any such arguments will be vain. To one who considers it almost absurd to consult the fathers, or the ancient writings of the Church, for the purpose of confirming or eliciting pure Christian doctrine from them, we know how vain it is to urge that sober appeal to Christian antiquity which has been recognised in all ages. But, as we trust, that such a strange constitution of mind may not be very common, we would submit his assertions to the common sense and candour of English Churchmen, in earnest hopes, that our ancient weapons of selfdefence may be henceforth more diligently and faithfully applied.

He repudiates the appeal of the Church of England to antivol. II.—No. III.—oct. 1844. quity: urging, that she fails in establishing her claim, from the desuetude of certain ceremonies and usages which were once universal. Connected with this, he makes a strange assertion, that the Liturgy (i. e. the Mass or Communion Service) of the Church of Rome, from which the Church of England has departed, is identical with that which was once used throughout the whole world! Whereas, the fact is, that our present Communion-office does not differ more from that of Rome than the various Liturgies still preserved do from one another. But he plainly avows his ignorance of liturgical lore. He fortifies his objections to our Confirmation Service, by reference to the assertions of a friend, learned in liturgical matters, who has assured him, that in all the ancient rituals. Confirmation was administered to infants. The coolness with which he brings forward this argument, almost looks like irony, after the manner of Swift. So his learned friend's testimony is to weigh against the practice of the Church of England! It is needless, we hope, to remind him, or perhaps to inform him, that the time of Confirmation has been a matter avowedly left to the discretion of each particular Church; even granting the general usage of antiquity in the East to be what he states, yet in the West, as appears from Assemani and various local rituals, the practice varied considerably. So that the Church of England, in this respect, has merely used the liberty common to every provincial Church, of using her discretion upon a matter of order, not of Catholic obligation. The performance of the rite is of apostolic obligation, not so the time and manner of its administration. As to the other points, chrism, and the prayers for the dead, we confess we do not envy the constitution of that mind which will insist on the retention of these subordinate particulars, (which no one ever yet has been able to prove apostolic,) and yet will concede the mutilation of Christ's chief ordinance, and the direct worship of the Virgin. To omit the prayers alluded to, was plainly the privilege of our Church, when she had found by long experience that the practice, though in itself very ancient, contained the seeds of obvious evil.

We must pass over several particulars which, it will be obvious to the readers of his book, are open to censure. But a few remarks remain to be made upon his estimate of our Liturgy. To say nothing of the looseness of his assertion, that it is a compilation from the Breviary, (for this applies merely to the order for Morning and Evening Prayer,) it is quite evident that he has no distinct or digested conception of the system of our Common Prayer. He forgets that, for its matter, it is indebted to other sources besides the Breviary, and that in its arrangement it exhibits a moral beauty and excellence which no mere compiler could

ever have attained. We doubt whether he has ever studied the structure of one of our services. But this is a defect common to the age. It is held almost as an axiom by many, that the anatomy of Holy Scripture is an almost impious task; and those who so think of sacred criticism, will not be very much disposed to examine with any care our public services. It is lamentable that there should be such a prevalent neglect of studies, which, if reverentially pursued, would have the effect of sanctifying the taste and the judgment, of improving the heart, of adding at once fervency and strength to the private devotion of the faithful, and

of promoting God's reasonable service.

But any such studies or train of thought must be foreign to one who can really recommend and relish such devotional effusions as Mr. Ward has quoted from the works of certain Roman Catholic pietists in his 55 4th and 555th pages. We would appeal to any unbiassed reader (we dare not quote expressions from which our feelings recoil), whether in the spirit or expression of these fanatical ejaculations there is any thing of the spirit of the Psalms, or of Holy Scripture, or of the early Fathers of the Church? We cannot do the eminent pietists of the Church of Rome (with those writings high Churchmen have been long familiar,) the injustice of classing their works with specimens such as these, which resemble, in the extravagance of their phrases and conception, their carnal and asthetical expressions, the wildest rantings of the Puritans. And these precious samples, which Mr. Ward dares to recommend to the members of that Church who have for an heritage the vernacular use of the Psalms, who are possessed of the devotions of Andrewes, Ken, Cosin, Taylor, and in modern time of Keble (a worthy associate of these eminent saints),—these contain the most avowed recognition of the worship of the Virgin Mary:—the worship, we must maintain, in spite of the subtle distinction between dulia and latria, which Mr. Ward evidently favours, a distinction which we allow may be a palliative to pious members of the Roman communion, but which those who have learned the awful denunciation of Holy Scripture against any creature worship, must feel to be a distinction without a difference. And here (we are really unwilling to dwell upon a topic at once so painful and so notorious) it does seem wonderful and mysterious that any member of our Church should have so completely shut his eyes to this plague-spot of modern popery,—should remain ignorant of the fact, that the Virgin is practically placed in the position of a Deity: and that this view, so far from being discouraged, has been fostered by the authorized formulary of the Church of Rome, the breviary itself; and has been

carried to its height by the avowed practice of modern times, and

of countries in the immediate neighbourhood of our own.

Mr. Ward, in reiterating against his mother Church the often repeated charge of pride and exclusiveness, seems to forget, that while her conscience forbids her from complying with the sinful terms of communion which other Churches require, she has yet, in the persons of her most eminent divines, of all ages since the Reformation (we may add in the persons of her best-informed and most eminent laity also), gladly availed herself of the works of Roman Catholic writers, whether devotional or theological, so far as they have been Catholic. The innumerable translations and editions of Thomas à Kempis, to mention no other, even in the coldest age of our Church, fully attest this: some of the preachers of the Gallican Church are acknowledged as models of true unction and piety: who has not acknowledged with gratitude the labours of the Benedictine fathers, of the compilers of the Complutensian Polyglott (to whom we are indebted for the first revival of biblical learning), and of that eminent scholar of our time, the venerable Cardinal Maio? Have the claims of Germany, France, and Italy, ever been disputed by the true sons of the Church of England? And when they speak of the practical corruptions of the Church of Rome, are they actuated by pride, by the complacent reflection that our spiritual state affords a favourable contrast with hers? Is it not rather from a solemn conviction, that great as are our practical corruptions, the re-admission of those errors which three hundred years ago we repudiated, would add tenfold to our calamities, would invoke the malediction of Him whose teaching we should, by such admission, openly resist; from a persuasion that evil as is our state, (and what honest Churchman, of whatever party, does not confess it so to be?) the evil arises, not as the consequence of our spiritual system, but from an abuse of its provisions, our neglect of its sufficient means; whereas the evils of Popery are engendered by its very system? And does Mr. Ward really suppose that we have been so very hasty and prejudiced in our opinion, as to form an estimate of Romish corruption from the casual reports of one or two travellers, and not from the repeated consistent testimony of those who have been most intimately acquainted with all the circumstances of continental manners—from the testimony of the popular literature of those countries themselves; nay, from every source which the strictest tribunal of opinion could require as necessary for evidence the most redundant? And yet he thinks to overthrow all this by two or three letters appended to his book, which prove nothing; certain inconclusive facts familiar to every individual who in this locomotive age has joined the thousands who yearly inundate the continent. It is not by alleging the hospitality of foreign bishops, the fervency of congregations, the grandeur of processions and ceremonies, that the Catholic truth can be assailed—that the integrity of the Church of England can in

anywise be impaired.

But we must draw our observations to a close. We cannot at present enter into the comprehensive topics to which Mr. Ward invites us: his construction of an ideal Church, the "faultless monster that the world ne'er saw," his definition of new tests of catholicity; his new definitions of heresy (by such an appellation he is pleased to designate the Lutheran doctrine of justification); his analysis of the practical system of the Church of England; (an ideal analysis, we beg to assure him;) or the many episodes which have swelled his pamphlet to a volume. Since he scorns the teaching of the Church of England, he of course will hardly take advice from us: but if he would listen, he might be informed, that one great work has yet to be put in execution,—the ruling of his own spirit. Well might it be for him, if he could be brought to see, that his indulgence in idealism has made him confound his conscience with his feelings, and has induced him to utter words which may have the effect on weak minds and undisciplined imagination, in estranging them, not from the Church of England only, but possibly from the Church of Christ. From many an unlettered peasant of our Church (we speak from experience, which he evidently does not possess) he might learn lessons of true wisdom, sober piety, and devotion really Catholic, which would restrain his presumption, and make him feel the awfulness of the topics which he has undertaken to handle, the holiness of that sanctuary which has been to millions of true worshippers, not the ideal but the reality, of a Church, the habitation of the Spirit of God.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

ETC.

1. Dr. Mill's Sermons. 2. Dewar's German Protestantism. 3. Harington on Consecration of Churches. 4. Archdeacon Wilberforce's Sermons. 5. Evans's Order of Family Prayer. 6. Smith's Inquiry into Catholic Truths, &c. 7. Todd's Church of St. Patrick. 8. Courtenay's Future States. 9. Elliott's Roman Catholicism. 10. Boyes' Illustration of Sophocles. 11. Haweis's Sketches of the Reformation. 12. Bochart on the Internal Evidence of Scripture, edited by Neville. 13. Conybeare's Sermons. 14. Jackson's Sermons. 15. Remedies for perils of the Nation. 16. Freedom not Lawlessness, by Miss Goldie. 17. Mrs. Sargant's Christian's Sunday Companion. 18. Dr. Gilly's Vigilantius. 19. Smith's Memoirs of Pombal. 20. Maskell's Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England. 21. Radcliffe on the Athanasian Creed. 22. Lachrymæ Ecclesiæ, by Wyatt. 23. Garbet's Sermons—Jay's Sermons. 24. Gibson's Club-sermons. 25. Key on the Alphabet, &c. 26. Tucker's Argumentative Sermons. 27. Spalding's Sacred History of Man. 28. Barrington's Lectures on Heraldry. 29. Walks in the Country, by Lord Leigh. 30. Lives of the English Saints. 31. Devotional, &c. 32. Tales, &c. 33. Educational. 34. Pamphlets, &c. Literary Intelligence.

I.—Five Sermons on the Temptation of Christ our Lord in the Wilderness. By W. H. Mill, D.D., Christian Advocate, &c. Cambridge: Deighton. London: Rivingtons.

Whoever is acquainted with Dr. Mill's writings, well knows that thought, learning, and ability, of the very highest kind, are their characteristics; but they will only be acceptable to those who are either impressed with the vital necessity of maintaining the objective in religion, or are, at least, free from all tendency to the opposite principle. To no writer in the present day is the Church more indebted than to Dr. Mill, for a defence of the great revealed truths on which Christianity is based, and for urging the necessity of belief in them in order to salvation. The series of discourses now before us, was preached before the University of Cambridge in Lent, 1844; and we doubt not that they attracted the attention which is so amply due to their interest and their excellence. Dr. Mill has taken the temptation of our Lord in the wilderness as the very appropriate subject of his discourses; in the first of which he considers the definiteness of Christian faith; while in the second, the inquiry into that constitution of humanity in the eternal Son of God, whereby He became a possible subject of temptation, moral trial, and discipline: and, in the remaining three discourses, the temptations of sensual

distrust, of worldly ambition, and of spiritual presumption, as exemplified in Satan's temptations of our Lord, are treated of. We shall select one or two passages from the first and last of these invaluable sermons.

"In comparing the system of Ancient Christianity with that which has, in the latest period, become prevalent among us, no point of contrast is more prominently conspicuous than this,—that in the one, the chief attention is directed to the objects of faith—in the other, to faith Almighty God, in the mysterious unity of whose essence is comprised from eternity his only-begotten Son and Spirit, each personally distinct from the Father, but co-eternal and co-equal in Deity; that eternal Son made flesh, and in one undivided person holding entire and unmixed both the divinity in which He was, and ever is, with the Father, and the humanity in which He suffered, and was tempted, and died, and revived, for our salvation; these leading truths occupied, with their own proper gravity and sublimity, the minds of those who planted the cross of Christ on the ruins of Gentilism. . . . But amongst us, I mean in the system most recently dominant, rarely, indeed, are these matters so presented, as demanding, by virtue of their objective truth alone, the interior assent and the oral confession of the Christian; when the mysteries of redemption are set forth, we hear much more of the actings of the mind respecting them, than of the divine matters themselves, by which these should be spontaneously prompted and evoked. The differences and controversies that arise in these latter times, turn not upon those high truths, but on the mode or order in which the individual mind should savingly apprehend them ... It is not meant to assert, that all reference to objects of faith is set aside by the present popular teaching, any more than it is intended on the other side to represent the Church of old as incognizant of subjective matters in its divinity. . . . Still, that the two systems are thus contrasted in method and spirit, is undeniable; the contrast, far from being denied, is set forth as matter of gratulation or glorying. . . To adopt a language more familiar to our ears, it is judged a happy exchange to leave the discussion of creeds, of terms that convey no adequate meaning to our minds, but suggest only the ideas of scholastic subtilty and misty bootless contention, for a field of thought with which we are far more conversant,—the analysis of our sentiments towards objects of eternal interest, and the study of the internal principles of faith, and hope, and charity."-pp. 1-4.

We lament that we cannot do more than refer generally to Dr. Mill's excellent remarks on the creeds (pp. 16—23); his brief and masterly refutation of various heresies concerning the divinity and humanity of our blessed Lord, including the gross and shocking blasphemies of Irving (pp. 27—34); his proofs of the tentability of the Son of God (pp. 34, &c.); and the valuable remarks (pp. 131—135) on the appearance of humility in the theory "which makes the characteristic of saving faith, as such,

to be not obedience but bare reliance." We have only space for a short extract in reference to the latter subject.

"There would be truth in this [notion], if men were not so constituted as never to be proud of anything except their own deserts, real or supposed. But when the contrary is so plain and palpable from universal experience, that favour is just as much an object of elation as merit, the thinness of this disguise is indeed manifest . . . When St. Paul addresses the Gentiles, whom the mere free grace of God had admitted into the Church, instead of the once chosen people of Israel, he bids them 'not to be high-minded.' Here, what is the high-mindedness guarded against? Clearly not a notion of inherent goodness or desert, but simply and solely a confidence in the favour of God, as absolutely indefectible," &c.—pp. 132, 133.

A body of very learned notes convey much information on the subject of the various errors noticed in the discourses.

II.—German Protestantism, and the Right of Private Judgment in the Interpretation of Holy Scripture. By Edward H. Dewar, M.A., Chaplain to the British Residents at Hamburg. Oxford: J. H. Parker. London: Rivingtons.

WE do not, at this moment, know where we could lay our hands on any more carefully-executed and compendious history of the various phases of German theology, from the Reformation to the present day, than in this interesting and unpretending volume. The subjects on which it treats are, "Catholicity and Rationalism -Luther-the Contemporaries and immediate followers of Luther -Early Controversies among Lutheran Theologians-Syncretism and Pietism—The Philosophy of Wolff, and its influence upon German Theology—The doctrine of the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures—The Canon of Scripture—State of Theology at the Commencement of the Nineteenth Century—The Philosophy of Kant-Developments of the Kantian Philosophy-Fichte and Jacobi—Pantheism—The Philosophy of Schelling—The Philosophy of Hegel, and the present state of German Theology— New-Hegelism, Strauss, Feuerbach, Bruno Bauer—Practical Religion." On all these interesting topics, the reader will find copious and accurate details in Mr. Dewar's work, with references to all the most important works of German theologians, bringing the whole history down to the most recent period.

III.—The Object, Importance, and Antiquity of the Rite of Consecration of Churches. By E. C. Harington, Incumbent of St. David's, Exeter. London: Rivingtons. Exeter: Hannaford.

The author of this work is already favourably known to the public

by his "Brief Notes on the Church of Scotland;" and we have great pleasure in recommending the volume now before us, as a learned, useful, and interesting essay on the subject to which it relates. It may be, that some of the authorities cited are not to be much depended upon; e. q. we cannot, on the authority of Metaphrastes, believe that churches were consecrated by Popes Felix and Marcellinus, in the third century; and we should have thought that the opinion of Philipot—that churches in primitive times "were generally built in an oval figure, or like some of our ships," and that the bishop's seat was placed "in the midst," amongst "the pews," (p. 85)—would not have had much weight after the accurate and elaborate accounts of Beveridge and Bingham; but a well-informed reader will judge for himself in such matters; and he will feel indebted to Mr. Harington for bringing together so great a mass of valuable information. Appendix contains copies of the various forms of consecrating churches, sacred vessels, and cemeteries, which have been used by bishops in England since the Reformation.

IV.—Sermons. By Samuel Wilberforce, M.A., Chaplain to H. R. H. Prince Albert, and Archdeacon of Surrey. London: Burns.

In addition to the interest which necessarily attaches to any discourses by so celebrated a preacher as Archdeacon Wilberforce, there is one peculiar to these sermons, all of which have been preached on various occasions before our youthful Sovereign; and we cannot but think there will be a general feeling, on their perusal, that their high truths and solemn exhortations are calculated to produce most profound and salutary impressions on the hearts of all who heard them. It is rarely, indeed, that such varied accomplishments and powers as those which manifest themselves in these discourses, are found in combination with such soundness of doctrine and depth of spirituality. The Sermons are on The Holy Trinity—The Barrenness of all things unless received in Christ—The Sons of God—The Kingdom which cometh not with observation—Time — Personality, an awful gift—The Evil Spirits—The Holy Angels—Prayer, &c. We have been particularly struck with Sermon I., on The Trinity—Sermon VI. Personality, an awful gift—Sermons VIII. on the Holy Angels; XV. on Stillness in God; and XVII. on Balaam. The following passage is from Sermon I., following a statement of the doctrine of the Trinity.

"It is especially for the declaring and keeping ever before us this great mystery, that this Sunday is severed from the rest of the year. Nor can we doubt that the right holding of this mystery must be of the

greatest moment to each one of us. For as God has been pleased to reveal it to us, we may surely gather, that to know it is needful for our due knowledge of Him; and in knowing God is the true and only real happiness of every soul which He has made. 'Acquaint thyself with God, and be at peace: 'this is the law of the creature's happiness. For there are deep wants in our nature, which none but He can satisfy. That sense of awful-Every part of ourselves bears its witness to this. ness, of weakness unutterable, which weighs down the very spirit of every one who dares to look into the mystery of life; this bears witness of this need to every thoughtful mind. For this weakness even drives us to lean upon God. How do we long, at such a time, like a timid child in the lonely darkness, for some one on whom to lean, in the trembling consciousness of our fearfully-mysterious life. And what is this but the witness of our soul, that there are wants within us which God, and God alone, can satisfy? . . . And this is true in like manner of every other deep want of our nature."-pp. 6-8.

Hence it is that God has revealed to us the mystery of His own Being.

"In part we may even see this. For how greatly does this doctrine of the Trinity aid the humble believer in acquainting himself with God. He feels, it may be, these wants and cravings of his soul. He knows that the infinite God, his Creator, his Father, that He only can satisfy them. But how can mortal man attain unto Him? 'Can he by searching find out God?' So his spirit asked in its perplexity; he feels the distance of the creature from the Creator, the infinite distance of the sinner from the God of holiness; and then, even then, there stands beside him One like himself—One clothed with mortality: His brow is scarred with the crown of earthly suffering; His hands are pierced; He is very man. In the true sacrament of suffering, in the binding fellowship of pain and suffering, He is man; He came nigh unto us; and yet He is God," &c.—pp. 9, 10.

The following passage on the duty of stillness in God, and waiting on Him, will, we are sure, impart to others some of the pleasure which we have derived from it:—

"As this is the secret of peace for this world, so is it for that deeper life of the Spirit which we are leading. There is an unspeakable blessedness in knowing that we are in His hands. . . . There is a true rest in resigning ourselves to be taught; in yielding ourselves to the leading of His Spirit; in coming to prayer, and to worship, and to holy communion, and to all the daily duties of our station, not as if, through these things, we were to work ourselves up to great attainments, but as that course in which He for Christ's sake will meet us, and work upon us, and lift us up, even to Himself. And in such a faithful quietness there is this further blessing, that in it we do become transformed, and bear God's impress. The still waters are those which reflect in an

unbroken image the clear face of the heaven above them: if you do but trouble those waters, the image is broken; if you stir them greatly, it is gone: and to bear His image, we, too, must be still. And hence it follows, that in this stillness is the secret of spiritual growth—of a true progress in the things of God. All self-development is the opposite of true growth; all restlessness of mind must check and interrupt it. Yea, and all growth is silent. It is not in the lordly storm, or in the o'ermastering hurricane that Nature puts forth her powers of growth It is amidst the drenching dews, in the still dawning of the spring-time, that the leaf unfolds itself, and the tender shoot steals upwards. And these works of nature are all symbols of the inner growth. In times of quietness the heart unfolds itself before God. If you would grow in grace, enter into thy closet and shut to thy door upon the world; upon that world which gets the closest to thee, and haunts thee so familiarly; shut it most of all upon thy busy unresting self, and then God shall speak to thee."-pp. 265-267.

We must now take our leave of this beautiful volume, from the perusal of which we have derived no ordinary measure of gratification.

v.—An Order of Family Prayer, arranged in the Form of Collects, for every Day in the Week, with Occasional Prayers for Domestic Use. By the Rev. W. E. Evans, M.A., Prebendary of Hereford. London: Rivingtons.

The design of this work is to supply a want which has been long felt, of a series of family prayers for every day of the week, constructed on the model of our liturgical collects, but adapted to domestic worship by expressions of domestic feeling, and allusions to family ties and duties. We have no doubt that it will be found a valuable acquisition to all heads of families, who are desirous of introducing occasional allusions to such subjects in their family prayers; and the brevity of these prayers, as well as the model on which they are composed, will be found exceedingly convenient by those who are in the habit of using selections from the prayers of the Church in domestic worship.

VI.—An Inquiry into the Catholic Truths hidden under certain Articles of the Creed of the Church of Rome. By Charles Smith, B.D., formerly Fellow and Tutor of St. Peter's College. London: Parker.

The work before us professes to be rather an illustration than a thorough execution of the plan conceived by its author, of investigating the truths as well as the errors which are included in what he styles "Trentisms," i. e. the peculiar doctrines of the Church of Rome. It is, however, replete with valuable matter, and evinces no common powers of thought, combined with much candour and Christian courage. The subjects treated of are: Original sin, Justification, the Sacrifice of the Mass, Transubstantiation, Denial of the Cup, Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, Relics, Images, Indulgences, Papal Supremacy, Councils of Trent, &c. We certainly agree with the author, that "the controversy with Rome seems to have lately assumed a more desultory and morbid character," and we are indebted to him for this effort to direct attention into more wholesome channels of enquiry. We have heard too much lately of legendary tales, and visions, and revelations; and of aspirations and cravings after some ideal perfection.

VII.—The Church of St. Patrick: An Historical Inquiry into the Independence of the Ancient Church of Ireland. By the Rev. WILLIAM G. TODD, A.B., of Trin. Coll. Dublin. London: Parker.

A LEARNED and most satisfactory reply to the recent letter of Dr. Rock to Lord John Manners, in which it was attempted to prove, that the ancient Irish Church had, from its foundation, acknowledged the papal supremacy. Mr. Todd has shown in this little volume, that there is no foundation for the assertion, that the bishops of the ancient Irish Church were elected, consecrated, or confirmed by the Popes, or that Irish missionaries were in the habit of seeking the papal sanction, or that appeals were made from Ireland to Rome, or that the Irish saints and writers professed belief in the papal supremacy. The research, ability, and sound principle displayed in its pages, and the spirit in which controversial topics are treated, reflect the highest credit on the author, and on the University of which he is a member.

VIII.—The Future States. Their Evidences and Nature considered on Principles Physical, Moral, and Scriptural, &c. By REGINALD COURTENAY, M.A. London: Pickering.

We have perused this volume with feelings of great regret, and no little surprise at the errors into which the author has fallen. The principal object of the work is to advocate the Socinian doctrine of the unconsciousness of the soul in the intermediate state; and in the pursuit of this object, the author not only labours to refute all the usual arguments from reason advanced for the purpose of proving the immortality of the soul, but ap-

pears to advocate doctrines on the subject of man's natural liability to death even before the fall, which, if not actually Pelagian, are, in their expression, closely allied to Pelagianism, and extremely unguarded, to say the very least. We refrain from further comment on this painful subject.

IX.—Delineation of Roman Catholicism, drawn from the authentic and acknowledged standards of the Church of Rome, &c. By the Rev. Charles Elliott, D.D.; edited by the Rev. John S. Stamp. J. Mason, at the Wesleyan Conference Office, London.

Dr. Elliott's work treats of all the usual matters in controversy between Rome and her opponents, and we are bound to say, that it exhibits a very creditable degree of research and of attainment. The arguments comprise little that is novel; being generally a fair exposition of the views of those who oppose Romanism on principles tending to the subversion of all authority, except that of Holy Scripture interpreted by our own reason. The English editor of this work (which was originally published in America) has not added to its value, in our opinion, by attempting to refute the doctrine of the apostolical succession of the ministry, and to maintain the validity of non-episcopal ordinations. We doubt not, however, that the work, with his additions, which are generally of the same tendency, will be acceptable to the class of religionists for whose use it appears to be intended.

X.—Illustrations of the Tragedies of Sophocles, from the Greek,
 Latin, and English poets, with an Introductory Essay. By J.
 F. Boyes, M.A., St. John's College, Oxford. Vincent, Oxford.
 Whittaker, London.

The author of these illustrations has not much expectation of sympathy or encouragement from mere verbal critics, or from those younger scholars who have to "get up a given quantity of Greek poetry as a matter of University business;" but he is of opinion that professional men, whose days of study are gone by, and who recur to their classics as a relaxation, and young students who find in the reading of the Greek tragedians something more than a mere exercise in the acquirement of the language, will be interested in the results of his labours. The Introduction comprises an examination into the causes of the resemblances between certain of our own poets and the Greek tragedians, which it is the object of the work to establish by a collection of parallel passages; together with remarks on the chief kinds and peculiarities of the Greek metaphor.

xi.—Sketches of the Reformation and Elizabethan Age, taken from the contemporary pulpit. By the Rev. J. O. W. Haweis, M.A. London: Pickering.

A most interesting and valuable contribution to our ecclesiastical history, abounding in graphic details, and presenting a great mass of curious and well-authenticated facts. The author's opinions on the Reformation generally may be collected from the following extract, which is preceded by remarks on the corruptions into which the monastic system had fallen previously to the Reformation:—

"In England the Church certainly failed to derive all the benefits she might reasonably have expected from the Reformation. It was not in a contest for faith, but power, that after a series of efforts, continued through many ages, she succeeded in establishing her freedom from foreign interference. Her Church thus politically insulated from Rome, was religiously still one with Western Christendom, and occupied the best possible position for reforming itself in such particulars as the alterations on the face of society required. Unfortunately, however, the monasteries held an enormous territorial property. The redistribution of this was absolutely necessary, but could only be effected by This violence was most criminal, and re-acted terribly on the Church: it encouraged habits of sacrilege and rapacity in the powerful, it crippled the universities, it promoted contempt of the clergy, it crushed the poor, it encouraged all who in any form whatever called for reformation; and its consequences were, that the age was not morally the better for it, but the worse. . . . Of the principal reformers, convened by lawful authority, it might scarcely be presumptuous to believe, that they were kept from error by the Spirit of God. . . . At the same time it would be a blind gratitude for the services they performed, to close our eyes upon the age in which they lived, or expect from their writings to obtain a concentration of all that is valuable in sacred literature. Contending for pre-eminence with heads well worthy of a saintly glory, there were many every way worthless. well instructed, but immoral; others pious, but incompetent; most, probably, below the present average of learning, intelligence, and virtue. . . . One objection to acknowledgments like these, will apply to many subsequent pages of the present volume. They may be represented as supplying the papist with arguments against the Reformation. Now the fact is, that papists have and use these weapons already, and unhappily Protestants are not generally sufficiently well-armed to parry them as they might," &c .- pp. 2-4.

We think that Mr. Haweis's work would have been still more complete and satisfactory than it is, if it had included some review of the state of morals in England *previously* to the Reformation.

Such a review is in some degree essential to the proof of his position, that the general tone of morality became, on the whole, worse during the Reformation than it had formerly been. The strong language of preachers in condemning existing offences, does not always infer a real general deterioration, even where particular instances of deterioration can be pointed out.

XII.—A little Treatise, demonstrating from its internal evidences the Divine origin of Holy Scripture. By Bochart; edited by the Rev. W. L. Neville. London: Painter.

This tract is preceded by Lives of Bochart, Peter Allix, and Dr. Lightfoot, who were contemporaries, and "men of a kindred spirit." The author is, evidently, a warm admirer of these divines. "It would seem scarcely to be looked for, that the Head of the Church should again raise up such men. To say nothing here of Bochart, the translator cannot help expressing the profound veneration with which he reads the writings of Lightfoot and Allix—masters in Divinity! giants in Biblical learning!" In reply to the observation, "that there are already many and excellent treatises upon the subject handled in this volume," the translator admits the fact, but thinks it enough to say, that "there have not been many Bocharts." We must confess, that we are unable to perceive any very remarkable merit in the little tract thus introduced. It contains nothing which is not well-known to the ordinary student of divinity.

W. J. Conybeare, M.A., Principal of the Collegiate Institution, Liverpool, &c. London: Murray.

These discourses are rather characterized by sobriety, moderation, and Christian charity, than by much originality or depth. Their language is rather accurate than forcible or eloquent. But there is much in the volume with which every good churchman must agree, and much in its tone which he will cordially approve. We select the following passages as affording a fair specimen of the style.

In speaking of the great evil and sin of forgetfulness of God,

the author observes, that

"One great reason there is which causes, or rather which helps, those so bound to the remembrance of things eternal as Christians are, to forget them thus easily. It is the want of that outward manifestation of unseen realities, which the visible Church was meant to supply. It was designed to be a city set on a hill, which could not be hid; exhibiting,

by the union of its members in mutual love and common holiness, an image of the Divine life to the heathen without, and a realization of it to the Christian within. By a constant succession of outward acts of worship and communion, by a thousand external indications of its heavenly tendency, it was to call the thoughts of its members from things temporal to things eternal... If the Church, in such a form as this, now existed upon earth; if its ordinances, in their fulness and their purity, were brought into perpetual contact with all who come within its pale, it would be less easy for them to forget the distinctive character of the religion which they profess."—p. 50.

"But to do all this," it is added, "the Church of Christ itself must be one" in communion, sympathy, and love. As things are, "those who differ in religious opinions must meet in the ordinary relations of life," where "the humanities of society prescribe that on many occasions religion itself should be a forbidden subject, which cannot be brought into view at all without offence. Thus from being out of sight as a point of difference, it comes to be regarded as a trifting difference."

"But though these things be so; though much of help and solace which we might receive from a more perfect manifestation of Christ's visible Church be denied us . . . still God's presence is witnessed, even by his imperfect Church, with a voice and a power sufficiently audible and palpable to be not easily mistaken. The absence, then, of more abundant helps, far from leading us to vain regrets for the perfection which is lost, should only make us more diligent in the use of what is given us."—p. 52.

We think that other deductions might follow from the principles advanced above; e. q. that the Church is bound, in an age of secularity and of devouring interest in the things of this life, to become more visible—to make her voice more frequently heard to devise additional methods of bringing before men the things which belong unto their peace;—that Christians should abstain from the society of those who will not endure allusions to the great and solemn truths of religion, even when discreetly and uncontroversially introduced: and that there is a direct duty not to be ashamed of Christ and of his words before men. re-action against Methodism, and against somewhat of a Pharisaical system which has been too prevalent, combined with the general tendencies of the age, have certainly had the effect, in too great a degree, of suppressing religious allusions in Christian society. Even the spirit of reverence, which is reluctant to mingle sacred subjects with ordinary conversation, and which reserves them for inward contemplation, has, we think, tended very much to the same result.

We have remarked some passages in this volume which appear to be very incautiously worded. In speaking of the blessed Trinity, it seems strange that expressions of this kind should have been permitted to remain without correction:-" When we speak of regarding the Unity in Trinity, we mean the contemplation of the three separate persons, in which it has pleased the Godhead to reveal Himself to us." (p. 115.) "Separation," or "division," is a term wholly inapplicable to the persons of the Holy Trinity: it conveys Tritheistic notions. On the other hand, the latter part of the definition would seem to favour the Sabellian doctrine, that the Three Persons are only different manifestations of the Deity, without real personal distinction. We do not, of course, for a moment imagine that the author is in error on the doctrine of the Trinity; though we do not see in the sermon in which this passage occurs, any statement calculated to obviate the evil of using such a term as that of "separate" in speaking of the Divine "Persons;" but we do lament the use of incautious language on this highest and most sacred of mysteries.

KIV.—Six Sermons on the leading points of the Christian Character.

By John Jackson, M. A., Head Master of Islington Proprietary School, &c. London: Rivingtons.

This series of discourses, delivered during Lent, includes sermons on "The Christian's Faith—The Christian's Love—The Christian's Hope—The Christian's Charity—The Christian's Joy and Sorrow—The Christian Prepared for Death." These topics are all treated in a way which can scarcely have failed to arrest the attention of hearers, and to make deep impressions on their consciences. The style is vigorous and condensed; and, accordingly, the amount of instruction conveyed is unusually great in proportion to the length of the sermons. We have read this little volume with unmingled pleasure.

xv. — Remedies suggested for some of the Evils which constitute the Perils of the Nation. (Second Edition.) London: Seeley and Co.

The former publication, by the author of this volume on "The Perils of the Nation," attracted much deserved attention; and the work now before us, comprising, as it does, not only the most alarming details of the social evils under which we are labouring, but suggestions for their remedy, is well worthy the attention of every friend of humanity. The author points out with great force the results of that process, which a distinguished member

of the present cabinet has recently admitted to be going on; i. e. "a decrease in the consuming powers of the people, and an increase in the privations and distress of the labouring and operative classes; while, at the same time, there is a constant accumulation of wealth in the upper classes, and a constant increase of capital." He urges a return to Scriptural principles, and the extension of the Church and national education, as amongst the best remedies; together with a limitation of the hours of labour, and the exclusion of women and children from factories; cottage allotments; small farms; improvement of the dwellings of the poor; ameliorations of the Poor Law. We really do not know anywhere a stronger argument than that which this author has supplied us with in favour of the revival of ecclesiastical discipline. "The poor are at present," he says, "without any check against habits of immorality like that which the power of divorce creates in the higher classes." It is singular that the discipline of the Church should not have occurred to the author as the appropriate remedy.

XVI.—Freedom not Lawlessness. By Miss Goldie, Author of "Truth and Opinion." Edinburgh: Grant and Son.

This volume, which evinces the possession of considerable attainments and powers, discusses, in a series of essays or chapters, such subjects as the following:—"The Imagination—Understanding—Reason and Conscience—the Senses—Moral Law—Freedom—Faith—Rationalism—Expediency—Election," &c. It would appear that the principal design of the authoress is to demonstrate the freedom of the human will, in opposition to the doctrines of absolute predestinarianism. A great variety of other topics, however, is introduced; and though we cannot say that the style is very lucid, we ought in justice to add, that the abstruseness of the subjects under discussion is enlivened by allusions and anecdotes often very happily introduced; and that the sentiments and conclusions are in general sound in an ethical and a religious point of view.

XVII.—The Christian's Sunday Companion; being Reflections in Prose and Verse on the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, and Proper Lessons for each Sunday; with a view to their immediate connection. By Mrs. J. A. Sargant. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

THE authoress of this very elegant and instructive volume has rather needlessly apologised for its publication, in a well-written

and modest preface. We are of opinion, that those who may be led to peruse it, will feel grateful for the pleasure and improvement which it is calculated to impart. The plan of the work comprises reflections on the Collect, the Proper Lessons, Gospel, and Epistle, of each Sunday, and some of the holy days; together with short pieces of Poetry appropriate to the Season. The latter constitute the more interesting part of the work, in our mind, replete as they are with good taste, with pious and devotional feeling, and with no ordinary measure of poetic fervour. Mrs. Sargant's verses are always pleasing, often animated, and sometimes very beautiful. The following verses, for the First Sunday in Advent, at the beginning of the volume, may be taken as a specimen.

ST. MATTHEW XXI. 5.

"Behold, thy King cometh unto thee, meek and sitting upon an ass."

"Profound and midnight darkness clothes the sky,
No welcome star shoots forth a cheerful ray;
The wind, low hush'd, forgets to sigh,
And all is still, as life had pass'd away.

"It is a solemn hour, and one that speaks
With solemn though with silent voice to all;
An hour which wakeful memory oft-times seeks,
Forgotten errors sternly to recal.

* * * * * * *

"Up! rouse thyself, thou slumbering soul! Thy idols cast to bat and mole: The Lord, the Lord is nigh! Lay low each haughty look, He comes the universe to shake. To rend the melting sky; The world to save, his own to make Those who his rule forsook. Go forth to meet the train That leads him into Salem's walls; Join in the rapturous strain Which cheers the meek, the proud appals. Each garment cast aside That owns pollution's guilty hue; From Him thou canst not hide One secret fault; nor dare to strew His path with verdant bough, If underneath those shining leaves Lurk serpent sin; lest thou, Like one who his death chaplet weaves,

Thy own destruction seal. Gentle He is, as those sad tears, O'er Judah shed, reveal; But awful He in wrath appears. See Him with scourges drive Those who his temple had defiled; Beware thou, then, and strive Thy breast to cleanse from passion wild, That it may be From sin so free, Fit dwelling for thy God it prove— He comes! each stumbling-block remove. 'Cast up, cast up,'—lay darkness bare, A highway for your God prepare. Though lowly now He shall descend, To call the nations forth, and blend The attributes of Judge and Friend, And truth with grace unite. 'Arouse!' the Church repeats her cry, 'Arouse!' the woods and vales reply, The Lord our God Himself is nigh-Jehovah, Lord and Light."

We have no hesitation in recommending this excellent book to our younger readers; and in taking our leave of the amiable authoress with all wishes for her success, we would only suggest the propriety of extending her plan in a future edition, so as to include *all* the holy days of the Church. We are of opinion also, that occasional defects are perceptible in the poetical part of the volume, which a more careful revision would easily remove.

XVIII.—Vigilantius and his Times. By W. S. GILLY, D.D., Canon of Durham, &c. London: Seeley and Co.

Though we differ very widely from sentiments occasionally put forth in this volume, we have derived instruction and pleasure from some of its contents. We are quite disposed to go along with Dr. Gilly in his condemnation of the violence of tone in which Jerome wrote against Vigilantius; but we cannot see anything in the character of the latter, which entitles him to the conspicuous place Dr. Gilly has given him amongst the worthies of the Church. The object of the work, as its author informs us, is "to illustrate the ecclesiastical errors and corruptions of the fourth century, and to show what opposition was made to them." We fear that its tendency is not merely to prove the

existence of errors amongst individuals, but to compromise the whole character of the age in which the most essential doctrines of Christianity were established, and thus to undermine the authority of our creeds. We apprehend that Dr. Gilly is unconsciously playing the game of such writers as the author of "the Natural History of Enthusiasm," and other opponents of all settled belief.

XIX.—Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal, with extracts from his writings, and from despatches in the State Paper Office, never before published. By John Smith, Esq., in 2 vols. London: Longmans.

Pombal was the most decided enemy of the Jesuits, and his measures against that Order led the way to its suppression. Hence it follows, of course, that his character is one on which very different opinions are entertained. The detail of his vigorous administration of the affairs of Portugal for so many years—his contests with the See of Rome, in which he came off triumphant, and was even rewarded by the Pope with no less a gift than the entire bodies of four saints!—his suppression of convents—expulsion of bishops—and sundry other matters equally curious and interesting, are very well told in these volumes. They are not only very amusing, but exceedingly instructive in many respects.

XX.—The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England according to the Uses of Sarum, Bangor, York, and Hereford, and the modern Roman Liturgy arranged in parallel columns. By WILLIAM MASKELL, Priest in the Diocese of Salisbury. London: Pickering.

The publication of works like the present is quite a peculiar feature of the times. The University of Oxford has reprinted the prayer-books of Edward VI., and other old formularies. Mr. Keeling has published a valuable conspectus of the different revisions of the Prayer-book. Mr. Dyce has republished the Prayer-book of Edward VI. with musical notes. The breviary of Salisbury is making its appearance in another quarter. Mr. Pickering is, we see, about to publish accurate reprints of the Prayer-books of Edward VI., Elizabeth, James, Charles I. and II.; and, in addition, the Sarum Missal, the Orarium, and other books of the same kind; and here we have a very carefully arranged and beautifully printed work, comprising the whole office of the liturgy or mass, according to the various rites of the

English Churches before the Reformation, compared, in parallel columns, with the Roman. Mr. Maskell appears to have executed his work exceedingly well; and not the least valuable feature in it, is a preface teeming with liturgical lore.

XXI.—The Confession of our Christian Faith, commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius, illustrated from the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, by parallel passages from the Greek and Latin Writers of the first five Centuries, &c. By the Rev. John Radcliffe, M.A., Rector of St. Anne, Limehouse, &c. London: Rivingtons.

The title-page of this work sufficiently explains its nature. We shall only add, that it contains the amplest body of evidence, from Scripture and tradition, in support of the Athanasian Creed, that it has ever been our fortune to see. For the purpose of reference, this elaborate production will be eminently useful—indeed, indispensable.

XXII.—Lachrymæ Ecclesiæ, &c. By the Rev. George Wyatt, LL.B., Rector of Burghwallis. London: Cleaver.

Mr. Wyatt could scarcely have fixed on a more interesting period of the history of our Church than that which forms the subject of this little volume. The sufferings and the conduct of the English clergy during the great Rebellion are here detailed; and the biographical form which much of the work assumes, gives additional value to its pages.

- XXIII.—1. Christian Faith and Practice. Parochial Sermons. By the Rev. J. Garbett, Prebendary of Chichester, &c. Vol. II. London: Hatchards.
- 2. Is Unauthorized Teaching always Schismatical? A Sermon preached before the University of Oxford. By the Rev. J. Garbett. London: Hatchards.
- 3. Sermons by William Jay. London: Bartlett.

Mr. Garbett's Sermons are composed in the same spirit of freedom from attachment to any particular form of Christianity as those of Mr. Jay. Both of these writers advocate Christian doctrines and duties, without reference to ecclesiastical systems of any kind; and both are anxious to see the downfall of that "bigotry" which looks for the promises of Christ in His visible Church. This is not surprising in Mr. Jay, who is a Dissenter; but it is more than strange in a minister of the Church. We

need not add, that, notwithstanding the very practical character of Mr. Jay's discourses, and the ability of Mr. Garbett's,—disfigured, however, by an affected ease and a familiarity which convey a painful notion of self-confidence,—we cannot recommend them to good churchmen. Mr. Garbett's sermon, on "unauthorized teaching," impresses us with the opinion, that Wesleyan Methodism has more hold on his affections than the Church of which he is a minister. Certainly the whole object seems to be, to maintain the ground assumed by Wesleyans, and to point out the faults of the Church.

XXIV.—Five Club-Sermons. By the Rev. A. Gibson, M.A., &c. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co.

"Club-sermons!" The title startled us somewhat, we must admit; but there is little to startle the reader in the contents, which consist of a body of very plain matter-of-fact advice on the benefits of loan-funds, clubs, &c., and the disadvantages of early marriages. It is not every day, however, that we find sermons on such subjects as "Independence, Easy Circumstances," &c., or admonitions to Christian congregations, that "one shilling weekly at the age of twenty, will, at the age of sixty-five, give the choice of forty-seven pounds, sixteen shillings, and six pence a year for life, or three hundred and forty-nine pounds ready money!" All this sort of thing may be well enough in its proper place, but it is not fitted for the pulpit.

xxv.—The Alphabet; Terentian Metres; Good, Better, Best, Well; and other Philological Papers. By T. Hewitt Key, M.A., Professor of Comparative Grammar, &c. in Univ. Coll., London. London: Knight & Co.

A LEARNED, curious, and amusing collection of philological papers, chiefly tracing the analogies between different and cognate languages, on various subjects. It appears from the preface, that these papers were originally published in the "Penny Cyclopædia;" and it would seem that their republication has arisen partly from the unceremonious manner in which some other writers have availed themselves of the facts here brought together, without acknowledging the source to which they were indebted.

XXVI.—Argumentative Sermons, exhibiting the Truth of Christianity in a Review of our Lord's consistent Life and Method of Preaching. By the Rev. W. Guise Tucker, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

THERE is a great deal of sound and good matter in these sermons,

though we must say, that the argument does not always appear to conduct satisfactorily to the conclusions which the author proposes. We cannot, however, speak otherwise than respectfully of discourses in which attention is drawn so peculiarly to the character of our blessed Lord Himself, and to the awful truths of the future life.

XXVII.—The Sacred History of Man. With other poems. By the Rev. Alfred Spalding, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Painter.

The principal poem in this volume traces the consequences of the fall of man; and after showing that sorrow is the result of sin, points out the remedy presented to us in the cross of Christ. The versification is pleasing, and the sentiments are quite unexceptionable, as far as we can see; but these constitute the chief merits of the volume.

XXVIII.—Lectures on Heraldry, &c. By Archibald Barrington, M.D. London: George Bell.

The author of this treatise on heraldry is already favourably known to the world by his publications on architecture and heraldry, the latter of which subjects he here treats at some length. The historical part of the subject is first considered, after which, heraldic terms, the blazoning of arms, their various kinds, insignia of honour, orders of knighthood, and the connexion of heraldry with history and architecture are successively considered. The illustrations are numerous and very well executed, and we think it will be found a most convenient and useful manual by all who are desirous of engaging in this interesting study.

XXIX.—Walks in the Country. By Lord Leigh. London: Moxon.

This volume is the production of a mind thoughtfully observant of nature, and of the analogies which it presents to the intellectual and moral world. There is much in the spirit which pervades it which cannot but engage the sympathies of every reader—a general kindliness of feeling, commiseration for affliction, indignation at vice and corruption, generosity of sentiment; while the Christian will mark with thankfulness the reverence which is felt for the most sacred subjects. Our limits will only permit us to extract the following pleasing lines:—

FAITH AND HOPE.

"As mind toward created light
Upsprings from bondage free,
Still faith and hope attest her flight,
Where truths evolved shall be.

"Progressively unveil'd appear
New glories; more remain
Yet unreveal'd, bright hope to cheer;
Faith's ardour to sustain.

"Through grades of endless life the mind Still rises higher—higher— Fresh trial there for faith to find; For hope, increased desire."

We regret that the noble author should have occasionally made use of language which must be painful to the feelings of those who attach importance to the divinely instituted forms in which religion is preserved on earth. We cannot think it consistent with the general tone of these poems, to speak of such persons as "boding ravens," or of their views as "vainer superstitions" than astrology.

xxx.—Lives of the English Saints. London: Toovey.

The remarks which we have made on the previous numbers of this Series, apply in almost every respect to those which are now before us, comprising the Lives of St. Augustine, St. Wulstan, and certain Hermit-saints. Their character is in the highest degree legendary; and they are, in all essential respects, Roman Catholic. It is, however, now admitted, that there are reasons to doubt the alleged miracles of these saints. The author of the "Lives of Hermit-Saints" endeavours to account for the fact. "that so much has been said and believed of a number of saints with so little historical foundation" (p. 3). With reference to the miracles of St. Helier we are told, that "there is no proof that the writers intended these stories to be believed at all. Many of them may have been merely legends. . . . Many a wild and grotesque tale about the triumphs of saints and angels over the powers of evil, may have been told to the novices by an aged monk at recreation-time, without being considered an article of faith. Such stories were only meant to be symbols of the invisible," &c. (p. 11.) In fact, the Bollandists themselves are obliged to allow, that the miracles of saints are often "so exaggerated or deformed (as the way of man is) with various adjuncts and circum-

stances, that by some persons they are considered as nothing short of old women's tales. Often the same miracles are given to various persons, and . . . what has happened to one has in fact been attributed to others, first by word of mouth, then in writing, through fault of the faculty of memory." (p. 59.) So that "uncertain traditions of miracles, with vague descriptions of name and place, are handed down from generation to generation, and each set of people, as they pass into their minds, naturally group them round the great central figure of their admiration or veneration, be he hero or be he saint. . . . The old Greeks saw Naïds sporting in every fountain; and when the breezes played among the branches of the forest, they heard the Zephyrs whispering to the Dryads; and the legends of saints which still cling to the scenes of their earthly glory, are but Christian expressions of the same human instinct." (pp. 74-77.) We really think that the publication of "Lives" of Saints so legendary and so mystic, is a mere trifling with religion.

XXXI.—DEVOTIONAL, &c.

"The Reflections on Eternity of J. Drexelius" (Burns), edited by the Rev. H. P. Dunster, M.A., will, we doubt not, conduce to the edification of all who read them. They are enriched by copious citations from the Fathers, and from the best writers of the mediæval Church.—"Comfort for the Afflicted" (Rivingtons), edited by the Rev. C. E. Kennaway, with a biographical sketch of the authoress, by Archdeacon Samuel Wilberforce, comprises a series of extracts from all our best writers, adapted to the consolation of those who are under suffering of any kind. Its publication must be a mournful gratification to the friends of the excellent person who compiled its pages; and, recommended as it is, it will, doubtless, bring spiritual comfort to many others.— "Immanuel, or the Mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God" (Painter), is a reprint from Archbishop Usher, and merits an attentive perusal.—"Hints to promote a Life of Faith, or the Ratification of the Baptismal Covenant" (Hatchards), is intended to aid inexperienced inquirers to attain a life of faith. It is written in a truly pious, practical, and devotional spirit, but its theology includes the doctrine of assurance, and the necessity of regeneration after baptism.—Mr. Alford has published "Prose Hymns" for Chanting (Rivingtons), and "Psalms and Hymns" for the Sundays and holy days (Rivingtons), which seem to be very well selected, and contain some beautiful pieces by Mr. Alford himself.—"Questions for Self-examination" (Toovey), and "A Litany and Prayers for the Communion," by Bishop Andrewes (Burns), may be safely recommended.

XXXII.—TALES, &c.

Mr. Gresley's "Henri de Clermont" (Burns) forms a volume of "the Juvenile Englishman's Library," and when we add, that the narrative comprises all the leading incidents of the Vendean war, we need not say a word more as to the interest of this beautifully-told tale.—" The Hope of the Katzekopfs, a fairy tale, by William Churne, of Staffordshire" (Rugely, Walters: London, Burns). William Churne, who seems to be under "glamourie" himself, is evidently quite at home in fairy-land; and we can recommend his story, as comprising an excellent moral—the evil of selfishness, and the sufferings which it causes. - The little tale entitled "Genoveva of Brabant" (Burns) is a most affecting narrative of suffering and faith.—" Abbey Church, or Self-control and Self-conceit" (Burns), is written with ease and spirit, and exhibits, chiefly through the medium of conversation, the contrasts of character which it is designed to illustrate. The stage is, perhaps, over-crowded.—"The Birth-day, a tale for the Young," by the author of "Gideon," "Josiah," &c. (Burns,) is also a clever and well-written tale, illustrative of the habits and sentiments of young persons, with much instructive matter on ecclesiastical subjects.—"Rebecca Nathan" (Rivingtons) traces the process by which a Jewish family is converted to Christianity. — "Follow me, or Lost and Found" (Burns), a translation from the German, is a pleasing allegory, of which the Cross of Christ is the principal subject.

XXXIII.—EDUCATIONAL.

The Scottish School-book Association has published a series of school-books, which appear to be very well and carefully compiled. Its labours have extended, not only to reading and English grammar, but to geography and natural philosophy. The geographical publications are exceedingly good, including an Atlas; and the whole are published at very moderate prices.—Mm. Marin de la Voye and A. Tasche have edited a work entitled, "Nouveau Mélange, Narratif, Descriptif, Historique et Littéraire," (Baily, Londres,) which comprises a great fund of amusement for young persons.—"Religious Lessons for Children," by Mrs. J. Towgood, is a good manual for the instruction of children in the faith and duties of Churchmen.

XXXIV.—PAMPHLETS, &c.

The question of Education in Ireland has recently given rise to a controversy, in which the pamphlet published by the Rev. H.

Woodward, of Fethard, in favour of the "National" system, has been ably answered by the anonymous author of "Second Thoughts on the points at issue," &c. (Rivingtons); while the Bishop of Down and Connor (Dr. Mant) has published a firm and dignified Letter to Sir Robert Peel, on his censure in Parliament of some of the Irish prelates (Rivingtons). It seems to us that the Irish prelates and Church have (whether rightly or wrongly) grounded their opposition to the government plan on such principles, that they cannot retreat from their present position. We can, therefore, only hope, that they will be supported by the laity, and by the Church of England.

The proceedings of the American Church are daily becoming more interesting to all Churchmen. We have perused an admirable Address from the Bishop to the Annual Convention of the Diocese of New Jersey. The progress of the Church, detailed in this address, is most cheering.—We have also read with pleasure a clear and masterly tract, published at Burlington, New Jersey, entitled, "A Pastoral for the times," in which it is proved from Scripture and the Fathers, that "the Church recognizes no authority to minister in the word and sacraments, but that which is

designated by episcopal consecration or ordination."

"The Oblation and Invocation of the Scottish Communion Office vindicated," by the Rev. J. Christie, M.A. (London: Lendrum. Aberdeen: Brown,) is a sound and able defence of the Liturgy of the Church of Scotland, against the attacks of certain schismatics in that country; and, while on this subject, we may add, that Mr. Burns has recently published a beautiful edition of the Scottish Communion Office, with musical notes, on the model of Mr. Dyce's well-known publications.—We have read with instruction and pleasure, an Address, by the Rev. Dr. Jarvis, of Connecticut, entitled, "No Union with Rome," in which the unjust accusation of a tendency in the American Church towards Romish errors is ably refuted; and a Sermon, by the same respected author, preached at All Souls', Marylebone, on behalf of the Metropolitan Churches Fund.—The Rev. Walter Blunt, M.A., has published a well-written tract, "The English Church and the Romish Heresy" (Burns), comprising a defence of the Church against the attacks of a Romish priest.—"The Tenets of the Plymouth Brethren examined," by the Rev. E. G. Carr, of Guernsey (Baldwin), and "The Spirit of Dissent," by a Clergyman (Rivingtons), are written with vigour, and in a spirit of attachment to the Church.—" The Mysteries of the Papal Policy Revealed," &c. (Hamilton, Adams, and Co.) shows greater knowledge than is usually possessed of the condition of the papal power. "The Church Advancing," an address to Roman Catholics, on "the

present encouraging aspect of affairs," by I. Wakeham, is a dull and feeble attack on Church principles, the English Church, &c. -Two Sermons, entitled, "Romanism not Catholic," by Rev. W. C. Dowding, B.A., of Hereford (Rivingtons), satisfactorily refute the pretensions of Romanists, and maintain the catholicity of the English Church.—We are indebted to the Rev. Charles Colson, M.A., for an excellent Visitation Sermon on neglect of the Holy Communion; to the Rev. R. A. Wilmott, for a very beautiful Farewell Sermon, preached at St. James's, Ratcliff; and to the Rev. W. Brudenell Barter, for his valuable Discourse on "the Education of the Poor in the National Church."—The Rev. Alexander Watson, M.A., of Cheltenham, has just published a series of four Lectures on Confirmation, together with a Catechism, Prayers, and Meditations, &c. (Rivingtons), which will be found eminently useful to the clergy.—We have also to notice two well-written tracts on Confirmation: "Plain Truths for Plain People" (Burns); and "A Letter on Confirmation" (Burns).—We have seen a number of "The New Testament, with Historical Notes and Numismatic illustrations," by J. Y. Akerman, Esq. (J. R. Smith), which seems to be very well executed.—" The Day-hours of the Church, with Gregorian Tones" (Toovey), is a neatly executed volume; but as the editor, in his title and elsewhere, calls the Roman Catholic Church "the Church," we suppose that his work is intended for the use of Romanists.—The author of "Visiting Societies and Lay Readers" (Darling) disapproves of the plan recently adopted by the Bishops of London and Winchester.-Mr. Dyce has published an introductory Lecture on "the Theory of the Fine Arts" (Burns), which gives much promise for the future.—We have also read with great pleasure the very able Lectures on the same subject, which the Rev. Richard Greswell, of Worcester College, has delivered before the Ashmolean Society at Oxford in the course of this year, and which have been recently published at Oxford. — Mr. Close, of Cheltenham, by the publication of his "Church Architecture Scripturally considered," in which an attempt was made to excite hostility to the progress of ecclesiastical art by imputations of Romanism, has involved himself in controversy with an antagonist who has evidently the advantage, the Rev. T. Kerchever Arnold, M.A., Rector of Lyndon.—"The Pew System," by the Rev. W. Gillmor, M.A. (Rivingtons), and "The Wooden Walls of England in Danger" (Ridgway), are on opposite sides of the question; the latter is so jocose, that we could with difficulty discover that it is really meant for a defence of "pews."—The "Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for 1844," contains an interesting address from

the President, on the benefits wrought by the society, and the difficulties which it has experienced. We regret to perceive, that there is still a debt of £1500 due for the repairs of the Round Church.—The first number of "Instrumenta Ecclesiastica" (Van Voorst) has been published under the auspices of the Camden Society. It contains accurate drawings of a grave-cross, a lattern, alms-chests, stone crosses, and the plan of a chancel.— We have seen, with great satisfaction, the second part of the "Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society," which contains several very able architectural papers, and a series of beautiful plates, including ground-plans of churches, plans of open roofs, open seats, seat ends, benches, stone pulpits, sedilia, &c.—"The Ecclesiologist" (Nos. xxxiii. xxxiv.) is, as usual, replete with curious and useful information. Amongst other subjects, church-yards, the warming of churches, churchyard crosses, together with the notices of church restoration, are particularly interesting.—Mr. Burns has published a beautiful series of illustrations of Sintram, drawn on wood by Mr. Selous.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Mr. Johns, the architect of the English church on Mount Zion, and lately pro-consul in Palestine, is about to publish notes of his residence in Syria, &c., with numerous and highly-finished illustrations.

Professor Foggi, of the University of Pisa, is preparing for publication an important work on the Poetry of the Bible. It is intended to present a development of the whole metrical system of Hebrew Poetry, and of its hitherto unobserved poetical nomenclature.

The Rev. Robert Wilson Evans, the author of "The Rectory of Valehead," has a volume of Parochial Sermons in the press.

The Bishop of Lincoln is preparing for publication a new edition of his "Illustrations of the Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries, from the writings of Tertullian."

The Rev. James S. M. Anderson has in the press, "A History of the Church of England in the Colonies and Foreign Dependencies of the British Empire."

The Rev. William Palmer is preparing a new and enlarged edition of his "Origines Liturgicæ, or the Antiquities of the

English Ritual."

Dr. Alfred Day has in the press a work upon the Syntax of the Relative Pronoun and its Cognates, illustrated by numerous Latin and Greek Examples.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

AMERICA.

Resignation of the Bishop of Pennsylvania.—It is stated that on account of broken health Bishop Onderdonk will give in his resignation to a special Convention, to be assembled in Philadelphia on the 5th of September.

New Dioceses. — New Hampshire and Maine are about to be constituted into separate dioceses. The Rev. Dr. Chase is to be consecrated as the first Bishop of New Hampshire; the Diocese of Maine is

temporarily administered by the Bishop of Rhode Island.

Increase of the American Church. — From statistical accounts recently published, it appears that since the beginning of this century the number of episcopal clergymen has increased sevenfold. It was 180

in the year 1801, and now amounts to 1250.

Romish Missions among the North American Indians.—The "Charleston Catholic Cabinet" contains a flourishing account of the state of the Indian Missions sent forth from the newly-erected Romish dioceses of North America. Their principal station is at Saint Joseph, on Lake Superior, between the Ottawas and Chippewas; two missionaries are at work among the Menomonies, and two others among the Sioux, east and west of the Mississippi; but the most promising field appears to be to the west of the Rocky Mountains. The Jesuits have there a central station, with a chapel, dedicated to the Virgin, on the banks of the Bitter-root River, in the territory of the Flat head Indians, all of whom, amounting to about a thousand souls, have been converted; in connexion with this station, five missionaries are labouring among the neighbouring tribes of the Kulleespelm, the Pointed-heart, and the Pierced-nosed Indians; the number of their converts is stated at 2000.

The Romish Church in New Grenada.—A serious misunderstanding has arisen between the episcopate and the civil authorities of the republic of New Grenada. A priest of the diocese of Panama, having been deposed by his bishop, appealed to the civil tribunal, which pronounced sentence of suspension from his jurisdiction against the latter. The sentence having been notified to the Archbishop of Bogota, to whose province the diocese of Panama belongs, that prelate, in a letter to the President of the Supreme Court of Justice, dated Dec. 21st, 1843, formally refused to recognise the suspension of his suffragan.

ANTIGUA.

Visitation of the Diocese.—The Bishop has held a Visitation of the whole of his diocese, including the Danish Islands, which contain an English population of 7938 souls, nearly one-third of the whole.

During his progress he administered to 2253 persons the rite of Confirmation. Associations in aid of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel have been established in different parts of the diocese.

Anniversary of the Earthquake.—The anniversary of the dreadful earthquake of the 3rd of February, 1843, was most religiously kept throughout the islands, and a deep and permanent impression seemed to have been made upon persons of all ranks. A few of the ruined churches have been restored, but many are still in the dust, and the cathedral remains "in its rudely patched-up form."

AUSTRALIA.

Travelling Missionaries.—The Bishop has sent forth three travelling missionaries to the scattered pastoral population along the Murray

River, in Moreton Bay, and in the district of Maneroo.

Spiritual Destitution.—Upon an area of 434,507 square miles, with a population of 160,727 souls, this diocese has only fifty-four clergymen, thirty-eight of whom are supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In a letter recently received at the Society's office, the Bishop says, "I have been in one county (Durham), in the whole extent of which there is not a church, and but one clergyman. In the adjoining county of Brisbane, there is one church and one clergyman!—no more! After that, I shall pass through three entire counties, in which there is neither minister nor ordinance of religion; and the five counties included in this enumeration contain a fourth part of the area of New South Wales, and from a sixteenth to an eighteenth of the entire population." In the province of South Australia there is a population of 20,000, with but one clergyman of the Church of England.

Indifference of the Local Government.—In a letter addressed to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Bishop mentions by name eighteen districts, with a population of 14,000, in which the government outlay for religious purposes has not, up to the present time, amounted to 400l. in the whole, while the annual expenditure for civil purposes is nearly 15,000l., and the revenue collected double, if not treble, that amount. The Bishop brought the subject forward in the Legislative Council of the Colony, proposing that a certain rateable proportion of the head-money received for pasturage of cattle should be applied to religious purposes. But although the Bishop enforced his proposal by the appropriate question, "How much is a man better than a sheep?" it was received by the Council with the

utmost indifference.

BARBADOS.

Visitation of part of the Diocese.—The Bishop has been engaged in a visitation to the islands of Tobago and Trinidad. In the latter he held a confirmation, and consecrated a new church. An association in aid of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was formed under

the presidency of the Governor, an example which has since been fol-

lowed in other parts of the diocese.

Ordination.—An Ordination was held at Trinity Church, Port of Spain, Trinidad, on the Sunday after Ascension, when five deacons were admitted to priests' orders by the Bishop; three for Trinidad, one for Tobago, and one for Carriacou. There were assembled in the presence of a large congregation, the Bishop, assisted by seven priests, and five deacons: "a novel sight," as the Bishop observes, "for Trinidad, where eight years ago there was only one clergyman, besides the garrison chaplain, for the whole island."

Codrington College.—Since the year 1830, the number of students

from this college admitted into holy orders amounts to sixty-one.

BELGIUM.

Penitentiary under Ecclesiastic Government.—The ancient Abbey of St. Hubert has lately been converted into a penitentiary for young criminals, under the superintendence of the Frères de la Miséricorde.

CANADA.

Visitation Charge of the Bishop of Toronto.—The Bishop of Toronto held his second triennial visitation at the Cathedral Church of St. James, Toronto, on the 6th of June, 1844. The number of clergy addressed by the Bishop was seventy-four. In his Charge, he reviewed the results of his visitation journies during the summers of 1842 and 1843. In the latter year the Bishop visited the part of the diocese north, south, and east of Toronto; he confirmed 2923 persons at seventy-eight different stations, and consecrated five churches and two burial-grounds.

Ordinations.—The Bishop of Montreal has, during the last year, ordained four deacons, one of whom was a student of Lennoxville College, and admitted nine deacons to priests' orders. At an ordination held at the Cathedral of Toronto, on Sunday, June 30th, the Bishop

ordained three priests and two deacons.

The Weekly Offertory.—The establishment of the weekly offertory throughout the diocese has been recommended by the Bishop of Toronto; the proceeds to be appropriated partly to local wants, and

partly to the funds of the Diocesan Church Society.

Travelling Missionaries.—The Bishop of Toronto, aided by the funds of the Diocesan Church Society, has commenced a system of employing travelling missionaries in those districts of his diocese in which the benefit of resident ministers cannot be procured. They are to remain for a short time at the more populous stations, so as to become acquainted with the people, and to be able to make the best arrangements the case will admit of, for their edification and instruction during the intervals of the missionary visits.

Statistics of the Diocese of Toronto.—The area of this diocese is 100,000 square miles; its population, according to the last census, is 496,055. Of this number 128,897 have been returned as members of

the Church; but the Bishop is of opinion, that from hostility to the Church on the part of the persons taking the census, this number is below the truth, and that the proportion of Church members is nearer one-third than one-fourth of the entire population. The number of clergy at present is 103, ninety of whom are maintained by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In 1839, on the arrival of the Bishop, the number of clergy was no more than seventy-one. On his first progress through his diocese in 1840, he confirmed 1790 persons; on his second progress in 1842 and 1843, the number amounted to 3901.

Vindication of the English Church.—The Church Society of Toronto has published, under the sanction of the Bishop, a work by the Rev. T. B. Fuller, entitled, "The Roman Catholic Church not the Mother of the Church of England; or, the Church of England, the Church

originally planted in England."

Nunnery at Montreal.—Four nuns of the order of Notre Dame de Charité du Bon Pasteur, two of them Englishwomen, and the other two Frenchwomen, have arrived at Montreal for the purpose of establishing their order there. The nunnery was nearly ready for their reception at the time of their arrival.

EGYPT.

Romish Establishments.—The Lazarists are making good use of the grant of land and building materials made to them lately by Mehemet Ali; their intended establishment at Alexandria comprises a church, a Lazarist college, a lower school to be placed under the management of the Frères de la Doctrine Chrétienne, and two girls' schools under the superintendence of nuns of St. Vincent-de-Paul. Civilities and costly presents have been interchanged between the Pope and the Pacha; and the new church of St. Paul at Rome will reckon among its chief ornaments four large alabaster columns presented to his Holiness by the Mussulman prince.

FRANCE.

The Education Question.—The angry discussions which this question has excited, are, for a season at least, suspended. An insinuation thrown out in the chamber of peers, that the lower clergy did not share the sentiments of the bishops on this subject, called forth from the former numberless addresses of adhesion to their diocesans. Meanwhile the discussion of M. Villemain's projet de loi proceeded; and although the chamber of peers introduced into it various modifications of a tendency favourable to the Church, still it did not satisfy the clergy, who continued to remonstrate. Fuel was added to the flame by the introduction of the projet into the chamber of deputies, where it was referred to a committee, and M. Thiers appointed reporter. The spirit in which he treated the subject, is best described by the terms of the declaration he is said to have made on his appointment, that he would prove himself impérialiste, révolutionnaire, et voltairien. His report,

however, was not destined to lead to any practical result. It was printed and presented to the chamber shortly before the close of the

session, and there the matter rests for the present.

Order of Frères des écoles chrétiennes.—This order, which is extending itself throughout France, has 456 houses, in each of which at least three brethren of the order must reside, and has under its charge 2209 schools, and 183,800 scholars. No less than 148 towns are at this moment soliciting the assistance of the order for the establishment of popular schools; and in consequence of this demand, which far exceeds the number of teachers which the order is able to supply, collections are made throughout the churches in France for the purpose of enlarging the novitiate institutions, or normal schools, of the fraternity.

Marriage.—Religious associations are actively engaged in several of the dioceses of France, in promoting the religious celebration of matrimony between parties who have been married only by civil contract, or

lived in concubinage.

Relics.—The Pope has presented to the church of St. Peter's, at Aire-sur-la-Lys, the body of St. Æliana, martyr, which, it is said, was discovered on the 9th of December, 1842, in the catacombs of St. Priscilla, at Rome. A grant of plenary indulgence has been added to all the faithful who after confession and communion shall pay a visit of devotion to the saint on her annual festival.—The feast of St. Bonaventura was celebrated with great pomp at Lyons, where his relics are deposited in a church dedicated to his name. The Archbishops of Lyons and Bordeaux officiated on the occasion, and the relics were carried about in public procession amidst an immense concourse of

people.

Establishment of the Jewish worship.—By a royal ordinance, published in the Moniteur of the 28th of May last, the Jewish worship is established in France on the same footing as other modes of worship, recognized, supported, and superintended by the State. The central Israelite consistory of Paris has addressed a letter of thanks to the Minister of Public Worship, the tone of which is strongly indicative of that rationalistic tendency which has gained ground extensively among the Jewish people, especially in France and Germany. Among others the letter speaks with satisfaction of the abolition of the peculiar Jewish oath, which is designated by the consistory as "a superstitious mummery." The government measure, which is shortly to be extended to Algeria, is characterised as "a soundly liberal organization of the Jewish worship in France."

Prosecution for religious controversy.—At the assize court of Arriège, a Romish priest, who had lately joined the Protestant communion, was found guilty by the jury, and sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a fine of 600 francs, on account of a controversial pamphlet published by him, which was held to contain "outrage and derision against a religion, the establishment of which is legally recognized in France." While the Protestants are loud in their complaints of what they consider a flagrant infringement of religious liberty, the Univers, on behalf

of the Romish Church, disavows the prosecution, which it represents as the act of the civil government.

GERMANY.

Modernized Version of the Apostolic Creed.—On the occasion of the last Confirmation at Leipzig, a petition, signed by seven public teachers of religion at the town-schools, was addressed to superintendent Dr. Grossmann, requesting the restoration of the Apostolic Creed in the Confirmation Service, in the place of the Formulary of Confession introduced, in the year 1803, by Dr. Rosenmüller, who, at that time, filled the office of superintendent. Dr. Grossmann convoked an assembly of the clergy of the town, in which it was resolved, by a majority of eleven against two 1, to grant the prayer of the petition. The rationalistic minority, however, commenced so violent a system of agitation against what they call the "obscurantism" of Dr. Grossmann, that the latter thought it best to refer the whole question to his superior, the minister of public worship, who directed that Rosenmüller's formulary should, for the present, be retained; but, at the same time, issued a circular to all the superintendents of the kingdom, requesting their opinion on this subject. The formulary introduced by Dr. Rosenmüller by way of improvement upon the ancient symbol of the Church Catholic being a curious specimen of the refined rationalistic style of liturgical composition, we subjoin it, marking in brackets the most characteristic omissions 2.

¹ One of these, Archi-diaconus Fischer, who has stood forth as the doughty champion of Dr. Rosenmüller's improved creed, in reading the penitential litany on the steps of the altar in the church at Leipzig, substitutes for the invocation, "O Holy Trinity, have mercy upon us!" the exclamation, "O holy heaven, have mercy upon us!"

² "Having been early dedicated to Christianity by baptism, we here confess before God and these witnesses, that we take the doctrine of Jesus to be divine truth, and engage to receive and follow it as members of the Christian congregation.

"We believe in God, the [Father] Almighty Creator, gracious Preserver and wise Governor of the whole world and of our destiny. We solemnly vow to adore Him all our life as our Father, with veneration and obedience, with love and confidence.

"We believe in Jesus Christ, the <code>[only]</code> Son of God, our Divine teacher, forerunner, Redeemer, and Lord <code>[who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary]</code>, who has led us from error to truth, from ignorance to knowledge, from sin and vice to virtue and piety, and has even sacrificed his life for us <code>[was crucified, dead, and buried; he descended into hell]</code>; who, after having <code>[the third day]</code> risen again <code>[from the dead, He ascended into heaven]</code>, lives and rules in heaven as Lord and Head of his adorers <code>[from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead]</code>. We solemnly vow to remain faithful to his doctrine, to imitate his example, to follow his precepts, to trust in his promises, and by faith and piety to render ourselves more and more worthy of the grace of God, and of the beatitudes which He has procured and assured to us.

"We believe in the Holy Spirit, by whom God guides us, succours us in our weakness, and strengthens us in the struggle against sin. We solemnly vow, through his assistance, to walk with unalterable fidelity and stedfast perseverance in the path of

faith and virtue to our life's end.

"We believe [the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins] a future resurrection [of the body], an eternal life after death, and a just retribu-

Greek Churches in Germany.—The Emperor Nicholas has given orders for the erection and endowment of a Greek church at Frankfort. There is to be a Greek chapel likewise at Wiesbaden.

GUIANA.

Statistics of the Diocese.—The extent of this diocese is 1518 square miles; its population 82,700. The number of clergy is thirty-one. Twenty years ago there were only two clergymen, and here and there a solitary place of worship; whereas now, the Bishop states, that "the traveller cannot proceed many miles through the cultivated districts without seeing the modest spire, or hearing the invitatory notes of the tolling bell." This happy supply of the means of grace is mainly owing, under the Divine blessing, to the exertions of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Diocesan College.—A collegiate institution, which is to be called "Queen's College," under the superintendence of a council, presided

over by the bishop, is about to be established at George Town.

Mission to the Aboriginal Indians.—The missions to the heathen tribes along the banks of the Essequibo, Demerara, and Pomaroon, which were commenced by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, are in future to be supported from the diocesan funds, to which the free Negro agricultural labourers largely contribute. The accounts received from these missions are highly encouraging.

JAMAICA.

State of Education in the Diocese.—From a statement of the Bishop forwarded to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, it appears that the number of schools in the Island of Jamaica is 100, containing 6941 children at an annual cost of upwards of 7000l.; of which 5000l. are derived from local sources, nearly 900l. contributed by the Christian Knowledge Society, and 1200l. by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. All these schools are to be placed under the immediate superintendence of the rural deans.

tion of good and evil. Remembering the account and judgment which await us, we will ever as Christians be conscientious in our calling, kind to our neighbours, temperate in the enjoyment of pleasures, and patient in our sufferings; we will ever think

and act, live, and at last die, as Christians.

"Thou hast heard it, thou hast heard it, this solemn vow, Omniscient God! Thou art witness to the holy covenant into which we here enter before thy face. Help us, that we may never forget it: cause us to be mindful of it in the hour of temptation, that we may manfully fight and happily conquer, that we may remain faithful unto death to thee, our Father, to Jesus, our Redeemer and Lord, and to the religion which we profess. Amen. May God help us thereunto! Amen."

It should be observed, that the German word Geist leaves it equivocal what

It should be observed, that the German word Geist leaves it equivocal what Dr. Rosenmüller means by "the Holy Spirit;" and the passage at the end, vowing faithfulness "to our Father, to Jesus, our Redeemer and Lord, and to the religion which we profess," seems pretty clearly to indicate that he means by it no more than

an holy, religious spirit.

JERUSALEM.

Church of the Holy Sepulchre.—Letters from Moscow state that a firman has lately been obtained from the Porte by the Emperor, placing the Church of the Holy Sepulchre under the guardianship of the Greek, to the exclusion of the Romish, Clergy.

Collections for the Roman Catholic Mission at Jerusalem. — An annual collection, to be made on some Sunday in Lent, or on Good Friday, has been ordered throughout all the dioceses of the Austrian

dominions for the benefit of the Romish Mission at Jerusalem.

Discovery of a Hebren Manuscript.—By a singular accident, some time ago, a traveller, who was visiting Absalom's cave, discovered a subterraneous chamber, and in it found a manuscript copy of the Pentateuch, written on parchment. Having been formerly educated at the college of the Propaganda, the happy finder transmitted the treasure to its library, where it is now undergoing the examination of the learned.

INDIA.

Native Clergymen.—On Quinquagesima Sunday last, the Rev. N. Paranjody, a native of India, was ordained priest at Jaulnah by the Bishop of Madras.

The Catechist System.—The Bishop of Madras has intimated his intention to institute a rigid scrutiny into the whole catechist system, and to retain as lay-teachers only such as have proved themselves really qualified for their work, and devoted to the faithful performance of it.

The Sawyerpooram Mission .- Further particulars have arrived, and have been published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, relative to the remarkable movement in Sawverpooram, one of the missionary districts of Tinnevelly, where ninety-six villages have at once and of their own accord abolished their idols. From these accounts it appears, that the missionary, the Rev. G. U. Pope, is proceeding with great discretion as well as zeal. He has drawn up stringent rules in reference to marriages, burials, and the total abandonment of all superstitious rites, to the observance of which he requires all who place themselves under his instruction, to pledge themselves. Notwithstanding that these rules are strongly opposed to the customs and prejudices of the natives, and that he insists moreover on the abolition of all distinctions of caste, the work of evangelizing them makes good progress. In several of the villages the heathen temples have been purified, and are now used for Christian worship; in others, the natives are making collections, and come forward with offers of gratuitous labour for the erection of churches. Mr. Pope availed himself of the opportunity afforded him by the opening of his new church at the central station of Sawyerpooram, on St. Mark's day, for the purpose of forming a Native Church Building Society. The list of the names of the committee exhibits the most gratifying proof of the powerful influence of Christian principles among the natives, men of all castes, not excluding even Pariahs, being associated together for the advancement of the Gospel. Two additional catechists have been placed under Mr. Pope's directions; but in order to follow up this important movement, additional clergymen, as well as funds in aid of the Native Church Building Society, ought to be supplied without delay. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel receives special contributions for this object, and announces a donation of 100l. received from a clergyman on the first publication of this cheering intelligence.

Translation of the Bible and Liturgy into the Native Languages.— A translation of the English Liturgy into the Goojerattee, for the use chiefly of the Ahmedabad Mission, is in course of preparation. New and improved editions of the Prayer-book in the Mahratta and the Hindoostanee languages, and a Mahratta version of the Scriptures, are likewise in progress. The expense of these publications is borne wholly, or in part, by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; but in order to insure greater accuracy, they are executed in India.

Romish Missions.—Mgr. Borghi, Bishop of Bethsaida in partibus, and Vicar-Apostolic of Thibet and Hindostan, is at present in Paris, where he is making preparations for returning to his diocese, accom-

panied by a large body of missionary priests.

Two French missionaries have arrived, in January last, at Xiongma-i, the capital of Laos, where they were favourably received by the king. They are said to be the first missionaries that penetrated so far,

ITALY.

Consistory Appointments.—At a secret consistory, held at the Vatican on the 17th of June, the following appointments were made: Cardinal Luigi Micara, Dean of the Sacred College, to the see of Ostia and Velletri; Cardinal Marius Mattei, to the see of Frascati; Mgr. L. E. M. Blanquart de Bailleul, Bishop of Versailles, to the archiepiscopal see of Rouen; Mgr. J. N. Gros, Bishop of Saint Dié, to the see of Versailles. Bishops were also appointed to the sees of Sorrento, Cefalù, Monopolis, Spalatro, Avellino, Girgenti, Piazza, Sabaria, Verdun, Saint Dié, Gap, Blois, and Limoges. Two Bishops in partibus were created, one of whom is the coadjutor and intended successor of the Bishop of Macao. The Pall was decreed to the Bishop of Ostia and Velletri, and to the Archbishops of Rouen and of Sorrento.—At a secret consistory, held in the Quirinal on the 22nd of July, several Bishops were appointed to see sin the kingdom of Naples and in the South American states. Mgr. Dominico Carafa de Traetto was created Archbishop of Benevento and Cardinal Priest. Four other Cardinals were reserved in petto.—At a secret consistory, held on the 27th of July, Bishops were appointed to the sees of Goyaz, Patti, and Besides these were nominated one Archbishop and three Bishops in partibus; one of the latter, titular Bishop of Gadara, being Dr. Anton Claessen, appointed suffragan of the see of Cologne.

Maintenance of Papal Claims.—On the occasion of the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, the annual payment of tribute and other dues to the Roman See was made at the bottom of the great staircase of the Vatican, after which the Pope protested, in the usual manner, against all princes and individuals who had failed to discharge their obligations

towards the Holy See.

Index Prohibitorius.—The Congregation of the Index published a decree on the 26th of June last, which prohibits, among other works, Didier's Campagne de Rome; Libri's Histoire des Sciences Mathématiques en Italie, depuis la renaissance des lettres jusqu'à la fin du XVIIe siècle; and the Instruction pastorale de H. J. Van Bruul, évêque de Haarlem, sur le schisme qui divise les Catholiques de l'Eglise de Hollande.

Additional Saints.—The cause of the beatification of Louis Marie Grignon de Montfort, founder of the Missionary Congregation of the Holy Ghost, was pleaded before the papal consistory a second time on the 27th of July. It is said also, that the Princess Borghese, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who died at Rome four years ago, in the odour of sanctity, is to be added to the Calendar after the lapse of the canonical fifty years.

NEW ZEALAND.

Statistics of the Diocese.—From the accounts published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, it appears that the population of this diocese consists of 110,000 souls, scattered over an extent of 95,000 square miles, 10,000 of whom are English settlers. The

number of clergy is eighteen.

Supply and Qualifications of the Clergy.—All the clergy will be required by the Bishop to be able to minister both in the English and the native language; so that the town-clergy may be enabled to labour occasionally among the natives, and the missionaries to the natives, to attend to the spiritual wants of English settlers in remoter districts. He hopes to educate the greater number of his clergy at St. John's College, established by the Bishop close to his own residence at the Waimate. In the first instance he looks for young students to be sent out to him from the mother country. The collegiate institution comprises, besides a theological college for candidates for holy orders, a collegiate school for the children of English residents, and a boarding-school for native children.

Native Reserve Lands.—The Bishop of the diocese has been appointed by the governor one of three trustees for the management of native property, and of institutions supported out of its produce for their benefit. The plan of the trustees is this: 1. To build in every town an hostelry for the natives who come there to trade, on a plan similar to that of an English almshouse, with a small chapel for their daily worship, and convenient stowage for their goods. 2. To found, at a convenient distance from the chief tribes, boarding-schools, upon the general plan of the Norwood institution, where religious instruction

may be given, and all good and useful arts and habits taught, from the earliest age. The children to be fed, taught, and clothed from the produce of the native reserves, and afterwards put out into life, according to their abilities and bent of mind.

Romish Mission.—A Romish bishop is about to be intruded into the diocese of New Zealand. His name is Epalle; he was consecrated Bishop of Sion in partibus, at Rome, on the 22nd of July last, by Cardinal Fransoni, the prefect of the congregation de Propaganda Fide. He is at present staying in France, whence he is to sail for New Zealand in October, accompanied by a dozen priests and catechists, all belonging, like the bishop himself, to the Société de Marie.

NOVA SCOTIA.

Ordination.—At an ordination held at Christ Church, Dartmouth, on Trinity Sunday last, the Bishop ordained two priests and two deacons. Three out of the four were students of colonial colleges.

Diocesan Church Society.—The Church Society of this diocese, besides expending considerable sums in the maintenance of catechists, in the erection of new churches, in sending assistance to poor scholars at King's College, Windsor, and in distributing books, is receiving subscriptions in aid of the missions to the heathen for remittance to the Home Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. It is also proposed to establish in every mission a Church School, under the control of the clergyman.

PORTUGAL.

Restoration of the Cathedral Chapter at Lisbon.—By a royal ordinance of the 5th of August, the reconstruction of the metropolitan chapter of the see of Lisbon has been decreed, in accordance with the apostolic bull issued lately by the Court of Rome, the execution of which is committed to the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon.

PRUSSIA.

Pastoral Union Meetings.—At the Meeting of the Central Pastoral Union of the Prussian province of Saxony at Gnadau, on the 17th of April last, the following subjects were discussed:—Improvement of the Congregational Psalm and Hymn-books; the Liturgy; the Temperance Question; and the Office of Deaconesses. The discussion on the Liturgy was stormy, in consequence of certain theses propounded by Professor Schmieder, of Wittenberg. Those which seemed to give most offence, were those in which he suggested that there should be a weekly celebration of the Holy Communion, and that the morning sermon should be abridged, in order to make room for a greater extension of the liturgical part of the service. The whole of the theses are pervaded by the leading idea, that the act of worship properly consists in offering up devotion, not in listening to discourses; and that the devotion so offered, in order to be real, should

be the liturgical expression of one common faith and love. Referring to the recent attempts to produce ecclesiastic union, by the introduction of new and uniform formularies of worship, Professor Schmieder observed, that they are founded in mistake, as they can never produce that unity of belief and unity of spirit, of which, in due time, an uniform liturgy would be the result. This position he illustrated quaintly, but not unaptly, by saying, that while the uniform liturgic worship of a people united in the faith resembles an harmonious concert, the performance of the same worship by those who widely differ from each other in their religious opinions and feelings, can only be compared to the simultaneous tuning of a number of instruments. The

subject was left to stand over for the September meeting.

A meeting of the Pastoral Union for the March of Brandenburg, was held at Neustadt Eberswalde, on the 29th of May last. Among the subjects discussed was that of baptism, which was defined by the assembly as "that gracious act of the Triune God, whereby divine grace is imparted to man conceived and born in sin." As regards the administration of this Sacrament, it was generally agreed, that it ought to take place in the public congregation; and it was suggested, that every baptism should be notified beforehand to the people, and commended to their prayers. The principal difficulty seemed to be the practice which has obtained in many congregations, of administering baptism publicly only in the case of illegitimate children; whereby public baptism has come to be regarded as a stigma. It was observed, that the best way to meet this difficulty would be, for the ministers to set the example of baptizing their own children in the public congregation. Another interesting discussion took place, as to the best means of enlisting the services of the laity in aid of the ministers; and among the facts mentioned in connexion with this point, was an account of an Operative Association at Stettin, which consists of 130 members, and meets every evening, forming a kind of evening school for religious instruction.

Pastoral Conference at Berlin.—A conference of great interest, both from the numerous attendance, and from the nature of the subjects discussed, took place at Berlin from the 5th to the 7th of June last. The idea of such a conference originated in 1841, when some few of the Protestant ministers, assembled for the annual meeting of the Berlin Missionary Society, determined to devote an additional day to the discussion of pastoral matters. In the following year this was repeated, and the numbers having increased to nearly one hundred, it was resolved that the conference should be held annually, and regularly organized. In the present year the number of members amounted to 236, consisting, with the exception of about ten individuals, of ministers, professors, and candidates in theology. The presence of many of the governors of the Evangelic Church, about twenty superintendents, and several professors of the university, gave to the assembly, notwithstanding its voluntary and non-official character, much weight and importance. On the first day, after some preliminary discussion on the object of such conferences, Mr. v. Gerlach, Consistorial Councillor, introduced, with

reference to John xx. 19-23, the question of the power of the keys. He observed, that these words implied more than a mere commission to preach the Gospel; he vindicated the institution of private confession. which he considered warranted by the passage in question, and while maintaining the declaratory character of absolution (as distinguished from its judicial character in the Roman Church), he dwelt on the desirableness of an individual absolution being privately given previously to the administration of the Holy Communion. An animated discussion followed, in which the question of the Apostolic succession, as the foundation of all ministerial power, was also touched upon, and variously treated by the different speakers, most of whom, however, agreed in expressing a strong wish for the restoration of private confession and individual absolution. This was followed by a discourse of Professor Twesten, in which he took a review of the history of theology in Germany during the last forty or fifty years, and observed upon the decay of rationalism, and the revival of biblical orthodoxy of late years, a result which he connected with the progress of Church principles. On the second day the proceedings were opened by an address from Pastor Arndt, on the responsibility of the ministerial office; after which the conference discussed the question, "By what means can the Evangelic congregations be made sensible of the advantages which, as Evangelic Christians, they possess in comparison with the Roman Church?" This gave rise to various complaints on the insufficiency of religious instruction, especially in the higher schools and colleges, and on the want of a standard of orthodoxy binding upon the ministers, as well as to various suggestions with a view to make the Augsburg Confession more extensively known, and to restore it to the authority it formerly possessed. The latter point opened the way for observations on the late declarations of the rationalists at Köthen3. The next question was, "By what means the devotional element of religion might be raised and quickened in the Evangelic Church?" In answer to this, it was noticed as a great defect in the present system, that the sermon occupies too prominent a place, almost to the exclusion of other portions of public worship: different speakers observed, that liturgic forms should be more extensively used, and greater importance given to the ministration of the Sacraments; that daily prayers with lessons from Holy Scripture should be introduced; that the Churches should be opened for an hour before the commencement of the public service; and that the Scriptures should be expounded in familiar lectures or catechetical classes. The third question on the instruction to be imparted in schools, preparatory to the ministerial instruction of catechumens before confirmation, could not, for want of time, be fully discussed.

On the third day the conference ventured upon the intricate question, "In what relation does the [united] Evangelic Church stand to the symbolical books of the Lutheran and reformed Churches?"

³ See the next page.

On this subject, the most conflicting opinions were uttered; but the prevailing feeling appeared to be, that a symbolical book, as an authorized standard of the Church's doctrine, was indispensable, and that the Augsburg Confession was, under existing circumstances, best suited for the purpose.

On the whole it is evident, from what took place at this conference, that orthodoxy, and a desire for a more perfect organization of their ecclesiastical system, are making considerable progress among the Prus-

sian divines.

Open avowal of unbelief by Ministers of the Evangelic Church.—At a meeting of the association of "Protestant friends," formerly called "friends of light," held at Köthen, in May last, the most unblushing avowals of rationalistic unbelief were openly made and suffered to pass unreproved, though not altogether uncontradicted, in the presence of a large number of clergy and laity of the "united evangelic Church." The most offensive sentiments were those uttered by the president of the assembly, Pastor Uhlich of Pommelte, and by Pastor Wislicenus of Halle. former opened the discussion with a speech on the necessity of distinguishing between "the excellent and the objectionable parts of the old faith." As objectionable he designated the doctrines of original sin, of the Atonement, of the Trinity, and of the Divinity of Christ; also the idea of the Church, forasmuch as all the evils in the world are to be attributed to the Church; and in fact every kind of knowledge which rests on any other basis than sound reason. Pastor Wislicenus, in discussing the question "Letter or Spirit," maintained that the rule of faith is not the letter, i. e. the Bible, but the Spirit, whereby he understands "the holy spirit of communion," or, in other words, agreement in opinion and feeling. He made the following explicit statement: "We do not believe that Jesus was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of a Virgin, but we believe that he came into the world in the same way as any other human being:" and again, "if the authority of Scripture be alleged against us, we declare openly and fearlessly that our doctrine is not in accordance with Scripture." This manifesto of rationalism on the part of ministers who every Sunday recite the Apostolic Creed in their churches, has excited great indignation among the sounder divines of the Protestant Church of Prussia. At the Pastoral Conference at Berlin it was proposed to draw up a protest against the doctrines of "the Protestant friends," and to affix the same to the door of Pastor Wislicenus's church. Various other proposals were made, and the matter ended, so far as the Berlin conference is concerned, in a resolution expressive of deep regret at the statements in question, and in a special prayer offered up for the erring brethren. It is expected, however, that the ecclesiastic authorities will take official cognizance of the affair.

Public Catechising.—The Consistory of Munster has issued an extensive circular to the superintendents of the province, enjoining the general revival of the practice of public catechising in the churches at the Sunday afternoon service, and containing a variety of suggestions

as to the best method of insuring attendance, and rendering the instruction efficient.

The Apostolic Succession.—It is reported that Dr. Siedler, lately appointed Senior or President of the Consistory of Posen, and Pastor Pflug of Lissa, intend to repair to Herrnhut, for re-ordination in the

line of apostolic (?) succession.

Burial of Protestants by Romish Priests.—In the principality of Paderborn the Protestants have no cemeteries of their own, nor are their ministers permitted to enter the Roman Catholic burial-grounds. The custom is for the Protestant minister to surrender the corpse at the door of the house to the Romish priest for interment. The consistory has addressed the government on the subject, asking for redress.

The Franciscans in Westphalia.—The King of Prussia has authorized the continuance of the Franciscan Order in Westphalia, under certain regulations. Father Gossler, an active ecclesiastic, who recently obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Rome, by maintaining in the Aula magna a thesis, "De optimo Protestantismum per Germaniam cum Catholicismo reuniendi (sic) modo," is to be lector at the Franciscan

monastery of Paderborn.

Roman Catholic Tract Society.—An Association, under the title, the Borromeo Society, has been formed at Bonn, for the purpose of diffus-

ing Roman Catholic writings among the people.

Resignation of the Bishop of Paderborn.—A Pastoral Letter from the Roman Catholic Bishop of Paderborn was read in all the churches of his diocese on the 14th of July last, in which he takes leave of his flock, assigning old age and ill health as the reasons of his resignation. The resignation itself is attributed to some misunderstanding between the Bishop and the Prussian Government.

The Archbishop of Cologne.—The deposed Archbishop of Cologne, Baron Droste zu Vischering, has published a volume on the questions which have embroiled him with the Prussian Government, under the title, "On Peace between the Church and the States." The writer is on the point of leaving Germany for Rome, where, it is said, he is to be rewarded with the purple for his exertions and sufferings in the cause of the Church.

Statistics.—The population of Berlin is stated at 350,000, of which 330,000 are Protestants: there are thirty-four Protestant Churches.

In Königsberg there are at present 90 ecclesiastics, 72 academic office-bearers, 341 students, and 53 schools, with 214 teachers.

The University of Breslau counts 703 students, of which 94 belong to the evangelic, and 204 to the Roman Catholic, faculty of Theology;

128 are studying law, 114 medicine, and 163 philosophy.

New Roman Catholic Church at Berlin.—The King of Prussia has granted a site for the erection of a second Roman Catholic Church in Berlin, and authorized a general collection in the Roman Catholic congregations of the kingdom in aid of the building fund, to which it is said the king himself intends to contribute liberally. He has further

authorized the erection of a Roman Catholic Hospital at Berlin, to be placed under the charge of the Sisters of Charity.

SPAIN.

Return of the exiled Bishops.—The Archbishop of Santiago, Mgr. Velez, formerly general of the order of Capuchins, made his solemn entry into his cathedral town and church on the 26th of June last, after having spent nine years in exile in the Balearic Islands. He was received by the ecclesiastical, civil, and military authorities, and by an immense concourse of people.

Sale of Church Property.—A royal decree was published at Madrid, on the 8th of August, suspending the sale of Church property, and directing the revenues of such properties as remain unsold, to be ap-

plied to the support of the secular clergy and of the nuns.

Literary Discovery.—A letter from Madrid announces the discovery of a manuscript History of the Life of Charles V. during his sojourn in the monastery of St. Justo in Estremadura. It was compiled from original documents by an ecclesiastic, Don Tomas Gonzalez, who had the charge of the royal archives at Simancas. The picture it presents of the emperor's life after his abdication is totally different from the generally received account; as it appears that he continued to carry on, especially with his son Philip, an active correspondence on the state of public affairs till within a short period of his death.

SWITZERLAND.

The suppressed Monasteries in Aargau.—The suppression of the monasteries in Aargau, and confiscation of their property, by the Protestant government of that canton, continues to create considerable agitation among the Roman Catholics of Switzerland. Hitherto, however, the petitions from the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Aargau to the Cantonal government and the Federal Diet, the instructions given to their deputies by the seven Roman Catholic Cantons, the intervention of the papal nuncio, and a spirited remonstrance addressed to the Diet by the United Episcopate of Switzerland, have proved unavailing; the Diet having passed on to the order of the day without entertaining the question. To all appearance it will not be allowed to rest.

Romanism at Geneva.—A dispute has arisen between the authorities of Geneva and the Bishop of Freiburg, to whose diocese the Roman

Catholic Church at Geneva belongs.

The Jesuits in Switzerland.—The great Council of the Canton Aargau has addressed a circular to the cantonal governments, proposing the expulsion of the order of Jesuits from the Swiss territory. The proposition will, no doubt, be lost in the Diet, as it interferes with the independent sovereignty of the different cantons in matters of religion.

The Zwinglians and the Baptists.—The Zwinglian ecclesiastical council of Zurich has published a decree, prohibiting the use of all religious

ceremonies by "the Baptist sectarians," on the occasion of their interments in the public cemeteries, and enjoining, with the assistance of the police in case of need, the use of the funeral rites of the Zwinglian establishment at the burial of Baptists, even though all the mourners should absent themselves from such performance.

Died.—At Geneva, on the 22nd of March last, aged ninety-one, J. I. S. Cellérier, formerly pastor at Satigny, and one of the most celebrated Protestant preachers of his time. He had lived in total retirement at Geneva for the last twenty-eight years.

SYRIA.

Roman Catholics of Mount Lebanon.—The Maronite Archbishop titular of Laodicea has lately come to Paris with a view to interest the French Government for the protection of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Mount Lebanon. In furtherance of his object he has published a pamphlet under the title "Notice historique sur l'origine de la nation Maronite et sur ses rapports avec la France, et sur la nation Druze, et sur les diverses populations du Mont-Liban."

Died.—At Aleppo, the Abbé Gaudez; he had resided there fifty-four years as Lazarist Missionary, and for a considerable time past filled the post of Vicar-Patriarchal of the Maronites and United Greeks.

TURKEY.

Public Recognition of the Sisters of Charity.—The Turkish Government has granted to the Sisters of Charity at Constantinople, a free passage for all consignments made to them from other countries.

Romish Missions.—Intelligence has arrived from Mossul of an attack made by the populace upon the Dominican convent, in consequence of some contemplated enlargements, which awakened the jealousy of the Turks. The monastery was demolished, and several persons, among them the superior of the Order, were wounded. The French ambassador has demanded and obtained satisfaction from the Porte.

Romish Misrepresentations of the English Church.—The Romanists at Constantinople have recently issued a book in Armenian, which pretends to give an account of our Church, and under the title of "the English Faith," represents her as infidel, and destitute of the primitive institutions of Christianity. Fortunately an antidote had been provided by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in an Armenian translation of Nelson's preliminary instructions on festivals, which excited much attention, and was in request with the Armenian booksellers. The Society proposes to follow it up by a translation of that portion of Nelson's work which treats of the festivals relating to our blessed Lord.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From a Correspondent in Sweden.)

TO THE EDITOR 1.

Upsala.

THE constitution of the Swedish Church has been described, with great ability and accuracy, by a German author, Dr. Von Schubert, in his work, "Schwedens Kirchenverfassung und Unterrichtswesen. Greifswald, 1821, 2 Theile." Dr. Von Schubert gives a very favourable opinion of the constitution and inner life of this Church; and his work is deserving of the fullest credence, as in the course of a protracted residence in Sweden, (see his work, entitled, "Reisen durch Schweden, Lappland, Finnland, und Norwegen, Leipzig, 1823 u. 24.") he took great pains in studying all matters relating to the Church, and had good opportunities for collecting documents of all kinds, which enabled him to give to his excellent work an almost official form. As a proof of the great value attached to this book in Sweden, it may be mentioned, that one of the most distinguished dignitaries of the Church, Dr. A. Z. Pettersson (Pastor Primarius and Præses of the Chapter at Stockholm), though fully capable of publishing a work of his own on the subject, preferred to translate Dr. Von Schubert's work into Swedish, only adding a third volume, containing information with respect to the alterations which had taken place since the publication of Dr. Von Schubert's work.

Another German traveller, who visited Sweden for a very short time in the summer of 1843, has, on the contrary, been much dissatisfied with the state of the Church in Sweden, particularly as regards its spiritual life; and he has communicated his observations to the Editor of the "Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung," by whom they have been made public. He refers occasionally to Dr. Von Schubert's work, but ventures to doubt the veracity of that learned and excellent writer. This attempt cannot have any influence on those who are intimately acquainted with the state of the Swedish Church; but as some brief notices of his observations have been published in the last Number of "The English Review²," the writer of these lines thinks it a duty, to supply more correct information and explanations on matters of fact.

¹ We have great pleasure in presenting to our readers the following valuable communication from a distinguished clergyman of the Swedish Church, which comprises observations on some statements of the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*, quoted in our last Number.

² See No. ii. p. 505.

The condition of a Church intimately connected with the State, can seldom be made completely intelligible to a foreigner. He brings with him certain principles by which he tests and decides everything; and he has much keenness of perception in regard to cases in which these principles do not appear to prevail, but little in respect to the practical modifications which, under peculiar circumstances, may be allowed. A stranger is also but too apt to convert special cases into general rules; and that this has been the case, in some degree, with the abovementioned German censurer of the Swedish Church, the following observations will show.

His assertion that "the universities and the schools are under the superintendence of the clergy 3," is to a considerable extent true. The Archbishop of Upsala, and the Bishop of Lund, are Pro-Chancellors of the universities established in those cities; and the bishops have all the schools within their dioceses respectively under their inspection, provided there is no special statute to the contrary; and with respect to the grammar schools, established at a distance, they exercise this right of inspection through some rector residing in the neighbourhood, whom they are empowered to authorize as Inspector Scholæ. By virtue of the statute of 1842, for national education in Sweden, it is enacted. That in every parish there shall be a public school, in which instruction shall be given in religion, Biblical history, writing, arithmetic, history of Sweden, geography, and (at the option of those who apply for it,) in natural history, &c.; and that there shall be a school committee, of which the rector of the parish is to be ex officio chairman. The masters of all the public schools belong to the ecclesiastical body, and those of the grammar schools, in case of their entering into holy orders, have (as a compensation for their generally inadequate salaries) the privilege of claiming one year's service as equivalent to a year and a half of that of the other clergy, when their respective merits are to be considered for promotion to ecclesiastical livings. The masters of the national schools are appointed by the school-committees of the parishes, on condition that the candidate shall have passed his examination at the training seminary, of which there is one established in every diocese. The masters of the grammar schools and of the colleges, are appointed by the bishop and the chapters collectively; the professors of the universities by the king; and the inferior functionaries, viz., adjuncti and docentes, by the chancellor.

"Even the opening of the fairs is preceded by the performance of divine service "This is not prescribed by law, but by an old custom, which now prevails in very few places; indeed in only two cities."

"Every sentence pronounced in the civil courts is notified to the minister of the parish to which the delinquent belongs, who is bound forthwith to impose ecclesiastical penance 5," &c. As in Sweden Church and State are most intimately connected, and every offence which implies immorality is a violation of the laws as well of the Church as the

³ Page 505. ⁴ Page 506. ⁵ Page 506. VOL. II.—NO. III.—OCT. 1844. R State, the Swedish legislature has ordered the delinquent to make atonement both to the State and to the Church. The latter is effected by the ecclesiastical penance. This penalty is of two kinds, viz., public, when the delinquent, in the face of the Church, confesses and deplores his guilt; and private (or, as it is called, secret), when he is absolved by the priest, in the presence of two or three witnesses bound to secresy. Ecclesiastical censures cannot be inflicted by the priest; his own disciplinary authority is limited to certain kinds of admonition, and, in certain cases (to be applied with great caution), to refusal of the Lord's Supper, The ecclesiastical penance is judged according to law by the secular judge; but in cases of adultery alone, the priest may give absolution at the secret penance prescribed for this offence, without waiting for the warrant of the secular court. The delinquent is excluded from the Church till he has undergone penance; but he may partake of the Lord's Supper, if he, being in dangerous illness, expresses contrition, and binds himself to undergo penance in case of restoration to health. Penance is performed in the following manner: When the delinquent has undergone his secular punishment, he is brought to the church of that parish in which he has committed the crime, and there remains during the service, kneeling on a footstool close to the church door. After the sermon the priest announces from the pulpit, that, after the service, a sinner is to be received into the communion of the Church, and exhorts those present to support him by their prayers in his intention of leading a better life. The service being concluded, the penitent steps forward to the nave of the church, where, kneeling down, he confesses before the priest his error and his repentance, and is absolved.

It would hardly be possible to misconstrue the truly Christian and primitive spirit of this institution. It presupposes a Christian mind, both in the congregation, which ought to be ready with charitable kindness to restore the penitent, and in the fallen man, who, in the bosom of a faithful congregation, must needs feel his conscience calmed, and his good intentions strengthened. But this disposition being absent, the benefit of the institution is lost. The indifference of the congregation is death for the penitent; the indifference of the latter is a scandal to the congregation. Yet, why should the Church sacrifice what is good and Christian in its institutions, because of the possibility of their abuse? And, in the present case, is the probable advantage exceeded by the probable evil?

The fault of the present state of the ecclesiastical penance in the Swedish Church, and which alone might explain such scenes as that in which "the young lady" is introduced ⁶, (the other story only manifests the ignorance of the narrator,) is, that the priest is bound by law to absolve every delinquent who does not himself object to it. No time is allowed to the priest to ascertain the spiritual state of the delinquent, and to bring him to a serious repentance, if not previously felt by him.

Besides, it happens frequently, through distance, or other worse reasons, that the priest does not see the delinquent till shortly before the latter is about to make penance. Another evil arises from penance not always taking place where the delinquent has his regular spiritual pastor. However, many complaints have been made against these irregularities; and their removal will be included in the extensive reform of the ecclesiastical and criminal law, which has been under preparation for some time, and will, in all probability, ere long, be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. Still, it may be mentioned, that the scandal, produced by the abuse of this institution, is seldom heard of except in

the large cities.

"The clergy are, in addition to their spiritual duties, compelled to execute many secular functions 7," &c. To describe the real state of things in this respect, it would be necessary to write a book on the organization of Church and State in Sweden. It may suffice to give the following outline. The clergy constitute a fourth estate of the Swedish representation at the Diets; the rectors (Kyrkoherdarne) must send their representatives; the Comministers have a right, if they choose, also to send one representative only from each diocese. These representatives take part in all questions which are brought before the Diet; and from their position, education, and intercourse with all ranks and classes, they can do so with judgment, independence, and comprehensiveness of view. In all transactions within the country, which are conducted by the deputies of the estates of the realm, the deputies of the clergy also take part.

The clergyman is also ex officio chairman of the Vestry Meetings (Sockenstämmor), and likewise of meetings for deliberations and decisions about the private affairs of the parish, such as the building and the support of the Church, relief of the poor, sanatory matters, &c.; and the minutes are kept by him. The mass of business which is transacted at these meetings, is under the controll partly of the provincial authority (the governor of the province), partly of the bishop and chapter of the diocese. In the country, the clergyman is, in conjunction with the churchwardens, responsible for the accounts of the

church and poor-money.

It being the clergyman's duty to keep an accurate list of all members of his congregation, he alone can issue certificates of birth, character, knowledge of the Christian religion, absence of matrimonial engagements, when such certificates are required, on removal out of the parish, or for some other cause; and it is also the clergyman's duty to attend the civil courts when assessments are made, in order to give information as to the circumstances of his parishioners, and to obtain exemption from assessment for the old, poor, and infirm.

These and other duties, of a civil nature, do not, except perhaps in large cities and extensive country parishes, occupy so much time, or obstruct the spiritual duties of a clergyman to such an extent as the

German tourist represents. If a part of these duties might possibly be taken out of his hands, without altering his position, yet he could not be deprived of much of them, without being rendered inferior to what he now is,—the Fac-totum of the Swedish peasantry. The clergyman is now considered as the head of the parish in all its concerns. He is the ex officio guardian of the poor and the helpless. In Sweden, however, no clergyman can be a magistrate.

The German writer has committed a very serious error, by stating that, "after the conclusion of the service, they (the clergy) have to license the sale of inland manufactures "," &c. A statute to this effect (applying, however, only to a few parishes of a province or two) was actually issued on the 19th May, 1819, but this statute was very soon

abrogated.

We cannot, however, deny the existence of one very objectionable practice, which is this; that "the clergy have to publish not only official notices, but advertisements of sales by auction, and other unsuitable matters, in the church during the service 1." This custom originated in the difficulty of promulgating intelligence, from the want of newspapers, and other channels of communication, and also the few opportunities offering of assembling inhabitants scattered over an extensive and thinly peopled district. The clergyman may, however, refuse to publish anything he may consider unsuitable or objectionable. For further information we may cite the very words of the Church law on this subject: "After the prayers are concluded, you are to publish what we (the king), or our crown officers (Befallningshafvande), have to order or notify, on our behalf; but all other secular matters are to be proclaimed outside the church, or in the parish house (Socknestugan); yet, if previous intimation be given to the clergyman, he may give notice of anything lost and stolen, which might with propriety be mentioned from the pulpit." Later statutes have caused this practice to be rather abused. In the original of the "notices" we are now criticising, it is stated, that the bishops, and the other dignitaries of the Church, are averse to a change which would separate these proclamations from the actual Church service. This is an insinuation we should not have expected from a writer who seems to lay some stress on charity, and who, consequently, ought to have abstained from reporting such mere idle talk.

We find similar evidence of rash judgment, when the writer speaks of the general profanation of the Lord's day 2, which is the more inexcusable, when we take into consideration the small part of Sweden visited by him. It is undeniable that instances occur, particularly in the larger towns, where the Sabbath is not duly observed. But the writer of these lines, who is intimately conversant with the customs of Sweden generally, and the central parts more particularly, can unhesitatingly declare, that "agricultural operations in the country" on the Sabbath are of rare occurrence—never take place during the time of

divine service—are invariably confined to the housing of the crops—and that, if these operations should be carried on without the plea of threatening weather, but from mere covetousness or indifference to religion, such cases would find but very few defenders.

The statements about the Swedish "readers" are erroneous, from the author having taken too general a view of this subject. A disposition for religious seriousness, which may easily merge into enthusiasm, is peculiar to the Swedish national character. In nearly all the provinces of Sweden are found "readers" of the general character mentioned in "The English Review";" but the difference amongst them is so great, that it ranges them in a sliding scale from the sober, quiet observer of Church ordinances, to the mere visionary and fanatic. A great proportion of those generally called "readers," are only serious Christians, individually actuated by a greater desire than usual of being edified by the reading of the sacred Scriptures and religious books, who observe an outward strictness in their conduct of life, but without manifesting any intolerance, or an injudicious zeal in trying to obtrude on others their principles and course of life. Some you find who evince great strictness in what other people consider "adiaphora," - condemning cards, dancing, and all worldly amusements; and also condemning, as children of the world and the devil, all who do not strictly abstain from what they themselves disapprove of. Many entertain these serious feelings, but are isolated; others congregate, and besides attending the established Church service, have their own religious meetings, where they have prayers, sing hymns, read and expound the Bible, and also read other religious publications, sanctioned and recommended by the Church, as the writings of Luther, the sermons of Nohrborg 4, a translation from the German of Arndt's book on true Christianity, &c. Others are more decidedly separatists; do not attend the services of the established Church, but hold their meetings at the same hours; show contempt for the clergy, and all outward order in the Church: while some make objections to the present Liturgy of the Church, the Catechism, and book of hymns, but still make use of them; though some maintain, that their consciences are rendered uneasy by their use. But the fanatic enthusiast goes far beyond this. Under this class comes the so-called "preaching-epidemic," which commenced in 1841, in the province of Smaland. This singular phenomenon is probably a physical disorder, in conjunction with a mental excitement arising from this cause. The sufferers, generally young women and children, were attacked with violent hysterics; they dropped down apparently lifeless, and when consciousness returned, they held exhortations, sung hymns, &c. A different case occurred in the province of Helsingland, where a peasant

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⁴ This author, who died in 1767, was one of the Royal Chaplains. His sermons, which were published after his death in 1771, are remarkable for their dogmatical purity, their calmness, and the absence of all sentimentality. It has been remarked with great truth, that the most strictly dogmatical book of all the Swedish Church literature is, at the same time, one of those most in use for private devotion.

from Upland having declared himself filled with the Holy Ghost, and free from sin, prevailed on the peasantry to bring together a quantity of their hitherto most valued religious books, of which they made a large pile, and burned them all, as savouring of heresy, or not spiritual enough.

All these different sets of people, who mutually disapprove of each other, are now generally called "readers." Those who dislike them, if moderate in their views, mean thereby the extravagant party of the "readers;" those who are lukewarm, and indifferent about religion, mark every appearance of piety as "readerism" (läseri), and hold the same to blame for all sorts of irregularity. Persons of moderate views, who speak well of the "readers," mean then the better amongst them. If by "readerism" is meant serious Christian piety, it is not true that "they (the readers) are generally discountenanced by the clergy." Any one conversant with the state of things in Sweden, knows that "readerism" as well in the south of Sweden (where, especially in Skane, Archdeacon Schartau, of Lund, has brought it to its present form), as in the north, the leaders of "readerism" are clergymen. Sometimes those clergy who are favourably disposed to the "readers," are denominated "reading-clergymen."

This German writer has pronounced his condemnation of the Swedish clergy, "among whom a worldly spirit extensively prevails;" while "the description given of the state of the clergy, as regards both literary and theological attainments, and piety and zeal in the performance of

their office, is truly afflicting 5."

One seldom meets foreigners so ready to find fault with Sweden as The Swede is reserved and modest, and so well disposed towards foreigners, that he sometimes gives signs of a disposition to prefer every thing that is foreign. He restrains his feelings and his words. The German, perhaps, does not find his own activity; it seems to him indifference. He meets no ready response to his torrent of words; it seems to him ignorance. He utters lamentations over defects, which are merely deviations from German customs; and if you are too polite or indifferent to enter into a defence before a foreigner full of prejudices, he takes your silence for shame and sorrow for your degradation. He does not find the science of Sweden a distinct echo of that in Germany; and he prophecies what is to happen, from the analogy which he finds between Sweden now and Germany a century ago. May God spare Sweden such a calamity! And there is reason to hope for her escape, since theological science in Sweden, though hitherto chiefly borrowed from Germany, has never attracted any attention when it has been heterodox. Unbelief finds a shorter way hither, in its more genuine form, from England and France. It has traversed the country, but has hitherto spared the mass of the people—the Swedish peasantry. Should the evil threaten to make deeper inroads on the life of the people, there is reason to hope, that the clergy, feeling the importance

and the demands of their holy calling, will go forth to meet the enemy as good soldiers of Jesus Christ.

External influences and internal circumstances might in Sweden, as elsewhere, prevent the triumph of good. But to say, that want of piety and zeal is the characteristic of the Swedish clergy, is unjust; and the expression of such an opinion by one otherwise so charitable, can only be explained by his determining religious and moral worth by the test of a kind of "Pietistic" manner, and a vehement zeal for the Missionary and Temperance Societies,—a test which quâ talis in Sweden would

have so many exceptions, as to annihilate the rule.

With respect to the "literary and theological attainments" of the Swedish clergy, the writer is not more fortunate in his judgment; for they reckon amongst their members many men of eminent literary distinction. The more lucrative benefices are rewards for literary merits, according to the Church law; and it has been justly complained, that in this respect, "literary attainments" have been rather too much than too little attended to. Nor is theological learning wanting; nay, it is often met with in an eminent degree. The general education of the clergy has, in conformity with the increased claims of these times, been improved by a more comprehensive instruction at schools and colleges; more rigid regulations at the universities; and more careful examination and inspection by the bishops and chapters. We shall, on a future occasion, give the particulars of what is required by the Swedish Church (with respect to general and theological learning) for entering into holy orders.

As regards the following statements it may be observed, that it is wrong to make particular cases into general rules. "Church-music is miserably neglected 6." If the tourist had happened to visit some village churches in the neighbourhood of Upsala, instead of those few he visited, he would doubtless have expressed a contrary opinion with respect to the whole Swedish Church-music. He would not then have been ignorant, that what has been considered sufficient in this respect, now begins to make way for improvements. He would have heard of the great merits of the Rev. Rector Dillner, in improving the Churchmusic, by the invention of an instrument called "Psalmodicon," with only one string, on bridges marked with ciphers, by which a person, totally unacquainted with the art of music, can make out every melody of the Book of Hymns, with the aid of a choral book, also published by Mr. Dillner, with ciphers instead of notes, corresponding with the above-mentioned ciphers on the bridges. This invention, and its utility in Mr. Dillner's own parish, has induced others to follow his example; and the most satisfactory results of this improvement are already visible in many of the churches of Sweden, as well as at private devotions.

"The people do not respond during the Liturgy 7." The Swedish liturgy has not many responses, but still there are some. The priest,

⁶ Page 506.

however, is allowed to read, instead of singing; and in that case the congregation does not respond; but the practice is by no means generally adopted.

"The sermon—is read from the manuscript "." This is, perhaps, now the most usual practice amongst the Swedish clergy; yet many

preach from memory, and not a few extempore.

When it is stated that, "among the people, it appears that the morality is at an exceedingly low ebb⁹," and the same opinion of Sweden is frequently repeated in other quarters, it is only fair to inquire who they are, who have thus misrepresented a whole nation. They are Wesleyan Methodists, who have failed in converting the whole kingdom to Methodism, and who have, properly speaking, taken Stockholm for the whole country; they are German Pietists, who have collected their evidence from a pietistic ultra-party within the country; or they are authors of statistical tables, who have been guided by figures, without ascertaining the meaning and extent of the heads under which those figures were placed.

⁸ Page 506.

⁹ Page 507.

The Progress of Missions.

WE resume the sketch, which was commenced in the first Number, of the progress of missionary exertions among the heathen, and purpose to complete what is designed to be a tabular statement of their present condition. This may enable us, from time to time, to appreciate such

specific acts as may occur in any particular district.

Our former sketch embraced the great Eastern territories of Paganism, with their vast and powerful systems of mythology. These mythologies belong to a more or less civilized state of society, are connected with ancient dynasties and empires, and are the growth of ages. The review which we now enter upon lies in a wholly different field, and embraces wholly different objects of contemplation. It is directed to forms of barbarous idolatry, shapeless and infinitely varied, existing among uncivilized tribes, with no system, transmitted record, priesthood, or ceremonial, but varying with each tribe, and, in some cases, with each individual. We have now to pass in review the two districts, first, of Africa and Polynesia; and, secondly, of America and the West Indian Isles.

AFRICA AND POLYNESIA.

MISSIONS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN AFRICA, AND NEW ZEALAND.

AFRICA.

In no country of the world has the sound of the Gospel been so little heard as in this immense continent. The pestilential influence of its climate and humid soil, have presented an effectual barrier against not only the introduction of the faith of Christ, but even the enterprises of commerce and of war. The attempts made to civilize and convert the degraded tribes which are said to people its extensive plains, have been confined to the natives dwelling on the coast. Yet even these attempts have been few, and attended with but small success.

The only mission connected with the Church of England, for the

conversion of the natives, exists at the following point.

Sierra Leone.—In 1804, a mission was opened, by the Church Missionary Society, at Sierra Leone, with a view to the conversion of the liberated slaves conveyed to this colony. In 1842, the negro population was calculated at 42,000. The Mission comprises fourteen stations, under the care of one native and eleven European missionaries,

assisted by eight European and thirty-five native teachers. The number of communicants is stated to be 1275, and of attendants on public worship 6086.

NEW ZEALAND.

Native inhabitants, to the number, probably, of eighty or a hundred thousand, still possess this most interesting country. Of these, many thousands have embraced the Christian faith. At least 35,000 attend the service of the English Church, and are under the wise and Christian direction of Bishop Selwyn, who was appointed in 1841. Twelve missionaries are maintained by the Church Missionary Society, and three by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and three more clergy are attached to the Bishop.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN AFRICA, AUSTRALIA, AND POLYNESIA.

AFRICA.

In the month of December, 1843, Dr. Barrow, Vicar-Apostolic of Guinea, proceeded to Cape Palmas, on a mission to the negroes. Seven priests and three religious had previously been sent on the mission from the congregation of the "Sacred Heart of Mary," founded recently for the special object of labouring for the conversion of the Africans.

AUSTRALASIA.

In 1842, four Italian Passionists, destined for the missions among the savages in Central Australia, were added to the Romish clergy in that colony.

POLYNESIA.

Missions have been, of late years, established by the Church of Rome, in the numerous South Pacific Islands, and are placed under the direction of two Vicar-Generals, who preside, respectively, over groups of islands, which bear the designation of Western and Eastern Oceanica. Under the former are comprised New Zealand, and the Navigator Islands. Converts are spoken of in the returns made, but the number is not given. Eastern Oceanica includes the Gambier, Marquesas, Sandwich Islands, and Tahiti. These are tended, under the Bishop, chiefly by missionaries of the Society of Picpus, to the number of sixteen. In Gambier, the converts are reckoned at about 4000; and some impression has been made upon the other islands, in which the savages have shown, of late, a considerable readiness to embrace the Christian faith, accompanied as it is with all the blessings of civilized life. It is stated in the Report for 1842, that "four Bishops and sixty Missionaries will be immediately employed in Oceanica," but no report of this increase to the present force is given.

MISSIONS OF VARIOUS PROTESTANT SOCIETIES IN AFRICA, NEW ZEALAND, AND POLYNESIA.

AFRICA.

The Gambia.—Along the banks of this river the Wesleyan Society has established missions among the Foulah and Mandingo tribes, and some of the liberated Africans. It has three stations, and maintains eight missionaries and assistant-missionaries, and reckons 533 "Churchmembers."

Sierra Leone.—A station is fixed in this district also by the same Society, for the instruction of the liberated Africans. It is tended by six missionaries, and the number of "Church-members" is stated at 2371.

The Coast of Guinea.—Five Missionary Stations are maintained by the Wesleyan community along the Gold Coast, and in the kingdom of Ashanti. They are superintended by five ministers, aided by catechists and interpreters; and are represented as containing 690 "Church-members."

South-Africa.—Missionary enterprize was commenced among the inland tribes of South-Africa by the Moravians in 1736. After a short period the stations were relinquished, chiefly owing to intestine disturbances, and lay desolate for 50 years, when (in 1795) they were re-established. From that time, these enterprising men have laboured among the Caffres and Hottentots. They have seven stations, amongst which forty-four missionaries are distributed; and upwards of 4800 Hottentots and Caffres are reckoned in their congregations.

The London Missionary Society has established many places of worship both within and without the limits of the Colony of the Cape. Beyond the Colony, this body has five stations among the Caffres, Bechuanas, and Bushmen. Sixteen missionaries are here engaged. The number of the natives reclaimed from their barbarous habits and idolatries, and brought under Christian instruction, is not stated.

In addition to the foregoing bodies, the Wesleyans maintain stations both within and beyond the Colony: first, in Albany and Caffraria, and next, in the Bechuana country. In the former district, twenty-three stations are maintained, with twenty missionaries; and the attendants on public worship are stated at above 36,000: these are, in various degrees, under Christian instruction. In the latter country there are nine stations, six missionaries, and 3200 attendants on Divine worship.

NEW ZEALAND AND POLYNESIA.

New Zealand.—The Wesleyans commenced a mission here in 1820, and have been successful in bringing several of the natives under instruction. They maintain thirteen stations, fifteen missionaries, and above 3000 have been received into "Church-membership."

Polynesia.—The following clusters of islands have been visited by Dissenting missionaries, and stations are still maintained in them. The

Friendly Islands, where eight missionaries are supported by the Weslevans, and have the direction of 6980 members. The Feejee, in which six missionaries are stationed, who reckon 837 converts. But by far the most extensive missionary operations in these multitudinous groups of islands are conducted by the London Missionary Society, which, on its first establishment, directed its efforts towards them. It is quite certain, from concurrent evidence, that a very considerable effect has been produced on the natives; that they have abandoned the worship of their shapeless idols, have put themselves under instruction, and have embraced a profession of the Christian Faith. In the Georgian Islands there are nine stations, with eighteen missionaries, some of whom are however engaged in subordinate duties. In the Society Islands, four stations, directed by five missionaries. In the Hervey Islands, nine stations, under five European and nine native teachers. In the Navigators' Islands, three stations, twelve missionaries. In the New Hebrides, one station and two missionaries. The number of converts in these islands respectively is not given. The last Report (1843) speaks generally with satisfaction of the stability of the older converts, and of frequent and numerous additions in various islands. The mission commenced in the Marquesas Islands, was abandoned in 1841, on account of the unproductiveness and difficulty of this field of labour.

AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES.

MISSIONS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN CANADA, THE WEST INDIES, AND BRITISH GUIANA.

CANADA.

SINCE the acquisition of this immense province by the English, in 1759, the native tribes have, from time to time, been visited, and Christian congregations formed amongst them. In 1784, Dr. J. Stewart, afterwards the first Bishop of Quebec, was sent as missionary to the Mohawk Indians. Several of this tribe of aborigines had previously been converted, and were under the care of English missionaries; since, even now, one congregation preserves, with deep interest, a set of communion-plate, which was presented to the infant Church by Queen Anne. Two stations are still maintained amongst the same tribe on the Ottawa River, tended by two English missionaries, and under the pastoral care of the Bishop of Toronto. Further west, on the Red River, six missionary stations are supported by the Church Missionary Society; and the congregations collected at them consist, for the most part, of natives of the Cree, or Muscaigo tribes; - the number of missionaries is three, and the attendants on Divine worship are stated to be 1790.

WEST INDIES.

These islands, so long the abode of the negro-slave population, have been also the sphere in which Christian sympathy has exerted itself for the spiritual recovery of this degraded race. Jamaica and the Bahamas, Barbadoes and Antigua, and, more recently, British Guiana, have been the field in which the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has maintained its missionaries, and aided in building churches and schools, and providing the whole machinery for the instruction of the slaves. At the period of the Emancipation, about 800,000 were computed to have partaken of the benefit of that Act. The present amount of instruction provided by the above-named Society, is through sixteen missionaries in Jamaica, two in the Bahamas, twelve in Barbadoes, four in Antigua.

BRITISH GUIANA.

In the neighbourhood of this colony tribes of native Indians still remain to be civilized and converted. A mission has been lately opened among some of the aborigines on the Pomaroon River, where one missionary is stationed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Two more missionaries are maintained also among the Arrawack tribe by the Church Missionary Society, and 268 natives are stated to attend the public worship of the Church. This latter Society has likewise a mission in the island of Trinidad, where two missionaries are stationed, and 980 negroes are being instructed in the Christian faith.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA.

NORTH AMERICA.

A mission has been extended from the vicarate of Newfoundland, among the Esquimaux of Labrador, but it does not appear with what success.

On the borders of Hudson's Bay it is likewise stated that many native tribes have been converted, and a bishopric is established in this district.

In Upper Canada a mixed multitude of Europeans and Aborigines are under the care of twenty-five priests. It is stated that the number of converts, among the natives, amounts to 30,000.

Further west, in the state of Michigan, a mission exists, under the pastoral care of the Bishop of Detroit. Both Europeans and natives are united under the care of nineteen priests; and five schools are established solely for the savages.

In the state of Missouri, and west of the river of that name, five Jesuits of Belgium are engaged in the work of converting the tribes of

the Potowattomies, the Chickapoux, and the Kansas; but no definite statement of the success attending these labours is given.

A mission likewise exists among the tribes still existing in the

neighbourhood of the Rocky Mountains.

In the islands of the West Indies, subject formerly to the French and Spanish crown, in Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucie, and Trinidad, missions are likewise established for the instruction of the converted

negroes.

Settlements of savages in the neighbourhood of British Guiana are likewise under the direction of Roman Catholics. But in respect of this, as well as the other missions above mentioned, no precise statement is made of the number of those who have been converted from heathenism. The institutions established for this purpose, in the way of asylums, schools, and hospitals, seem to be very numerous, and altogether the machinery employed appears to be most varied and extensive.

MISSIONS OF VARIOUS PROTESTANT BODIES IN NORTH AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES.

GREENLAND AND LABRADOR.

THESE inhospitable lands are still occupied by those zealous propagators of their creed, the Moravians. Their earliest mission was established in Greenland in 1733, and received the appellation of New Herrnhut, a name conspicuous in their history. Since then, three other stations have been added, viz. Lichtenfels (1758); Lichtenau (1774); Fredericksthal (1824). These four stations are tended by twenty-six brethren: and in 1841, 1845 members were reckoned in their congregations.

The occupation of Labrador was of a somewhat later date. In 1771, a mission was established at a spot which received the name of Nain. Five years later (1776), Okkak was added. In 1782, another station was fixed at a place which was called Hopedale. And in 1838, a fourth station was established at Hebron. Twenty-eight missionaries are engaged in superintending these stations, in which congregations

exist to the number of 1065 Esquimaux.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

Congregations among the aborigines bordering on these countries are likewise under the instruction of the same body. They belong to the tribes of the Delawares and Cherokees,—amongst the former of whom one of the very earliest of the Moravian missions was established. Three stations are now maintained; one in Upper Canada, one in the state of Missouri, and one on the Arkansas. The number of missionaries employed is fourteen, and, in 1841, 241 Indians were reckoned among their converts.

GUIANA.

In this district of South America, Surinam, situated in Dutch Guiana, was one of the first fields in which the Moravians engaged in their missionary labours. At first, these labours were directed towards the native savages, but are now limited to the negroes, the majority of whom are in a state of slavery. Five stations are maintained in this Province, in which 7091 converted negroes are instructed and superintended by thirty-four of the Moravian brethren.

WEST INDIES.

Numerous missions throughout the West India Islands, more particularly in those subject to the British sway, have been established for the Christian instruction of the negro population. They are supported by the Moravians, the Wesleyans, and the Baptists. In the Danish Islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan, the Moravians have seven stations, in which twenty-three missionaries have 10,533 converts under their care.

In the British West Indies, it may be enough to state generally,—without particularizing the stations in each island,—that in connexion with the Moravians there are twenty-six stations, tended by thirty-seven missionaries, in which 31,524 of the negro population are receiving instruction.

In connexion with the Wesleyan body there are fifty stations, in which above 54,000 negroes are under the care of eighty-five teachers.

In connexion with the Baptists, it is stated that there are sixty-three stations, with sixty sub-stations, in which above 35,000 members of their community are under the instruction of thirty-seven ministers.

We have now exhibited, as we proposed, a tabular statement of the efforts that are made for the extension of the Gospel among the heathen, by the various branches of the Church Catholic, and several of the sects which have sprung up since the Reformation. It does not belong to our purpose to enter into a consideration of the methods employed in this work by the several bodies engaged in it; not, of course, that we are without a feeling and opinion on the subject, but, because our object was only to state such facts as were put forward in regard to missionary operations, in order that members of our Church, interested in the matter, might be aware of what was being attempted.

But although we abstain from expressing our opinion on the means employed in extending the Gospel of Christ, we may be permitted to deduce, from what has been here stated, certain corollaries, which may be regarded merely as embodying the facts presented in this summary review of existing missions.

1. First, it appears, that there is scarcely a heathen country in which, in some form or other, the sound of the Gospel is not heard by

at least some of its pagan inhabitants. It is over all the world. The question which suggests itself upon this, is, how much remains to be done in order to the fulfilment of our Lord's prediction, that "the Gospel of this Kingdom must first be preached for a witness to all nations," before the end shall come?

2. It appears that the missions of Protestant Societies are almost entirely confined to the uncivilized heathen, and that among these alone

they seem to meet with any success.

3. The British colonies are extended over the whole earth, and are established in the face of all the heathen. May not colonization be the especial providential means ordained by God for the further extension of Christ's kingdom? If so, how great are the opportunities and consequent responsibilities of this nation!

4. We cannot but further advert to the fact, that Roman Catholic Missions have, of late especially, been extended in those countries where the Church of this country has been planted through her

colonies.

5. Nor can we conclude without a painful reflection on the variety and contradiction of the means employed in the propagation of the faith. Rival missionary establishments, and rival bodies present themselves in the face of the heathen. Can we wonder at partial success? How can we educe good from so pressing an evil? What means should we adopt to counteract it?

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- ART. I.—1. The Claims of Labour. An Essay on the Duties of the Employers to the Employed. Post 8vo. London: Pickering.
- 2. First Report of the Commissioners for Inquiring into the State of Large Towns and Populous Districts. 2 vols. 8vo.
- 3. Remedies for the Perils of the Nation. Post 8vo. London: Seeley and Co.

It is now quite clear that the cause of the poor, in all its vast compass and disastrous variety of interest, is beginning to make itself heard throughout the length and breadth of the land. By the poor, we mean, of course, not merely the mass of absolute destitution which may be extant in any given community, at any given period; but that overpowering majority of the human race who are constantly dependent on the minority above them, for employment, guidance, and protection. Unhappily, with reference to the well-being of this multitudinous class, a certain oracular maxim had long been in almost undisputed possession of the world. This maxim is, most usually, expressed in the French language; France having been the scene of its most prodigal application. Laissez faire, are the words of potency which, from one generation to another, have formed the chief trust and confidence of rulers, and statesmen, and economists. It is not, indeed, by any means our intention to affirm, that the masters and captains of the world have ever shown much inclination for letting things alone, whenever cupidity, or ambition, or other selfish passion, may have found any thing to gain by interference. peace of society has suffered, Heaven knows, disturbance enough

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from the lust of dominion, or of influence, or of wealth. Our meaning is, that where such motives for action have been dormant, the interests of the people have too often been sacrificed to a dastardly, reptile, and lazy indifference, under the imposing name of statesmanlike sagacity and philosophical prudence. And the language of that poor wisdom has generally been this:-" Let things be left to take their own course. By all means, let the people alone. They can understand their own interests, and provide for their own comforts, much better than legislators, or governors, can do it for them. All meddling is, more or less, dangerous. It is contrary to sound principle. It is adverse to independence of character. It may even violate the sacredness of property." And so, for many a dark century,-in most of what relates to their own personal arrangements and individual biography,—perhaps nine-tenths of the human race have been consigned to the tender mercies of laissez faire! The fruits of that gentle dominion have been amply and faithfully recorded by history; namely, the almost cyclical recurrence of plague, pestilence, and famine, with the occasional variety of a jacquerie, or a revolution. In these later days, indeed, the phenomena have not been quite so formidably paroxysmal as they generally were in the mediæval times. They have assumed something of a more mild and chronic type. Instead of pestilence and famine, we have our epidemics and our scarcities. Instead of the jacquerie, we have, from time to time, the monster meeting. Revolution, it is true, we have not been fortunate enough to eliminate, or, in any material degree, to mitigate or tame. For, revolution is, in fact, by no means an exclusively plebeian eruption. It may indicate the wretchedness of the many; but it also is a manifestation of the impatient energies of the few. Besides, there is frequently something more or less noble about it. As Walter Scott observed, high-treason and rebellion are rather gentlemanly crimes than otherwise. They may even have their origin in a spirit of high and patriotic daring; so that patricians and accomplished men may, perchance, adventure upon them without much consciousness of disgrace. Still, for the most part, revolution is one legitimate result of the long and undisturbed predominance of laissez faire. Witness that terrific convulsion, actually seen, throughout the whole course of its development, by many men now living, and which has made History to stand aghast at the sore and frightful task which it has laid upon her. For, what was that explosion, but the inevitable issue of a thousand years of selfish, ignorant, heartless, and, we might justly add, godless non-interference? A considerable portion of the preceding century, more especially, was the very riot and revelry of the grand

master principle of "Let alone." Its influence pervaded all ranks of the community. Let the philosophers and atheists write and talk as they list; let the wits point slanderous epigrams, and licentious vers de société; let the court dance minuets, and give petits soupers; let the king quarrel with his parliaments, and take the occasional diversion of a lettre de cachet: above all, let his majesty provide himself with that one needful thing, a parc aux cerfs: and, all this while, let the people live as they please, and as they can! What could be more captivating, than the seeming liberality of this very comfortable doctrine? And yet, somehow or other, it proved, after all, to be a most destructive imposture. It was truly remarked by Charles Fox, that the government and aristocracy of France seemed to have been long smitten by it, with a judicial infatuation. They had eyes, and would not see; they had ears, and would not hear. They were surrounded with degraded and almost famishing millions, but they would behold nothing but princes, and priests, and nobles. At length, the measure of iniquity was complete. The phials of wrath were filled to the very brim; and, at the fated moment, their fury was poured out. The issue is known to all. First, the sans-culotterie, with its September massacres, and its reign of terror; then, the conscription, and the empire; and, lastly, all Europe on the verge of ruin! And, as for France,—if, as we are often assured, she has been regenerated,—her regeneration has been accomplished by a baptism of fire and of blood.

But England,—the glory of all lands, the saviour of Europe, the mistress of the seas, upon whose empire the sun never sets, what shall be said of her? Has she not stood unmoved, while the strong wind was rending the mountains, and breaking the rocks in pieces? And why should she not remain unshaken, and "be a lady for ever?" Alas! there is "a still small voice," which, whether she will hear, or whether she will forbear, is constantly whispering to her, "Be not high-minded, but fear." For, even here, the pernicious negation,—touch not, handle not, meddle not,—has long been actively and busily, though well-nigh imperceptibly, at work. It has gradually been depositing, beneath the crust and shell upon which the towering fabric of our national grandeur and prosperity has been erected, a vast and festering mass of misery and degradation. The ground seems firm beneath our feet; but, here and there, certain yawning fissures and spiracula have long been noted; and from these a deadly exhalation would occasionally come up, to remind us that we were not treading upon the solid and everlasting granite. And, of late years, these cracks and chasms have been fearfully dilating; and the vapours from the depths below have been gathering both density and volume. And certain ominous and threatening sounds have told us it was high time that the abyss should be courageously explored. And, accordingly, for some years past, legislation, philosophy, journalism, philanthropy, and religion, seem to have been girding themselves up to the adventure. And dreadful, indeed, is the apocalypse which already has unfolded itself before them! The terrors of it must be learned from the acts of societies, and the reports of commissions, and the evidence and researches of learned, scientific, and charitable men. And, henceforth, these documents, and such as these, must be our manuals. They must be in the hands of all who are in a condition to influence, directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely, the destinies of any one section of their fellow-men. Their cry is, "Sleep no more." The reign of selfish apathy, and complacent non-interference, must come to an end; or Ichabod will, sooner or later, be written on the shattered walls of our imperial greatness. And then will a voice be heard, from amid the ruins of departed kingdoms,—" Art thou, too, weak as

we? art thou, too, become as one of us?"

But while we exult at this awakening of the public mind, this stirring of the national intelligence and sympathy, it behoves us to rejoice with trembling. For, it must never be forgotten, that no immediate monster-result must be expected from the arduous process of labour and enquiry, which is at present going on. A long course of patient thought, and unwearied toil, will be required for the purpose of any tolerable approximation towards a comprehensive scheme of improvement. Our condition is such, that, if we are unable much longer to endure our evils, we are, likewise, barely able to endure their penetrating and drastic remedies. Under these circumstances, impetuous and precipitate legislation might only multiply and aggravate the mischief. But, what, then, are we to say? Are we to sit down, and fold our hands, and comfort ourselves with the reflection, that the engineers, and the economists, and the philosophers, and the philanthropists, and the lawgivers, are all busily at work: that, accordingly, the rest of the world must wait till they have wrought out their complicated problem; and that, when this is done, it will be our business to apply the various formulæ by them constructed, and to adapt those formulæ to the varied specialties around us? On no account, whatever, must any such further licence be conceded to the principle of laissez faire. There lives not a human being, among the various employers of labour, and commanders of time, who may not make the interval, between enquiry and legislation, inestimably precious. Be his sphere of action great or small, he has, within that sphere, an almost

unlimited power, for good or evil, over the destiny of those immediately beneath him. Let him, then, cultivate the region which Providence has assigned him; whether that region be a vast estate, or a humble patrimony; a crowded factory, or an obscure shop; a stately establishment, or the narrowest domestic circle. Let him place the well-being of his dependents among the main studies of his life. Be the limits of his own peculiar domain what they may, they will afford him ample room for observation and experiment, in the glorious science of diffusing happiness and comfort around him. And, not only so, but the tenor of his beneficent life may enable him to furnish valuable contributions to the knowledge which official investigation is labouring to collect; and thus may place him, virtually, among the architects of a better system. At all events, he can make himself familiar with the subject. He may, so to speak, saturate himself with a deep conviction of its vital importance. He will have no absolute need to climb to dizzy heights, or plunge into murky depths, in search of information. The signs of the times are nigh unto him. He can scarcely look into a journal, or a periodical, without finding them there. The condition of the labouring classes is a topic, which is beginning to contest the ground with all the most stirring interests of daily life. Party. and politics, and foreign relations, and imperial questions—all are, occasionally, compelled to stand aside, and give it place. Nay, it is actually gathering round itself a literature of its own. And, we hold it to be of measureless consequence, that every man in the realm, who is capable of thought or feeling, should have an ear for these pleadings of the great and sacred cause. It would be infinitely desirable, that a familiarity with its merits and its exigencies should pervade the whole land, from side to side, and from end to end. For thus only is it, that an overpowering impulse can be given to the ruling and administrative energies of the country. It was a labour worthy of a demigod to cleanse away the accumulated filth of years. But, the hero scavenger of classic fable had a river at his command. And the waters of this river he turned into the midst of the mass; and so he accomplished one of his immortal tasks. And even thus must it be with our great public benefactors. Their task, however, uninviting in certain of its details, is godlike in its beneficence. They have to purge off the mountainous evils heaped up by "the sins, negligences, and ignorances," of our forefathers. And, in order to do this, they, too, must have the assistance of a river. And, that river is no other than the mighty current of public opinion. And, the stream must be swelled into a torrent, or it will do its work imperfectly. And there is nothing which can

so surely give it the needful force, as an universal perception

of the nuisances which it has to sweep away.

We have been led into this train of reflection, chiefly by the admirable little volume which stands first at the head of this article. Its main object is, precisely, to discourage that sense of helplessness and despondency, which is apt to creep over the spirit of individuals, when contemplating the omnipresence of wretchedness and vice; and to show that the dastardly feeling which vents itself in the exclamation, "What can I do?" is just as treasonable to humanity, as that which embodies itself in the maxim, laissez faire. There is, in fact, a wonderful family likeness between the two. They may justly be regarded as twin abortions, engendered between cowardice and selfishness; and, the sooner the world is rid of them, the better. To each of them may be, most religiously, applied the saying, which, most impiously, was levelled by Voltaire against Christianity, écrasez l'infame. We trust that the writer before us will be found to have, quietly, done much towards their demolition. It is satisfactory to learn, as we have learned, that his work has, already, fixed the attention of a large circle of readers, and is widely dispersed among the employers of manufacturing labour. It has caused many heads to think, and many hearts to burn. It has, indeed, almost every thing to recommend it. It is full of deep, thoughtful, and earnest humanity. It indicates, throughout, an intellect highly accomplished, and of no ordinary power. It combines, with rare felicity, the practical with the imaginative faculty. It is written in a singularly lucid and attractive style. It is, moreover, an eminently suggestive book; a book, which the reader lays down, from time to time, in order that he may follow out, for himself, some pithy aphorism, or pregnant hint, into all its variety of consequence and application. And then, the author addresses himself to his work without any thing like turbulence, or angry commotion of spirit. His desire is, not to scold, or to terrify, men into a sense of their responsibilities towards the portionless classes, who have no inheritance but toil. He seeks to persuade men, rather than (if we may use the phrase) to bully them. His ultimate appeal is, always, to the highest and most sacred motives: and his wish is to show that there is scarcely any province, however limited or humble, which does not offer abundant opportunities of obedience to the great and royal law.

One distinguishing excellence of the work is, the entire absence from it of all quackery and pretension. The author does not stand forward before the world as a mighty liberator, or regenerator. He has no pet project to produce; no mysterious elixir, which is to send health and vigour, in a moment, to the very extremities of the system; no cauldron in which the limbs of his parent are to be boiled young again; no patent leather wherewith to repair the masonry of the commonwealth, and to render it imperishable. There is nothing of imposture or thaumaturgy about him; nothing to excite the suspicions of the wise, or to move the derision of the scornful; like the parallelograms of Mr. Owen, or the quinquarticular virtues of the Charter, or the transforming energy of the Repeal. He is content to work with the materials which are to be found, in greater or less vitality, within every human bosom. He is anxious to bring out the latent fires, which exist in the depths of our moral constitution, but which often require so much percussion, before they can be made visible and active.

"My object," he says, "is to show what can be done with the means that are, at the present moment, in every body's power. Many a man, who is looking about for some specific, has in his hands the means of doing great good, which he would be ready enough to employ, if he had but imagination to perceive that he possessed them. My endeavour, then, will be to show what can be done by the employers of labour, in their private and individual capacity."—p. 6.

And, again, towards the end of the volume,

"And, now, reader, I have come to the close of this essay. I do not assert that I have brought forward any specific, or any new remedy of a partial nature, for the evils I have enumerated. Indeed, I have not feared to reiterate hacknied truths. But, you may be sure that, if you do not find yourself recurring again and again to the most ordinary maxims, you do not draw your observations from real life. Oh! if we could but begin by believing, and acting upon, the veriest commonplaces! But, it is with pain and grief, that we come to understand our first copy-book sentences."—p. 165.

And further on,

"There is nothing in these pages, that will exactly point out the path most fitting for you to take. Still, I cannot but think, that so many have been indicated, that you will have no difficulty in finding some one that may lead to the main object, if your heart is set upon it. If you throw but a mite into that treasury of good will, which ought to exist between the employers and the employed, you do something towards relieving one of the great burdens of this age; possibly, of all ages. You aid in cementing together the various orders of the state. You are one of those, who anticipate revolutions, by doing some little part towards the men of their own time. And, if you want any reward to allure you on, you will find it, in the increased affection towards your fellows, which you will always have, when you have endeavoured to be just to them. Depend upon it, our duties, however

they may be varied by the different circumstances of different periods, cannot be satisfied by any thing that the State demands of us, or can do for us. We have each, from the highest to the lowest, a circle of dependents. We say that kings are God's vicegerents upon earth. But almost every human being has, at one time or other of his life, a portion of the happiness of those around him in his power, which might make him tremble, if he did but see it in all its fulness. But, at any rate the relation of master and man, is a matter of manifest and large importance. It pervades all societies, and affects the growth and security of states, in the most remarkable and pregnant manner. It requires the nicest care; gives exercise to the highest qualities; has a large part in civil life; a larger part in domestic life; and, our conduct in it will surely be no mean portion of the account which we shall have to render in the life that is to come."—pp. 166—168.

These sentences may be sufficient to show the spirit which animates this volume. The grand moral of it is, that "the Searcher of Hearts may make as ample a trial of a man, in his conduct to one poor dependent" (an apprentice, a hired labourer, a domestic drudge), "as of the man who is appointed to lead armies, and to administer provinces. Nay, that his treatment of some animal entrusted to his care, may be a history as significant, for him, as the Chronicles of Kings, for them." And, if this principle were once familiar to all, what a blessed revolution might be silently effected, in the social condition of mankind!

"What an important relation," he exclaims, "is that of Master and Man! How it pervades the world; ascending from the lowest gradation of planter and slave through the states of master and servant, landlord and labourer, manufacturer and artisan, till it comes to the higher degrees of rule which one cultivated man has to exercise over another in the performance of the greatest functions. See, throughout, what difficulties and temptations encumber this relation. How boundless is the field of thought which it opens to us, how infinite the duties which it contains, how complete an exercise it is for the whole faculties of Observe what wretchedness is caused by a misunderstanding of this relation in domestic matters. See the selfish carelessness about the happiness of those around them of men not ill-intentioned, nor unkind, perhaps, in their dealings with the world in general, but lamentably unfit for the management of a home. Then observe the effects of similar mismanagement in dealing with a country. Look at the listless loiterers about an Irish town: you would naturally say to yourself, 'Surely this people have done all that there can be for them to do.' You walk out of the town, and find the adjacent fields as listlesslooking, and neglected, as the men themselves. Think what a want there must be of masters of labour, that those hands and these weeds are not brought into closer contact."-p. 7.

Our space forbids us to follow the writer throughout the varied

application of his views to the administration of territorial property, to the conduct of the factory, to the management of the family and household. We cannot, however, part with him, until we have re-echoed his sentiments relative to one department of responsibility, which seems, more especially, to have engaged his thoughts, and to have awakened his kindliest feelings; namely, the duties of the employers of domestic servants.

"Of course," he observes, "the principles which should regulate the conduct of Masters and Mistresses towards their servants, are the same as those which should regulate the employers of labour generally. But there are some peculiar circumstances which need to be noticed in the application of these principles. That, in this case, the employers and the employed are members of one family, is a circumstance which intensifies the relation. It is a sad thing for a man to pass the working part of his day with an exacting, unkind, master: but still, if the workman returns at evening to a home that is his own, there is a sense of coming joy and freedom which may support him throughout the weary hours of labour. But think what it must be to share one's home with one's oppressor; to have no recurring time when one is certain to be free from those harsh words, and unjust censures, which are almost more than blows, ay, even to those natures we are apt to fancy so hardened to rebuke. Imagine the deadness of heart that must prevail in that poor wretch who never hears the sweet words of praise or of encouragement. Many masters of families, men living in the rapid current of the world, who are subject to a variety of impressions which, in their busy minds, are made and effaced even in the course of a single day, can with difficulty estimate the force of unkind words upon those whose monotonous life leaves few opportunities of effacing any unwelcome impression. There is nothing in which the aid of imagination, that handmaid of charity, may be more advantageously employed, than in considering the condition of domestic servants. Let a man endeavour to realize it to himself, let him think of its narrow sphere, of its unvraying nature, and he will be careful not to throw in, unnecessarily, the trouble even of a single harsh word, which may make so large a disturbance in the shallow current of a domestic's hopes and joys. How often, on the contrary, do you find that masters seem to have no apprehension of the feelings of those under them, no idea of any duties on their side beyond 'cash payment,' whereas the good, old, patriarchal feeling towards your household is one which the mere introduction of money wages has not by any means superseded, and which cannot, in fact, be superseded. You would bear with lenity from a child many things, for which, in a servant, you can find nothing but the harshest names. Yet how often are these poor, uneducated, creatures little better than children! You talk, too, of ingratitude from them, when, if you reflected a little, you would see that they do not understand your benefits. It is hard enough sometimes to make benefits sink into men's hearts, even when your good offices are illustrated by much

kindness of words and manner; but to expect that servants should at once appreciate your care for them is surely most unreasonable, especially if it is not accompanied by a manifest regard and sympathy. You would not expect it, if you saw the child-like relation in which

they stand to you.

"Another mode of viewing with charity the conduct of domestic servants, is to imagine what manner of servant you would make yourself, or any one of those whom in your own rank you esteem and love. Do you not perceive, in almost every character, some element which would occasionally make its possessor fail in performing the duties of domestic service? Do you find that faithfulness, accuracy, diligence, and truth pervade the circle of your equals in such abundance that you should be exorbitantly angry, the moment you perceive a deficiency in such qualities amongst those who have been but indifferently brought up, and who, perhaps, have early imbibed those vices of their class, fear and falsehood; vices which their employers can only hope to eradicate

by a long course of considerate kindness.

"I do not speak of the conduct of masters and mistresses as an easy matter: on the contrary, I believe that it is one of the most difficult functions in life. If, however, men only saw the difficulty, they would see the worthiness of trying to overcome it. You observe a man becoming day by day richer, or advancing in station, or increasing in professional reputation, and you set him down as a successful man in life. But, if his home is an ill-regulated one, where no links of affection extend throughout the family, whose former domestics (and he has had more of them than he can well remember) look back upon their sojourn with him as one unblessed by kind words or deeds, I contend that that man has not been successful. Whatever good fortune he may have in the world, it is to be remembered that he has always left one important fortress untaken behind him. That man's life does not surely read well whose benevolence has found no central home. It may have sent forth rays in various directions, but there should have been a warm focus of love-that home nest which is formed round a good man's heart."—pp. 29—33.

These are golden thoughts! The gold, perhaps, is not now, for the first time, dug up out of the mine. The world may have long been in possession of it. But the gold has become dim, and the fine gold changed and tarnished. The breath of worldliness and selfishness has breathed upon it, and defaced its outward brightness; till, at last, it has shown, in the eyes of men, as a worthless and unserviceable metal, fit only to be cast aside into some obscure corner of the mind, amid the lumber of other common-places. And that man is a benefactor to his kind, who presents it, once more, to the public gaze, free from the defilements and dishonours wherewith the neglectful heart of man had suffered it to be obscured. There are many truths, we fear,

which, though not new, are yet passing strange, in the general estimation: and those, which the author has here put forth, we conceive to be among them. For ourselves, we avow it to be our deliberate persuasion, that if our ears could be miraculously opened to each distinct and separate cry, which is perpetually going up to heaven, from the various regions of suffering humanity, the cry of domestic servitude would be among the very loudest. Take, for instance, all the misery endured in London alone, in the course of any single day; and embody it to your imagination, in a palpable form; and then suppose this stygian mass to be resolved into its component elements. It may seriously be doubted, whether this one ingredient, of domestic unkindness or neglect, would not be found among the blackest portions of the whole. There is something melancholy enough in the spectacle which constantly meets the eye, throughout all the realms of fashion and refinement; the world of dukes, and duchesses, and millionnaires, and dandies; namely, the group of liveried and loitering menials, with pampered bodies, and, too often, with famished and degraded souls. For what are these, for the most part, but the stately victims of heartless pomp, and, frequently, of vulgar and upstart opulence? Their condition, though they know it not, is one which might, perhaps, move Democritus to contemptuous laughter; but would, surely, melt his more pensive brother to tears. But, there is a very numerous and very different class of household slaves, who well know the bitterness of their lot, and who incessantly feel the iron of it entering into their very souls. We never can pace through the streets of any populous vicinity, without feeling ourselves arrested, from time to time, by a crowd of saddening thoughts, touching the condition of many an overlaboured drudge, whose toil by day is in smoky kitchens, and damp sculleries, below; and whose rest by night is in squalid lofts, and in cold and naked garrets, above! It may, possibly, surpass all mortal wisdom or benevolence materially to alleviate many of their grosser hardships and privations. But, who can tell how wantonly their doom is often aggravated, by the scowling look, and the biting word, and the hard exaction, and the ungenerous suspicion, and the ceaseless corrosions of the fretful temper; by the petty arts of vulgar tyranny, and by the scarcely more bearable inflictions of inconsiderate and "careless cruelty!" And, whence all this needless havor with the peace and comfort of one vast section of the human brotherhood and sisterhood, whose lot, even at the best, demands the kindliest sympathy to make it tolerable? Whence is this; but from a total oblivion of the solemn responsibility, which rests on those who bear domestic rule? And, what a world of bitter waters might, at least, be partially sweetened, by the simple virtue of the principles and maxims set forth in the volume now before us, by this truly Christian advocate of "the claims of labour."

But, with hearty commendation of his work to the earnest and deep attention of the public, we must here take leave of him. For we have before us two awful volumes (containing the First Report of the Sanatory Commission), which call us to a more detailed and comprehensive survey of the dominion and triumphs of laissez faire! The first of these volumes relates, more particularly, to the causes of disease, and the means of prevention. The second furnishes a vast body of evidence, chiefly on the supply of water, drainage, and surveys. It is impossible to peruse them without an intolerable sense of oppression. One feels almost crushed beneath the weight of evil which they pile up on the mind of the inquirer. Gigantic, however, as the adventure may be, it must be encountered; unless we are content forcibly to avert our thoughts from the perpetual and secret accumulation of all that can be destructive of the glory and stability of the land. To use the language of one of the witnesses, as laid in writing before the commission—

"To promote the moral and physical improvement, will be a task dependent, not on any one class, but upon the energies and good will of all classes. Statutes may be passed and officers appointed to enforce observances necessary to the general health; but, unless the whole community cordially and actively unite to second the wise measures of the legislature, failure, to some extent, will ensue. It should be impressed upon every one desirous of the melioration of his kind, that filthiness of person and sordidness of mind are usually united; and that, if you would banish squalor and sickness from the labourer's cottage, you must remove ignorance and corruption from his heart. Amidst the dirt and disease of filthy back courts, and alleys, and yards, vices and crimes are lurking, altogether unimagined by those who have never visited such abodes. It must be remembered, too, that these reservoirs of contagion, under certain conditions of the atmosphere, or some other not improbable contingency, may suddenly overflow their boundaries, and devastate neighbourhoods, the inhabitants of which are unconscious of their proximity to such danger 1."

These are the words of wisdom, benevolence, and religion. They must urgently recommend themselves to the heart, and the understanding, and the self-interest, too, of every intelligent and thoughtful man in the realm. One qualification, however, we would venture to suggest. "The squalor and the sickness," we

¹ See Report on the Sanatory Condition of Preston, by the Rev. J. Clay; inserted in vol. i. p. 198.

apprehend, "must be removed from the labourer's cottage," before we can effectually remove the "ignorance and the corruption from his heart." At any rate, educational and sanatory improvement must go hand in hand together. It is a matter beyond all dispute, that myriads upon myriads of the labouring poor are literally worse housed and sheltered than a very large portion of our beasts of draft and burden. And so long as this state of things shall continue, so long will there be myriads upon myriads actually bereft of the capacity to receive the blessings of instruction. Nothing can be more hopeless than the attempt to elevate a human being to a sense of his moral dignity and immortal welfare, while he is breathing a pestilential atmosphere, which poisons the very springs of life within him, and is surrounded by scenes which are utterly destructive of all self-respect. Schools for the poor, undoubtedly, are good and needful; but decent homes for the poor are quite as indispensable. The school must be altogether powerless, so long as the dwelling combines the horrors of the sty and the brothel!

Does this representation seem exaggerated? Let us, then, listen to the testimony of an unimpeachable witness, whose attention has been constantly called to the condition of the labouring classes for the last fifteen or twenty years. The following are the words of Dr. Thomas Southwood Smith, physician of the London Fever Hospital, and resident in the east of London:—

"The poorer classes, in these neglected localities and dwellings, are exposed to causes of disease and death which are peculiar to them; the operation of these peculiar causes is steady, unceasing, sure; and the result is the same as if twenty or thirty thousand of these people were annually taken out of their wretched dwellings and put to death, the actual fact being that they are allowed to remain in them and die. I am now speaking of what silently, but surely, takes place every year in the metropolis alone, and do not include in this estimate the numbers that perish from these causes in the other great cities, and in the towns and villages of the kingdom. It has been stated, that 'the annual slaughter in England and Wales, from preventible causes, of typhus fever, which attacks persons in the vigour of life, is double the amount of what was suffered by the allied armies in the battle of Waterloo.' This is no exaggerated statement; this great battle against our people is every year fought and won; and yet few take account of it, partly for the very reason that it takes place every year. However appalling the picture presented to the mind by this statement, it may be justly regarded as a literal expression of the truth. I am myself convinced, from what I constantly see of the ravages of this disease, that this mode of putting the result does not give an exaggerated expression of it. Indeed, the most appalling expression of it would be the mere cold statement of it in figures."-pp. 4, 5.

And what is the condition of the localities in question? The same witness shall inform us:—

"It appears that the streets, courts, alleys, and houses in which fever first breaks out, and in which it becomes most prevalent and fatal, are invariably those in the immediate neighbourhood of uncovered sewers, stagnant ditches and ponds, gutters always full of putrefying matter, nightmen's yards, and privies, the soil of which lies openly exposed, and is seldom or never removed. It is not possible for any language to convey an adequate conception of the poisonous condition in which large portions of both these districts always remain, winter and summer, in dry and in rainy seasons, from the masses of putrefying matter which are allowed to accumulate."—p. 3.

Again:—

"I have very recently been over the same places with a distinguished foreigner, who takes an interest in the welfare of the humbler classes, and who was desirous, his attention having been drawn to these Reports, to test their accuracy by a personal inspection of the places described. Before we set out on our visit, he could not conceal that he thought the description exaggerated. From the cleanliness, neatness, and apparent healthfulness of the main streets and thoroughfares in London, he could not bring himself to believe that there could be large districts containing hundreds of thousands of the people allowed, year after year, to remain in such a neglected and poisonous condition. 'It would be incredible,' said he, 'it would be unworthy of your state of civilization, were such descriptions true, even of a few isolated places; but when it is asserted that they are true of the localities in which a very large proportion of the population resides, I own I feel curious to see these places.' It so happens, that the district over which I took this gentleman has been improved in some respects since these Reports were writ-A common sewer has been made in the most densely crowded and filthiest locality; and the very worst place I ever saw, namely, Baker's-arms-alley, a narrow court in Rosemary-lane, Whitechapel, has been materially changed for the better, by the building of the Blackwall Railway directly through it. But these improvements relate only to a few of the larger thoroughfares; the places most concealed from the public view, the most close, crowded, and filthy districts, remain wholly unaltered. When my foreign friend saw these places, he admitted that the wretchedness of their condition had been understated: when he expressed his astonishment that a concern for the common safety had not induced the authorities to attend to the sanatory condition of these extensive districts, I told him (but he thought the statement scarcely mended the matter) that these places were as unknown to our legislators, to almost all our people in power, as, an hour ago, they had been to himself."-pp. 3, 4.

There is something positively astounding and appalling in this

latter sentence. A murderous enemy is constantly among us, whose ravages, year by year, are vastly more destructive than the havoc of a "world-winning" pitched battle; and yet the guardians of the public weal, all this while, know little or nothing of the chief mustering-grounds of the foe! But we have not yet seen the evil in all the intenseness of its malignity. It appears that the mental faculties are as frightfully sacrificed by it, as the bodily health.

"There is evidence," says Dr. S. Smith, "that as they" [the sufferers from fever] "have not the bodily vigour and the industrious habits of a healthy and independent peasantry, so they have not the intelligence and spirit proper to such a race. One of the most melancholy proofs of this, is in the quiet and unresisting manner in which they succumb to the wretchedness of their lot. They make no effort to get into happier circumstances; their dulness and apathy indicate an equal degree of mental as of physical paralysis, and this has struck other observers who have had opportunities of becoming acquainted with the real state of these people. In the Poor Law Commissioners' Report on the Sanatory Condition of the Labouring Population, there is the following statement, which impressed my mind the more, because it recalled to my recollection vividly similar cases witnessed by myself: - 'In the year 1836,' says one of the medical officers of the West Derby Union, 'I attended a family of thirteen—twelve of whom had typhus fever, without a bed in the cellar, without straw or timber shaving-frequent substitutes. They lay on the floor, and so crowded that I could scarcely pass between them. In another house I attended fourteen patients: there were only two beds in the house. All the patients lay on the boards, and during their illness never had their clothes off. I met with many cases in similar conditions; yet amidst the greatest destitution and want of domestic comfort, I have never heard, during the course of twelve years' practice, a complaint of inconvenient accommodation.' Now, this want of complaint under such circumstances appears to me to constitute a very melancholy part of their condition. It shows that physical wretchedness has done its worst on the human sufferer, for it has destroyed his mind. The wretchedness being greater than humanity can bear, annihilates the mental faculties —the faculties distinctive of the human being. There is a kind of satisfaction in the thought, for it sets a limit to the capacity of suffering which would otherwise be without bound."-pp. 10, 11.

And here we ask again,—What can the schoolmaster possibly do for beings so degraded and so ruined, that "physical wretchedness has done its worst upon them, and has destroyed their mind?" What can moral or religious instruction effect for a creature who has lost the faculty of perceiving the brutishness of his own destitution? There is not, it seems, even a cry for help, out of the depths of misery like this. There is scarcely power to

form a vigorous wish for deliverance or escape; or, if a wish be formed, it shows itself principally in the habit of seeking for transitory relief in the use of venomous drugs and inflammatory cordials, the consumption of which, in these regions of despair, is scarcely credible.

"The poison," says the same witness, "generated in these neglected districts, and to which the poor are habitually exposed, is a sedative poison, among the most distinctive characters of which are the depressing effects produced by it, both on body and mind. This is one of the main causes, not only of the mental apathy, but also of that physical listlessness, which makes them incapable of any great exertion. I am satisfied that this feeling of depression is one of their chief inducements to the use of stimulants, which the same feeling naturally leads them to take in excess, whenever a sufficient quantity can be obtained 2."

To address to a human being, with this "sedative poison" in his veins, the high motives and glorious hopes held out to him by religion, would be about as hopeful a proceeding, as to deliver a lecture on the advantage of healthy gymnastics to a poor wretch

shaking all over with the palsy.

But, further, it is quite notorious, that immorality in its very grossest turpitude is the certain effect of huddling human creatures together like unreasoning brutes. And therefore it is that we have spoken of these crowded haunts as combining the horrors of the brothel and the sty. The seats of disease are always the seats of crime. Under circumstances of extreme physical privation and discomfort, personal cleanliness, and mental purity, are alike impossible. All decency is outraged by night and by day; and the consequences are licentiousness, infanticide, and even incest! Besides, the soul is not only debased by this horrible contagion; it is driven to a state of utter recklessness. As Dr. Smith observes, —"there is a point of wretchedness which is incompatible with the existence of any respect for the peace and property of others." And, accordingly, the seats of the most terrible diseases, and the abodes of the most desperate criminals, are found to be identical³. Whatever energy is left among this outcast tenantry of lazars, is almost sure to vent itself in deeds of violence and plunder.

It is not improbable that these statements may be met by a lurking suspicion that the picture is overcharged. But, the statistics before us are far too strong for the most stubborn incredulity. In Liverpool alone, the number of persons residing in cellar-dwellings is at least 22,000; and, the number residing in close courts 53,500. In one part of the same town, a population

of nearly 8000 are packed together on 49,000 square yards, which is in the proportion of 457,963 to the geographical square unile; being nearly 2\frac{3}{4} the maximum density of London \frac{5}{2}! In the borough of Preston, it was found that certain streets, courts, and yards, contained 2400 persons, occupying 422 dwellings, and sleeping in 852 beds; an average of 5, 6, 8 inhabitants to each miserable house, and 2.8 occupants to each bed. It further appeared, that, among this wretched crowd,

In	84	cases,	4	persons slept	in the	same bed.
	28	ditto,	5	ditto		ditto.
-	13	ditto,	6	ditto		ditto.
	3	ditto,	7	ditto		ditto.
-	1	ditto,	8	ditto		ditto.

And, in addition, a family of eight on bed-stocks, covered with a little straw. We could easily fill our pages with discoveries equally revolting. And who is there, with such scenes before him, that can wonder at the utter prostration of all moral principle and feeling, which is rendering so large a portion of our fellow-men, "the mere despair" of education and religion? It is beyond all question, that nests of pestilence, and forcing-beds of vice and corruption, are thickly scattered among our densest populations. And, it is as much the office of statesmanship to labour for the extirpation of this domestic gangrene, as it is to provide fleets and armies for the protection of our hearths and altars.

But, even yet, we have not seen the full extent of the mischief. We have already adverted to the enormous mortality occasioned by the prevalence of fever. It has, however, been further ascertained, that the pest does, by no means, seize its victims indiscriminately. It selects the very choicest. It fixes especially upon those who have reached the most precious period of their lives; so that the disorder may be said to be the disease of adolescence. From certain tables, prepared by Dr. Smith,

"It is clear that the period of human existence during which fever can alone be said to be prevalent is from the age of twenty to forty; that is, the period of maturity, the most precious portion of the term of existence, that during which the individual is best fitted for all the duties and enjoyments of life, during which he is most capable of promoting the happiness of others, and of securing and appreciating his own. But of this period that portion which is incomparably the most subject to the ravages of this malady is the earliest portion. Now it must be borne in mind that the poorer classes usually marry and have

families at earlier ages than the middle and higher, the great majority, at least of the women, being married at twenty. Of course it is during the succeeding ten years that they have young families, often very numerous ones, to support; but we have just seen that this is precisely the ten years in which fever is so prevalent as to furnish, in this comparatively short space of time, nearly as many cases as all the other periods of life put together. It follows, not only that the heads of families are more subject to the ravages of fever than any other class of persons, but that these persons are peculiarly liable to be attacked precisely at that period of life when they have the greatest number of young children entirely dependent on their daily labour for support."—vol. i. p. 7.

The malady, therefore, not only does, numerically, twofold the execution of the field of Waterloo, from year to year, but its attack is chiefly levelled at the most effective portion of the working population. The consequences are obvious and inevitable. The community loses a vast amount of valuable labour; and is burdened with the support of a constantly increasing mass of

orphanage and destitution.

It likewise must be remembered, that we should take a very inadequate view of the pernicious agency of the poison generated in filthy and neglected districts, if we were to restrict it to the disease, most obviously produced by it. Its indirect action is highly noxious, though the evil is not so manifest. It may not. in all cases, produce acute disease, or lay the individual aside. But, it scarcely ever fails to impair the vital stamina, to diminish the power of resistance to other morbid influences, and grievously to reduce the capacity of the individual for regular and profitable labour. "So that, to the total number of deaths that take place, annually, from fever, in its different forms, must be added those, caused by the indirect operation of the same poison which produces fever 6." Such is the testimony of Dr. Smith: and, it is most disastrously confirmed by that of other witnesses. There seems to be no doubt, that the seeds of consumption and scrofula are widely and fatally scattered by the deadly miasma of crowded dwellings, and ill-ventilated shops and factories.

We learn, moreover, from the evidence of Dr. Smith, that the fever itself is extremely capricious in its malignity. Being asked whether he had observed any alteration or aggravation in the degree of fever, of late, as compared with former years, he replied,

"The change is so great, that I can only express it by saying, it is a new disease. The fever which prevails in the metropolis, now, is totally different from that, which I was accustomed to see, for a long

⁶ Vol. i. p. 9.

series of years. It is as different in its symptoms, and requires as opposite remedies, as any two diseases in the catalogue of nosology." " Of the causes which have produced the change, I cannot venture to predicate any thing; I can only state the fact itself. It is, however, a law of epidemics that a certain type prevails for a number of years. This type sometimes gradually, and at other times suddenly, disappears, and gives place to a type so different as to constitute a new disease: this new type in its turn gives place to a third, and so on for a long series of years. These changes, notwithstanding their apparent capriciousness, must of course depend on fixed and determinate causes, but those causes have not been ascertained. Of the nature and extent of the change which has taken place in the present instance, I may, in some measure, enable the Commissioners to judge by this circumstance. Formerly there was scarcely a day in which it was not necessary to take blood from some of the patients in the hospital; the inflammatory nature of the disease was the obvious and prevailing one, and bloodletting was indispensable to stop the progress of active inflammation in some vital organ. Now no case presents itself with any indication of active inflammation, and blood-letting is practised in the hospital scarcely four or five times in the year. Formerly wine, brandy, ammonia, any thing in the shape of stimulus, was found to aggravate the disease, and was never prescribed excepting in cases attended with unusual prostration, or in the last stage of the malady: now the prostration is from the first so urgent that there is no case which requires any treatment at all that does not stand in need of stimulants; and such remedies at present often save life, whereas before they would probably have destroyed it; and this arises from a total change in the character of the disease."-p. 18.

And, he sums up the whole with the following fearful words:—

"Whatever may be the cause, the fact is certain, that, at the present moment, an epidemic is prevailing, which lays prostrate the powers of life more rapidly and completely, than any other epidemic which has appeared for a long series of years."

The cause, we sadly fear, is but too plain! The fever, now, falls on constitutions more bereft, than was ever known before, of the power to resist it. Its altered type is but an indication of the previously wasted energies of its victims. Aggravated hardships and privations have secured for it an easier victory than awaited it in former times.

There may, possibly, be some, though we hope they are but few, who can derive a miserable consolation from the reflection, that, loathsome as the present condition of our poor may be, it may challenge a comparison with that of the labouring classes, in other regions of the world. And, such comfort as this consideration can afford, may, undoubtedly, be found in the state of several of

the great towns of America, a country supposed to be much more exempted than our own from the extremities of want. The condition of her town population has, it is true, been confidently referred to, in Parliament, as an instance of what may be effected, independently of all sanatory regulations. This illusion, however, is mercilessly dissipated by a report of Doctor Griscom, inspector of funerals at New York. From this document, it appears that, of the population of that city, no less than 33,000 live in cellars, courts, and alleys, the inhabitants of cellars being upwards of 6600; and that few are aware of the dreadful extent of disease and suffering to be found in those localities. It is such as to defy the skill of the physician, and the benevolence of strangers. Humanity cannot regard it without shuddering. That the state of things is no better in Philadelphia, may be collected from the fact, recently ascertained, that upon the average of twelve years, the mean age of death has not exceeded twenty years and seven months; that half of those born there appear to die before the fifth year; and that no less than 27 per cent. of the remainder, die under 50 years of age *!

We have now done all that our space allows, to fix the thoughts of our readers on the various evils which, at this moment, are spreading wretchedness, vice, and degeneracy, among vast masses of our fellow-subjects; to make all orders of men anxious for the speedy application of effective remedies; and to prepare the more affluent for whatever temporary sacrifices such remedies may demand. We cannot, however, dismiss this subject, without most urgently imploring attention to the following extract, from a "Report on the Epidemics of York; especially those prevalent in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries: and, on their connection with deficient sanatory regulations: by T. Laycock, M.D., Physician to the York Dispensary?" We have only to premise that the "black death," to which this document alludes, was a glandular typhus, or plague, by which, it has been calculated, twenty-five millions of persons perished, in Europe only, during the years

1348, 1349:-

"The epidemics of the Middle Ages were, in fact, so fatal and destructive, as described in the preceding pages, almost solely in consequence of the deficient architectural arrangements of the towns, and the want of cleanliness. The population of Europe was thus kept down by pestilence, as well as by war and famine, and its social progress retarded to an extent really incalculable. If, throughout England, the cholera of 1832 had been one-half only so fatal as the black death of 1349, or

⁹ Vol. i. pp. 250-264.

⁸ See Dr. Griscom's Report, cited by Dr. Arnott, vol. i. pp. 47, 48.

even as several of the later epidemics, the frame-works of society would have been loosened, and the empire in danger of being broken up. Those acquainted with the social effects of these scourges upon the thinly-scattered population of the Middle Ages would anticipate no less than this, from the destruction of five or six millions of persons in England within a few months. The utter depreciation of property, terror, despair, and a total abandonment of all social ties, would have been the consequence. In 1348, the people in general thought the springs and wells were poisoned, and thousands of Jews were slain with fire and sword as the poisoners, in conjunction with hundreds of Christians, their supposed accomplices. During the cholera epidemic in Europe, similar suspicions were muttered against medical practitioners, as well in England as on the continent; and some were even murdered in the streets of continental cities by mobs. Indeed it is but too probable that, if the deaths from cholera in England had increased so as to equal the mortality from the black death, the popular frenzy would have wreaked itself in an irresistible paroxysm of national mania, first, on the practitioners, and then on any class to which private malice might direct its malignant attention. It must be remembered, Government was quite unprepared for results of this kind; the mortality only was thought of. In about 49 years the population of England, already one of the most densely-populated countries in Europe, will have doubled; and as the political danger of destructive epidemics increases with the population, it becomes an imperative duty to ascertain whether we are quite safe from the recurrence of these scourges; and if not, whether we have the means of placing ourselves beyond their reach. The state of our large towns and villages sufficiently answers the first; we certainly are not safe. With respect to the second, the more researches into the history of epidemics are prosecuted, and their nature ascertained, the more clearly it will appear, that by an improved system of public hygiene, society may be so shielded from their ravages as almost in effect to disarm them. Even those more recondite causes of epidemics,-great cosmic or telluric changes,-may be rendered comparatively innoxious by a proper use of medical science and observation. Delay, however, is dangerous; for we may infer, from the experience of preceding epidemics, that the cholera will break out again, and its second advent may be with such a coincidence of atmospherical phenomena as to equal in destructiveness the most virulent of the pestilences recorded in history. We may hope that this will not be the case; but when the momentous results of such a return are contemplated, society should have a more rational and certain safeguard against this and similar epidemics than an amiable hope."—pp. 263, 264.

We have, here, a warning of most tremendous import. "Delays are dangerous." "We are not safe." At any moment, the blast may be sent, and the destroyer be among us,

[&]quot;Æquo pulsans pede pauperum tabernas, Regumque turres."

Our perishing and forsaken thousands may become, unconsciously, their own avengers. The infection, which our neglect has fostered, may, itself, be the instrument of retribution.

Once for all, then, away with the perilous maxim, "Let things alone:" for, it means neither more nor less, than "let things rush violently to ruin and confusion." Let us look the evil intrepidly in the face, and prepare ourselves for a conflict with it, at whatever cost of wealth, or thought, or toil. And, above all things,

let us implore the Divine blessing on our work.

But here we must reiterate the caution: there is no one royal road to improvement, no one system, plan, project, or theory, which can dispense with the constant exercise of intelligence, watchfulness, and humanity, both on the part of governments, and of those for whose benefit governments are instituted. way to amelioration is rugged and complex. It intersects many and various regions, in which self-interest, with its lazy prejudices and its base traditions, has settled and fortified itself almost for immemorial ages. And sore must be travail and the weariness of those whose office and adventure it is to tame this wilderness, and to throw their viaducts and causeways across the ravine and the morass, which will constantly be impeding their progress. any man doubts this, he has only to brace himself up to a patient examination of these two volumes, and more especially of the second. They contain the testimony not only of physicians and philanthropists, but of men professionally conversant with all the dark mysteries of sewerage, of drainage, of ventilation, and of watering, and with all the pestilent abominations which are engendered by a sluggish inattention to those departments of sanatory ad-They show, too, that the spirit of improvement is ministration. frequently headed, at almost every turn, by some form or other of low selfishness; the indolent dislike of innovation, the sensitiveness of property and private right, the cowardly fears of avarice and capitalism, the sleepless jealousies of rivalry and competition. Nay, the spirit of local faction, and of political and other jobbery, will occasionally place themselves in the way, for adversaries, against all wholesome change. For instance,—the "black party" and the "white party" are suspicious of each other; and so, between them, all designs for the promotion of public cleanliness and health are sure to fall to the ground. Again; a corporation happens to be an essentially political body, and cannot, by any means, dispense with the political services of the freemen. The corporation, accordingly, opposes the landowners in their attempts to enlarge the space for building, by the inclosure of the

common-lands in the vicinity of a densely-peopled town; because, in those common-lands, the freemen have a right: and, consequently, the old crowded nests of filthiness and disease remain undisturbed and unrelieved. These are but specimens of the difficulty which, in various shapes, is always starting up, to confront and baffle all reform. So great and manifold are the impediments, that the whole body of testimony now before us seems to be pervaded and possessed by a deep sense of the necessity for some competent authority, some central control, some regular department of public administration, invested with sufficient power to arbitrate conclusively between the rights of individuals, or public bodies, and the national morality and health. There is, throughout, a perpetually recurring complaint of defective powers, and of the utter inadequacy of all existing sanatory law.

"In France," says Dr. Duncan of Liverpool, "and other countries of the continent, the promotion of the public health is a constant object of solicitude, both with the government and the municipal councils. Nor is any important matter decided on without the sanction and concurrence of the best professional and scientific opinions, which are previously sought for by the minister of public works. In Paris, there is a council of health, appointed by the prefect of police; and to this body, as well as to the academy of medicine, questions of medical police are constantly referred by the central government 3."

And why should not this country imitate herein the wisdom of her neighbours? For our own part, we are quite unable to discern why there should be less necessity here for a regular department of State, expressly and exclusively for the care of the public health, than there is for separate departments over our domestic, foreign, and colonial interests respectively. And we cannot imagine that any reader could rise from a perusal of these volumes without an impression similar to our own: If any one should desire to satisfy himself, at once, of the extreme importance attached, by the most intelligent of the witnesses examined, to some such improvement in our scheme of government, he will be enabled to do so by help of the marginal references below 4. the magnitude and variety of the evils which demand this remedy, no adequate notion can be formed, otherwise than by an attentive study of the whole report and evidence.

We had, indeed, intended to condense into an abstract the information which these documents supply; and we had actually

Vol. i. p. 345. See, also, vol. ii. p. 95.
 Vol. i. pp. 36—40. 49. 51. 161. 163—165. 281—283. Vol. ii. pp. 11. 75. 87. 129. 134, 135. 177, 178. 187. 189, 190. 199—202. 216. 218. 224. 234. 275. 277, 278. 297. 305. 354. 391. 414. 417. 427. 474, 475.

collected notes and references for that purpose. And if we had nearly the whole of our present number at our free disposal, something of the kind might have been accomplished. With our very limited space, however, we find the task wholly impracticable. The two volumes together contain some 840 pages, rather closely printed; and the compression of such a mass into a sheet or two, would be a hopeless undertaking. We must, accordingly, content ourselves with a few brief statements, with reference to the

most important heads of inquiry.

First, with regard to sewerage. And here we must confine ourselves to the sewerage of London. We do suppose, then, that if a sort of bird's-eye view could be obtained of the vast and complicated apparatus of cleansing channels which run in all directions beneath the surface of the metropolis, the whole work would appear absolutely astonishing. And astonishing, undoubtedly, it is. There may be something more overpowering, and, we might say, more majestic, in that one gigantic artery, the Cloaca Maxima of Rome, whose solid masonry has defied the powers of decay for five-and-twenty centuries. Nevertheless, the subterranean network which traverses and perforates the soil of London, is perhaps a greater triumph of civilization. Wonderful, however, as it may be, it still is in a state of deplorable imperfection; and, of this imperfection, one principal cause appears to be, the want of legal powers to render it complete. In the first place, we are distinctly told by Mr. T. L. Donaldson, chairman of the Westminster Commission, that the general law of Sewers does not contemplate any provision expressly for the health of the district, or confer any powers to effect it. Health seems to be merely an incidental and secondary consideration. For he affirms, that the commission are without legal authority to construct a sewer upon a new line, however urgently required for sanatory purposes⁵. It further appears, that the owners of property are in general as stingy and untractable as the commissioners are powerless. Of this, one crying instance may be mentioned. certain opulent London Company are deriving an enormous rental from a certain district. The sewerage of this district is in a state which requires at this moment an outlay of 5000l.; and yet, in spite of remonstrance and complaint, that worshipful body refuse to interfere 6. We learn, besides, that within the boundaries of the Westminster district, there are no less than fifteen miles of open, uncovered sewers 7. And another witness strongly urges the Sanatory Commission not to separate "without recom-

Vol. ii. pp. 186, 187.
 Vol. ii. pp. 27, 28. Vol. ii. p. 192.
 Vol. ii. p. 194.

mending a public grant, for immediately covering in every open sewer in the metropolis." Such abominable nuisances, he says, "should not be suffered to exist an hour"." Moreover, there is much to be done, and much to be learned, respecting the most effective application of water to the process of keeping the existing channels in a cleanly and effective state. But, lastly.—the sewerage of London, such as it is, is actually poisoning the Thames, and converting it gradually into a huge, foul, stygian ditch; the feculence of which is perpetually stirred up by the turbulent, multitudinous, and increasing power of steam-naviga-The incessant action of the paddle-wheel renders subsidence impossible in the channel of the river. Such is the enormity of this evil, that it has suggested a plan for carrying a very large portion of the London sewerage into the marshes northward of West Ham and Plaistow, and thence into the river below Woolwich; a point where the contamination of the water of the Thames would be incomparably less offensive and injurious than it is at present 9.

The condition of the house-drainage in London and most other towns is very far worse than even that of the sewerage. By drainage, we are to understand the underground communication for carrying off impurities from the private dwelling into the main channel, or public sewer. This, like all other underground work, is apt to be carelessly and badly done; for the defects, however serious, are buried with the materials. It usually falls into the hands of tradesmen, or other parties, quite incompetent to design or execute it. And even where it is conducted by competent persons, they are commonly controlled by others who are utterly incapable and ignorant. And if the drains are badly constructed, or insufficiently supplied with water, they become themselves insufferable nuisances. They are, in fact, a series of widely-spread cesspools, which are constantly giving off pestiferous exhalations ¹. Besides, what drainage there is, is very partial in

its extent.

"The great fault," says Mr. Roe, surveyor of Holborn and Finsbury district, "which now affects the sanatory condition of our district, is the extensive absence of house-drains, as well as their bad construction as to form and material. The commissioners of sewers have no power to oblige parties to drain into a sewer after they have built it. And although some are willing to contribute towards the cost of a sewer, and to communicate drains therewith, others are not²."

We have here an instance of the glorious liberty of the subject,

Vol. ii. p. 236.
 Vol. i. p. 22. Vol. ii. pp. 73. 76, 77, &c.
 Vol. ii. pp. 273. 427, 428.
 Vol. ii. pp. 169.

—the liberty to poison himself or his tenants, and a whole neighbourhood besides! Only conceive, a collection of miserable tenements, in the form of a cul-de-sac; all of them without any subterranean outlet for their refuse, offal, and other nameless impurities; the whole mass cast out to welter in the open court which those tenements surround! The picture is not imaginary. Nay, the reality is unhappily but too common. The very thought of it requires a good "ounce of civet, to sweeten our imaginations." But what must be the condition of those ill-fated wretches, who live, and move, and breathe, in the very midst of the steaming pestilence? It is proposed by one of the witnesses, that lodginghouses should be subject to a licence 3. And, surely, some similar restraint might justly be applicable to all the dwellings for the labouring poor in populous neighbourhoods. No man can have any right to an unlimited discretion, whether he shall make his property, or any portion of it, a focus of the most intense corruption, both physical and moral. We compel people to build party-walls. We compel them to scratch and scrape the soot from their chimneys by machines, instead of exposing climbingboys to the danger of being suffocated, or squeezed to death. We compel them to endure the vexatious and often injurious intrusions of the road-surveyor. We compel them to part with their property, for railways or other improvements, at such a valuation as juries may be pleased to fix. Surely, then, a little compulsion might be tolerated, for the purpose of preventing disease and bestial degradation. It would be absurd and tyrannical to insist upon the construction of houses more spacious and costly than the poor could pay for. But, undoubtedly, a sufficient drainage ought to be held as indispensable a thing, as a sufficient wall or roof. If houses were built in such a manner, as to be constantly toppling on the heads of the inmates and the passers-by, the Legislature assuredly must interfere. Why not, then, when they are so built as to breed a mortal infection?

Similar remarks are, more or less, applicable to improved construction and arrangement, with a view to effective ventilation, both internal and external, and to the adequate supply of water, for all public and domestic purposes. Respecting these subjects, an immense body of invaluable instruction and suggestion may be found in these volumes. But, it is utterly impossible to condense it within our limits. We can only express an ardent hope that the vast mass of information, so patiently collected by the noblemen and gentlemen who formed the royal commission, and so cheerfully contributed by men of the highest intelligence and

knowledge, will not be suffered to sleep between the covers of this Report. To neglect the treasures thus accumulated for us, would be wantonly to throw away an inestimable benefaction; to trifle with talents prodigally committed to our keeping. The cry of suffering thousands would ascend to heaven against such apathy and sluggishness; and who can say that it would not bring down a fearful retribution on the heads of ourselves and our children?

One word more, however, before we guit the subject. It is not impossible that our imperfect fragments may have been perused with conflicting emotions of compassion, and of despair; compassion for the sufferers; despair at the enormous cost of any effective system for their relief. We, accordingly, have infinite satisfaction in assuring the most nervous calculator, that his apprehensions are altogether groundless. If he will but take the trouble of consulting the references below, he will rise from the effort with a lightened heart4. He will find that, although some outlay may be required, for the commencement of a process of improvement, the certain eventual result of such a process will be, a vast saving of expense. For instance, fever, if widely prevalent, is inordinately costly. It besieges the dispensary; it crowds the hospital; it rapidly engenders pauperism, by cutting off parents in the prime of life; and so, it imposes a vast burden on the parish rates, and the resources of private charity. But,

"When once," says Dr. Smith, "good sanatory regulations have been brought into practical operation, and have become general in a district, the cost of maintaining such a district in a healthy condition would be comparatively light. In the mean time, the sum of money now expended in the *mitigation* of the evil, slight as that mitigation is, would form a very important contribution towards the fund necessary to defray the cost of removing existing nuisances, and putting a district into a good sanatory condition."

Prevention is always better than even the completest cure. But, "in this case you cannot, in fact, cure." So that

"The apparent sum expended, in carrying out sanatory regulations, is not a true expression of the sum actually spent on preventive measures: because, from the actual sum spent in carrying out sanatory or preventive measures, must be deducted the large amount of money now annually expended in the support of individuals and their families, deprived of health, and, therefore, of the inability to labour, or rendered widows and orphans, through the non-adoption of those remedial measures "."

⁴ Vol. i. pp. 4, 5. 10—12. 25. 34—37. Vol. ii. pp. 39. 89. 134. 151—153. 164. 236. 391. 483. ⁵ Vol. i. pp. 11, 12.

Again,

"I think a very moderate cost would provide for a system of supervision of the public health, which, even on the ground of economy, would be highly advantageous to the public. There must, of course, be some authority to carry out and enforce obedience to the measure, whatever it may be, on which the Legislature may decide, relative to drainage, sewerage, the construction of dwelling-houses, and the provisions for supplying those houses with the means of ventilation and The body to whom the administration of such a law is intrusted, whatever its particular enactments may be, must obviously require professional knowledge, such as the peculiar knowledge of the civil engineer, the architect, and the physician. A commission combining eminent individuals, each the most eminent in his respective science, whose services could be obtained, each devoting his whole time to its business, and a part of whose duty it should be to see that the surveyors who must superintend the operations in detail are persons possessing the requisite science and practical skill, and of whose qualifications and mode of performing their work the members of a board so constituted would be competent to judge; such a commission, armed with proper authority, and responsible for its exercise, would not only enforce a general obedience to the law, but in carrying the measure into practical operation, by acting on a general and well-considered plan, by employing as agents those only who possess the requisite science and skill, and by exercising a due control over them in the execution of their work, would save the country hundreds of thousands of pounds. A general administrative body, constructed in some such manner as this, appears to me to be indispensable to the practical working of any measure on this subject which may receive the sanction of the Legislature."-pp. 36, 37.

The reader will find, in the numerous passages to which we have referred above, and in various other parts of the evidence, an abundance of practical comment upon this very consolatory text. We trust, therefore, that no heart will be cast down by the prospect of ruinous sacrifices, to be offered up on the altar of the public Health and Virtue. The Powers in question may be much more easily propitiated. Their cause is one, in the prosecution of which, economy and humanity may well walk hand in hand together.

The space which is now left us, is wholly insufficient for any adequate notice of the work which stands last, at the head of this paper. As its title imports, it ranges over a vast and varied region of enquiry. The "Perils of the Nation," to which this book evidently refers, is a volume, which, like the mystic roll delivered to the prophet, is written, within and without, with lamentation, and mourning, and woe. To judge by the tone of its denunciations, the state of the country is well-nigh desperate;

the whole head sick, the whole heart faint; from the sole of the foot, even to the head, no soundness in it: but wounds, and bruises, and festering sores, which have been neither closed nor bound up, nor mollified with ointment. We may easily imagine, therefore, the compass of a publication, which professes to propound certain appropriate and specific remedies for this complication of maladies. One feels almost bewildered by the labyrinthine "greatness of the way." Fortunately, the attempt to follow the writer throughout the details of his vast subject, is the less necessary, because there is scarcely a topic handled by him, which is not undergoing a course of searching and almost daily discussion, throughout the empire. Of the attention which has been awakened to the sanatory condition of the poorer classes. the foregoing pages afford sufficient evidence. But the whole congeries of their grievances is forcing itself, irresistibly, on the minds of all, who have hearts to feel for helpless suffering, or who have interests to guard against impending danger. And there is good reason for hoping that the suggestions of this writer, and of others who are labouring in the same cause, will, sooner or later, meet with a fair and patient consideration. Of those suggestions, several appear to us to be matters of overpowering necessity. For instance, the rigours of the New Poor Law, undoubtedly, require very serious mitigation. The enormous size of the unions; the consequent remoteness, uncertainty, and difficulty, which impede the administration of relief or medicine; the absence of classification in the workhouse, which renders it a place of penal torment to the good, and of perilous moral contagion to all; the want of any tribunal of appeal, in cases of oppression; all these are evils which righteously demand considerate revision; and the Government will, probably, have no peace, until some material concession is extorted. Again, much might, unquestionably, be done, which never yet has been vigorously attempted, for the improvement of the morals of the poor: not, by provisions to enforce morality by Act of Parliament; but, by such alterations of the law as might remove or diminish the almost omnipresent temptations to immorality. But, these are questions too vast, and too complex, for the fragment of a fugitive essay. We must, accordingly, confine our brief remarks to one particular department of the evils now before us; namely, the alarming indigence which is, at present, the doom of a very large portion of the agricultural labourers.

And here we cannot forbear to remark the vehemence of spirit with which our reformer pours out all the fury of his indignation upon the craft and mystery of Political Economy. Now, we must confess, that Political Economy is rather a hard-featured

and rough-handed science. It has to deal chiefly with material wealth,—with things that may be touched, and tasted, and handled; and its vocation is, to investigate the laws which regulate the accumulation of these very desirable and tempting objects. It seems, therefore, to be little conversant with the tenderer charities and sensibilities of human life; those unseen and impalnable elements which alone can give inward vitality to societies and states. Nevertheless, when we recollect how many enlightened and truly benevolent men have devoted their lives to this unpopular pursuit, it is difficult to believe that they had not, at least, the welfare of the human race in the distance of their designs, however bleak and rugged the foreground may appear. But this writer denounces the whole study, as heartless and empirical; a mystery of iniquity, or of folly, or of both. And, as for a check to population, it is a thing "which no Christian ears can endure to hear!" And, accordingly, in illustration of his own views, he contrasts the condition of the labourers of England with that of the happy cottagers and villagers of Switzerland,—a country more densely peopled, in many parts, than Ireland itself. Let us, then, turn to his description of a Swiss parish, as cited by himself, from Laing's Notes of a Traveller, pp. 339, 340.

"Our parish is divided into three communes or administrations. that in which I am lodged, Veytaux, there is not a single pauper, although there is an accumulated poor-fund, and the village thinks itself sufficiently important to have its post-office, its fire-engine, its watchman; and it has a landward population around. The reason is obvious without having recourse to any occult moral restraint, or any tradition of the evils of over-population from the fate of the ancient Helvetians, as Sir Francis absurdly supposes possible, whose emigration from over-population Julius Cæsar repressed with the sword. The parish is one of the best cultivated and most productive vineyards in Europe, and is divided in very small portions among a great body of small proprietors. What is too high up the hill for vines, is in orchard, hav, and pasture-land. There is no manufacture, and no chance work going on in the parish. These small proprietors, with their sons and daughters, work on their own land, know exactly what it produces, what it costs them to live, and whether the land can support two families or not. Their standard of living is high, as they are proprietors. They are well lodged, their houses well furnished, and they live well, although they are working men. I lived with one of them two summers successively. This class of the inhabitants would no more think of marrying without means to live in a decent way, than any gentleman's sons or daughters in England; and indeed less, because there is no variety of means of living, as in England. It must be altogether out of the land. The class below them again, the mere labourers, or village tradesmen, are under a similar economical restraint, which it is an abuse of words and principles to call moral The quantity of work which each of the small proprietors must hire, is a known and filled-up demand, not very variable. There is no corn-farming, little or no horse-work, and the number of labourers and tradesmen who can live by the work and custom of the other class. is as fixed and known as the means of living of the landowners them-There is no chance-living—no room for an additional house even, for this class, because the land is too valuable, and too minutely divided, to be planted with a labourer's house, if his labour be not necessary. All that is wanted is supplied; and until a vacancy naturally opens, in which a labourer and his wife could find work and house-room, he cannot marry. The economical restraint is thus quite as strong among the labourers, as among the class of proprietors. Their standard of living, also, is necessarily raised by living and working all day along with a higher class. They are clad as well, females and males, as the peasant-proprietors. The costume of the canton is used by all. This very parish might be cited as an instance of the restraining powers of property, and of the habits, tastes, and standard of living which attend a wide diffusion of property among a people, on their own over-multiplication. It is a proof that a division of property by a law of succession, different in principle from the feudal, is the true check upon over-population."

Here, then, we have a state of society in which the check preventive, or, if the term be more gracious, the moral and economical check, is actually in full and powerful operation. The land is peopled up to its capacity for yielding support; and no one thinks of marrying until some vacant position is open to him. And all this admirable restraint is the result of that feeling of independence and self-respect, which is usually created by ownership of property, however small. The conclusion is, that a similar division of the land would place the population of England in a similar condition of felicity and plenty.

But, alas! a variety of perplexing considerations here rushes in, to disturb our confidence in the applicability of this example to our own case. In the first place, we have a formidable counter-phenomenon close to us, and constantly before our eyes. We need scarcely say that we allude to Ireland. Ireland, indeed, is not broken up into minute properties, but into minute holdings. But even if the holdings were changed into properties, who could venture to predict that such a change would eventually tend to any material relief of the miseries of that unhappy country?

But, secondly, "there is no corn-farming, and little horsework" in the district under consideration. The whole parish is a well-cultivated and productive *vineyard*, dressed by the labour of human hands. But then the question arises, how is England, with its vast and varied agriculture, to be moulded after such a

pattern? Is the whole of it, in its length and breadth, to be

cultivated by the spade?

Let us, however, suppose this to be just physically possible. How is the possibility to be realized, otherwise than by an entire disruption of the existing frame of English society,—by a revolution, which, if sudden, would be ruinous, and, if gradual, would be spread over a long succession of weary and suffering generations?

But, lastly, let us imagine the change to have been accomplished; then, the moral or economical check to population must come at last. When the land is replenished, either the command to increase and multiply must be suspended; or else some outlet must be provided, for incessant and unlimited emigration: and what a problem that of effective emigration is, upon a scale at all adequate to the exigencies of the case, our experience at the present moment informs us but too well. But there is yet another overpowering consideration. If the territory of England were apportioned conformably to the scheme here proposed, would not the people, it may be asked, be much more at their ease. and much happier, than they are now? Yes, happier, undoubtedly, they might be, so long as they were let alone! But how long would they remain safe from foreign aggression? England can never be exempt, like a Swiss parish, from constant menaces of danger from without. Under any form of society, she must always be much too considerable a country to remain in safe obscurity. She can never wholly shrink into herself. Sooner or later, the Philistines would be upon her. What, then, would be her condition, if she were cut up into small patrimonies,—all her proprietors tolerably at their ease, but none of them in command of superfluities; no accumulation of capital; no available resources for large taxation; no means, in short, of raising the fleets and the armies needful to overawe the rapacity and ambition of her neighbours? If the eagles were gathered together, would she not speedily become their helpless prey?

But is nothing, then, to be done, or even attempted, to roll back the tide of evil? Are we to wait, passively, till all are overwhelmed? The tone of the preceding pages will have shown that we advocate no such cowardly despair. We apprehend, on the contrary, that much might be effected by a more enlightened and more humane administration of territorial property. We certainly have not courage for any sweeping agrarian experiment; but we do surmise that there might, at least, be a gradation of holdings, suited to all the varieties of capital and knowledge. There might be large farms, of various extent, for those who might have ample means for productive cultivation; and a

certain number of spade-farms, to be held out as a reward for intelligence and industry. A prospect of promotion would thus be held out to the meritorious peasant, and an improving influence might gradually be diffused through all. But the thing, perhaps, most urgently required, is more liberal encouragement to the outlay of capital and the employment of labour. This, however, it is to be feared, will never be effected, until some legislative protection shall be extended to the capital of a tenant laid out on the permanent improvement of the soil. The ancient principle is, that all expenditure on the soil becomes, eventually, the property of the landlord. It is desirable that this principle should be relaxed; for, until it is relaxed, the maxim, current among farmers, will, assuredly, retain its dominion; namely, Lay out no more than you will see again next year. The consequences of this maxim are obvious: numbers of people remain unemployed, needful work remains undone, and the powers of the soil remain imperfectly explored. Give the farmer an absolute property in his own investment of capital, distinct from that of the landlord, and the now superfluous labour might gradually be absorbed, the increasing population might be adequately supported, and England might be rendered independent of foreign supplies. And the operation of this change would be all the more effective, ifto the greatest practicable extent—the labour of men were substituted for the labour of horses, from one end of the country to the other. This practice we know to have been adopted, with the best success, by a very kind and experienced landholder, who farms the whole of his own property.

All this, however, and indeed every other improvement that can be imagined, supposes a landed aristocracy deeply impressed with a sense of their responsibilities. Now, it would ill become us to speak in the language of wanton disparagement and reproach, respecting this or any other section of the community. Nevertheless, with the reserve of many a noble exception, we must frankly confess our suspicions that these responsibilities are sadly forgotten by our landed gentry. An estate is, much too generally, regarded simply as a source of rent, and not as a most important sphere of duty. This is a deplorable and guilty mistake. A monarch might, just as innocently, regard his dominions simply as a source of revenue, and not at all as a sacred trust committed by Divine Providence to his keeping. Some poor and meagre palliation for the error may possibly be imagined. The manufacturer is, for the most part, regularly bred to his calling; and his establishment demands his constant personal inspection and superintendence. In nine instances out of ten the landholder has no such training, and is exposed to no such incessant pressure of obligation. He comes into his property, perhaps, in early life, when he is rejoicing in his youth, and thinks of little but following the desire of his own eyes; or, it falls to him in the season of mature manhood, when his habits, probably, are formed, and he has little inclination for mastering the difficulties of a new and untried pursuit. And, if the duties of territorial management should come upon him at an advanced age, the case is still more hopeless. And thus it comes to pass that the claims of labour scarcely occupy the thoughts of many of the greatest masters of labour. The condition of the peasant is no immediate concern of theirs! It lies within the province of the steward or the farmer. The family-mansion, the house in Belgrave-square. the excursion to Paris or the Eternal City, - these form the sphere in which the lords of earth and water too often hold it their chiefest privilege to move: to say nothing of that castle of indolence, the club, or that synagogue of iniquity, the gamblinghouse. As for the hard hands, and the weary hearts, which are toiling, in squalidness and indigence, to extort from the ground the materials of all this wasteful and wanton prodigality,—their manner of life, their earnings, their dwellings, their morals, their religion,-all these, it is to be feared, are as little known or thought of, perhaps not so much, as the peculiar quality of the clods beneath their feet.

If a remedy be demanded for all this abuse of God's bounty and abandonment of God's will, we can only repeat, that there is but one effectual remedy; namely, to bring the masters of the creation to a due understanding God's will, and to a thankful sense of his bounty, and to a distinct view of the manifold responsibilities of their position. A soul must be breathed beneath the ribs of that idolatry which at present is oppressing with its deadly power the kingdom of the Lord of Life. Against that idolatry, the ministers of religion, and the worthies of the Church in their several vocations, must, without sparing, lift up their righteous testimony and protest. We hear enough, from time to time, of the duties of children towards their parents, of servants towards their masters, of subjects towards their sovereign; but it is high time that we heard more of the duties of those who, in private or in public stations, are appointed to control and shape the destinies of those beneath them. If this were done, we should at least be attacking the disease. Until it is done, we shall only be fighting with the symptoms.

We cannot close this paper without *once more* earnestly soliciting the attention of the public in general to the whole of the Report, from which we have above presented them with extracts; and we do this for various reasons. In the first place, whether

any adequate and perfect remedies can, or cannot, be found for the miseries disclosed by that Report, we hold it to be the plain duty of all Christian men at least to become acquainted with the extremities to which hundreds of thousands of their fellow-men are doomed. One half the world, it is often said, knows nothing of the manner in which the other half is living: and this is a rough, but sufficiently faithful, expression of a very melancholy truth. The tendency of abject and desperate misery is always towards concealment; and not only so, but it generally seeks to crowd, and, as it were, to hive itself, in obscure and narrow haunts; so that the space it occupies affords no indication whatever of its actual amount at any given time, or in any given locality. The consequence is, that the comparatively spacious regions allotted to wealth, or to decent competence, are seldom disturbed by a thought of the squalid penury which lies, swarming and burrowing, in some closely neighbouring district. At last, perhaps, there occurs a public convulsion, by which, like the realms of Pluto, the "concealing continent" is riven asunder,

οίκια τε θνητοισι και άθανατοισι φανειη, σμερδαλε', εὐρωεντα, τα τε στυγεουσι θεοι περ.

And then we find, to our utter dismay, that the name of the hidden monster is legion: and we wonder from what unknown depths such wild, haggard, ghastly multitudes could so suddenly have emerged. It seems almost as if the powers of darkness had broken loose upon us. Now, it is not in order to excite a bewildering panic that we are anxious to invite inquiry into these retreats of wretchedness and despair. Our purpose is precisely the reverse of this. We would have one portion of the world to know distinctly how the other portion is living, in order that society may be pervaded by a wholesome, habitual, self-possessed apprehension of the peril which is around us and beneath us: and this, again, in order that prosperity and ease may be awakened to a consciousness of their responsibilities; in order that all men may be led to ask themselves, whether the existence of an alien, outcast, forgotten race, can possibly be a thing conformable to the will of a merciful and righteous God; in order that we may be impelled to strive and grapple with the causes and the influences which are constantly at work to produce these spectacles of degraded and desecrated humanity. Thoughts and views like these might not, perhaps, develope themselves at once into the form of mighty and sovereign specifics: but we cannot reasonably question their tendency to assuage the intensity of the evil. They could scarcely fail to send forth the healing power of Christian benevolence and sympathy into the darkest abysses of wretchedness; and so, to mitigate the dangerous bitterness of soul

which is constantly brooding there. And, then, can we doubt that our strivings and yearnings after the temporal and spiritual good of our lost brethren, would call down the Divine blessing,

and bring on the dawn of a brighter day?

But, further, we are desirous that all should be, more or less, familiar with these two volumes, because they deal very sparingly in declamation, and very copiously in statistics. We find here the gradations of disease and destitution carefully and minutely tabulated, their localities distinctly pointed out, the extent of their ravages numerically exhibited. The most impassioned rhetoric is sure to be met by a suspicion of over-colouring and exaggeration; but the *arithmetic* of misery is unanswerable.

Lastly; there is one disclosure made by the document before us, (as, indeed, by other previous inquiries of a somewhat similar nature,) which we respectfully, but earnestly, recommend to the patient consideration of Political Economy; namely, that the extremity of want, though it may smite its victims with degeneracy, never smites them with sterility. It is, we believe, one maxim of that same repulsive science, that "mankind will always breed up to a certain point of distress." The recent investigations show, that this certain point is always close upon actual famine. Severe and wasting misery, short of positive starvation, does nothing whatever to retard the accumulation of numbers, whatever it may do to deteriorate the progeny. Nay, if any thing, it rather accelerates the growth of the helpless and disastrous mass. lower the depths of destitution, the more brutish is the improvidence, and the more reckless the defiance of consequences. This seems a dreadful law: but its operation has long been notoriously exemplified in Ireland: and it is, at this moment, exemplified among the dregs (as they are often called) of the most densely-peopled towns. The half-starved couple will marry, or cohabit, in spite of the utter desolation of their prospects; and half-starved parents are often surrounded by a very numerous tribe of sickly and famished children. Now the time has been, when Political Economy flattered herself that she had discovered the means of effectually checking all this inconvenient rapidity of population; and her expedient was, to proclaim the cessation, at a prescribed period, of all systematic and national relief; and, in the mean time, to school and sermonize the labouring poor into habits of prudence and self-restraint: as if the menace of abandonment and desertion, and the prospect of hopeless indigence for themselves and their children, could over-master the laws and impulses of man's animal nature. To those, indeed, who have been cradled in competence, and trained to habits of foresight and self-government, the thoughts of an humiliating downward

movement in society, are frequently intolerable; though instances of mad imprudence are by no means rare, even among the most favoured ranks. But this far-sighted wisdom is little known to those who are already near the bottom: among those who are in the lowest deep, it is altogether powerless. Nothing, they imagine, can make their own condition worse. As for those who are to come after them, they must take their chance, as their parents have done before them. And if the Law should in future cut off all supply, private charity, they think, (if they speculate at all about the matter,) will, assuredly, come to the rescue. It is impossible that Political Economy could have had a fairer trial of her principles, than that which has been afforded her in Scotland. What has been the success of those principles, there, we have recently been informed by the Report of the Commission on the management of the Scottish poor: from which Report it appears, that the land, which has hitherto been exempt from the visitation of a national provision for the destitute, is, in fact, a laboratory of wretchedness, which might make even the triumvirate of Somerset House to tremble and shudder in their seats. It is quite evident, therefore, that if Political Economy would be, as she professes, the benefactress of the human race, she must reconsider this one leading element in her system. If she will not reconsider it, she may, sooner or later, become an astonishment, and a hissing, and a curse.

Alas! that it should be so,—yet so we, sometimes, fear it may be,—that our towering civilization, stately as it seems above, is resting upon unseen depths of instability and decay! We are apt to imagine that it resembles the majestic tree, which the poet has described:—

"——— quantum vertice ad auras Æthereas, tantum radice ad Tartara tendit."

But, what if the resemblance should fail in one essential point? What, if the root should gradually "become as rottenness?" Must not the blossom and the fruit, eventually, "go up as dust?" May the Lord of the vineyard and the forest avert from us so

calamitous a judgment!

With reference to the expediency of small spade-farms, for the encouragement of meritorious labourers, adverted to in a foregoing page, we have now to subjoin, that since these sheets went to the press, we have chanced to light upon a remarkable passage, relating to the same subject, in the recent edition of Mr. Jones's Essay on Rent. To this passage we now anxiously request the attention of our readers:—

[&]quot; No remedy for the evils in the condition of the poor deserves the

name of a wise and statesmanlike measure, which is not of a nature sufficiently comprehensive to offer some promise of bringing healing and health to all the diseased points. I do not know that such a remedy need be despaired of. The plan of using allotments of land for such a purpose has been sufficiently discussed and tried, to enable us to judge of its capabilities. If the country was enabled, by the necessary modifications of the existing laws, and by some new ones, to adopt that plan efficiently into general practice, it might enable the agricultural districts not merely to palliate the actual pressure, the threatening danger, from the Poor Laws, but to do, what must be effectually done, if the moral mischief is to be eradicated,—and that is, to annihilate the connexion between the able-bodied labourers and those laws, altogether and for ever. In the mean time, it would be a dangerous experiment for the governors of a state, so situated, to fold their hands, and to wait for what is to happen next. The slow, and too often perplexed and thwarted, progress of individual efforts can lead to no general results of sufficient power to arrest, in time, the progress of the moral pestilence which has long been pursuing our footsteps, and is already breathing on our necks. Legislation must be resorted to, and that comprehensive and decisive, as the occasion demands; but carried on (it need hardly be said) in a spirit as calm and benevolent as it is firm and decided; and guided ever, it may be hoped, by the great aim of promoting the comfort and happiness of the labouring classes, as the best and surest foundation of the prosperity and peace of the nation at large."

In a note to this passage the author adds:—

"Individual impressions, upon a subject of such mighty national importance, I am aware, do and ought to count for little. But, as I have been led to the subject, it may not, perhaps, be presumptuous to state, that my own observations have led to a strong belief that such a plan" (as that of allotments) "might be devised and carried, with cheerfulness and popularity, into general execution, and this with very desirable economical, as well as most important moral and political, effects; and that, if regulated and executed under the guidance of sound views, and with reasonable precautions, it need not be feared that the many good effects of such a plan would be marred by the results of the principle of population, or be neutralized by any train of accompanying evils 1."

The subject of allotments has, of late, occupied much of the public attention; and it is most consolatory to find, that the plan is viewed so hopefully by one of the highest economical authorities of our day, probably the very highest. And the opinion of the writer must be all the more weighty, because he has notoriously been, for many years, a very close observer of agricultural life.

¹ Essay on the Distribution of Wealth. Part I. Rent. By the Rev. Richard Jones. Murray: 1844.-pp. 297, 298.

- ART. II.—1. De l'Etat actuel du Clergé en France, et en particulier des Curés Ruraux appelés Desservans. Par MM. C. et A. Allignol, frères, prétres desservans. Paris: Debécourt, 1839.
- 2. Défense de l'Eglise Catholique contre l'Hérésie Constitutionnelle, qui soumet la Religion au Magistrat, renouvelée dans ces derniers temps. Par M. Boyer, Directeur au Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice. Paris: Gaume, frères, 1840.
- 3. Coup d'œil sur l'Ecrit des frères Allignol touchant l'Etat actuel du Clergé en France; Appendice à la Défense de l'Eglise Catholique contre l'Hérésie Constitutionnelle. Par M. BOYER, Directeur au Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice. Paris: Gaume, frères, 1840.
- 4. Appel à l'Episcopat Français pour la tenue d'un Concile National. Par M. LE MARQUIS DE REGNON, Membre de la Légion d'Honneur et de l'Ordre Espagnol de l'Immaculée Conception, au nom des pères de famille catholiques. Paris: Hivert, 1843.

Loup and frequent have been the complaints preferred of late years against the condition of our Church, not only because, as is alleged, she requires correction and regulation in regard to a variety of matters, but chiefly because, through the state of subjection in which she is held by the temporal power, she appears incapable of adopting any effectual course for removing her complicated disorders. If these complaints proceeded only from men who are hostile to the Church as such, whose sympathies are beyond her pale, though their position is, inconsistently enough, within it, they would deserve little attention; because of such men it is to be expected, that they will spy out and magnify every practical inconvenience and abuse which may have crept into the system of the Church, in order to supply themselves with weapons for making war upon her principles. But the complaints in question proceed, for the most part, from a different class of persons; from men who view Church principles as inseparable from the Gospel itself, whose sympathies are all in favour of the Church, who find fault with the Church, not because she is a Church, but because, as a Church, she is not what they conceive she ought to be. Coming from such a quarter, it must be admitted that the complaints so loudly and so frequently made, are deserving of the utmost consideration; and that not the less, because some of those who thus bewail the captivity of the daughter of Zion, have suffered themselves to be carried beyond the bounds of moderation, by their sense of existing evils and imperfections, and too hastily despairing of her case, have been led to speak of her in language at once unjust and undutiful, and even to assume towards her an attitude of hostility. That our Church is at this time labouring under many and very serious evils, to the great detriment of her spiritual efficiency, is, indeed, but too true, and must be acknowledged by all who have an adequate idea of the kingdom of Christ upon earth. But the mere proclamation of this painful fact, whether in a spirit of irreverent censoriousness, or in a tone of faint-hearted regret, will do the Church no service: the question with which, as Churchmen, we are concerned, is to trace the mischief to its

origin, and to devise effectual means for its removal.

Now it has become the fashion with many persons to take for granted, that the undue influence which the temporal power has obtained over our Church, is to be traced to her reformation in the sixteenth century, not merely by historical connexion with that event, but as its necessary result. the circumstances under which so great a change was effected, both in the doctrine and in the discipline of our Church, afforded to the temporal power opportunities of imposing upon her terms of alliance and protection which, though at the time they seemed to portend no danger to her spiritualities, did yet after the lapse of ages, when the character of the body politic itself had undergone material alterations, prove inconvenient and detrimental to her higher interests, will be readily admitted by all who have attentively considered the history of our Church since that critical epoch; but it does not therefore follow, that any vital principles of her existence, as a branch of the Church Catholic, were absolutely and irrevocably surrendered by her; still less that her reformation, fruitful as it has been in spiritual blessings, is to be depreciated, or deplored as a "calamitous event." It is quite consistent with a sound philosophical view of the history of the sixteenth century, to consider the degree of state ascendency then introduced into our Church, not as an essential condition, or an inevitable result, but simply as an accident, of the reformation; as one of the chances of that unceasing conflict, which ever since the introduction of the Gospel into this world, has been in progress between the spiritual interests of the kingdom of Christ, and the material interests of the kingdoms of this world. During the first three centuries of the Church's existence, this conflict was an open one; fierce persecution on

the part of the world being met by stedfast martyrdom on the part of the Church. The conversion of the chief ruler of the civilized world placed the Church in a new position, as the ally of the temporal government in the education of mankind; and protection, henceforth, took the place of persecution. But this formal acknowledgment and adoption of Christianity by the powers of the world, neither did away with those material interests. which of their very nature are opposed to the spiritual interests of the Church, and which it is the office of civil government to guard; nor did it banish from the world that spirit of the world, which is essentially hostile to the spirit of the Gospel. inevitable result was, that the protection which the State gave to the Church, often assumed an oppressive character, and that altercations and contentions ensued between the temporal and the spiritual powers¹, in which, with various success at different times, both have occasionally overstepped the limits by which their respective authorities ought to be, and by the theory of our Church, as laid down in her articles, actually are, circumscribed.

Nothing, therefore, can be more groundless than the notion. that the disadvantages under which our Church labours at this time, in consequence of her connexion with the State, are chargeable upon the Reformation, and her consequent separation from the Roman See as the representative and guardian of the spiritual power of the Church Catholic. That the Roman See was at one period a powerful and faithful protector of the interests of the Church against the encroachments of temporal power, no one that has scanned the history of the Middle Ages with an impartial eye, will be disposed to deny; but it is as undeniable, that the lust of power caused the Roman patriarchate to abuse its trust, and to commit upon the spiritual immunities of the Church Catholic encroachments far more tyrannical, and far more prejudicial to the interests of religion, than any that had ever been attempted by the temporal rulers of the earth. By this course of oppression and usurpation, the Roman See lost the high honour and privilege of

¹ See the spirited remonstrance which, within half a century of the conversion of Constantine, a Christian bishop had occasion to address to his son, Constantius. "Cease, I beseech thee, and remember that thou art a mortal man. Fear the day of judgment, and against it keep thyself pure. Do not interfere with Church matters, nor give us commandment concerning them; but rather do thou learn these things from us. To thee God has committed the empire; to us He has entrusted the churches: and as he who should rob thee of thy power, resisteth that God who ordained thee, so be thou afraid, lest, arrogating to thyself the things of the Church, thou become guilty of a great crime. 'Render,' it is written, 'unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.' Neither, therefore, is it lawful for us to rule upon the earth; nor hast thou, O emperor, authority over the sanctuary."—Hosii Ep. ad Constantium Imp. ap. Athanas. Hist. Arian. ad Mon., c. 43.

guarding the spiritualities of the Church, to which, in the western part of the world, it had been raised by the course of circumstances; and in no one event of the Church's history is the retributive justice of the great Head of the Church more apparent, than in this forfeiture of the power and influence which Rome once possessed over the greater portion of Christendom. The effect of this forfeiture is clearly visible, even in those parts of Christendom in which the Papal power is still acknowledged, and connexion with the chair of St. Peter considered as the sine qua non of the Church's existence. Even there, where the alleged supremacy of St. Peter's successor is recognized as the exclusive fountain of all that is Catholic and Apostolic, the Papacy is incapable of giving any effectual protection to the interests of the Church against the encroachments of the State, barely contriving to preserve, through the most humiliating concessions of a wily diplomacy, a semblance and a shadow of the mighty power once wielded by the so-called Vicar of Christ.

Of this fact the present condition of the Gallican Church, whose attachment to Rome cannot be called in question, affords the most striking evidence; evidence, which we think it will be, more especially at this time, far from useless or uninteresting to make more generally known. The witnesses whom we shall call for this purpose, are such as neither Rome nor the Gallican Church can repudiate; members and ministers of the latter, well acquainted with her actual condition, devotedly attached to the Roman communion, and therefore competent and credible wit-

nesses of the facts to which they speak.

The first of them, the Messrs. Allignol, authors of a work, "On the Present State of the Clergy in France," belong to that ill-

² The work is divided into two parts; the former of which treats of "the constitution of the Church as it was in France before the year 1802," (date of the Organic Articles, published by Bonaparte with the Concordate of 1801,) "and as it still is in all the other Catholic states;" and the latter, of "the change effected in the discipline of the Church in France since 1802, and of the new ecclesiastic government established in consequence of this change." In the first part, after an introductory chapter on the hierarchy of the Church, the authors examine the position of the pastors, or priests having cure of souls, as it had formerly been, specially with reference to the following points: their powers in the Church generally, and particularly within their parishes, in ministration of the word and sacraments, in the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, and in the appointment of assistant ministers; the provisions made for securing to them an honest independence; the nature of ecclesiastic jurisdiction which made them amenable, not to the arbitrary decision of the bishop, but to a canonically constituted court; the perpetuity of their appointment, which precluded the possibility of their being deprived, recalled, or transferred from one parish to another, without a canonical judgment, or their own free consent. The second part opens with an historical sketch of the changes which the constitution of the French Church has undergone since the revolution; and then enters upon a consideration of the results of these changes, as affecting the episcopate, the clergy, the state of religion, and the maintenance of social order. In this portion of the work the degraded condition of

used and despised body, the inferior clergy; their book breathes throughout a spirit of honest zeal for the advancement of religion among the French people, of ardent love for the communion of which they are members, and, above all, of profound veneration for the supremacy of Rome. It is true that the untoward disclosures which it contains of the tyrannical power of the bishops, and the degraded state of the inferior clergy, has brought upon them the displeasure of M. Boyer, the second witness whom we propose to call; and the still more marked disapprobation of their diocesan, the Bishop of Viviers, by whom they were suspended from their functions; but whatever this circumstance may seem to detract from the weight of their testimony, is abundantly compensated by the fact, that the pope has to a great extent nullified the episcopal suspension, by giving them a special dispensation to celebrate mass privately and extraparochially, for themselves and their friends, and refusing to pronounce any judgment on their book, though urgently requested to do so, even if it should prove unfavourable, by the authors themselves, who undertook a journey to Rome for this express purpose. The object of their work is to force upon the French bishops the consideration of the various disadvantages under which the greater part of the parochial clergy are labouring in the discharge of their pastoral office; and to induce them to hold diocesan and metropolitan councils, with a view to apply a remedy to the evils of which they complain, and which threaten, according to their view of the case, the total subversion of the Roman Catholic faith among the great mass of the French people. But they shall speak for themselves. After referring, in the preface of their work, to the recent revival of "Catholicism" in the educated classes, they give of the condition of the lower and uneducated part of the population in France, and of the causes which have led to it, the following lamentable account:—

"While irreligion used to reign supreme in the highest ranks of society, the happy influence of faith was yet perceptible in the lower classes. Now it is just the reverse. Impiety has departed from the great, only to descend among the people; it has left the towns, to invade the villages. Driven from the palace, an anti-christian philosophy

the pastors of the second order, the desservans, is forcibly pointed out. In the two concluding chapters the authors discuss the pleas put forth on behalf of the new régime, and the best means of restoring in France the ancient discipline of the Church. In an appendix the principal documents referred to in the work are given at full length: they are, the Concordate of 1801, the Organic Articles of 1802, the Concordate of 1817; the official complaint respecting the state of the Church in France, addressed to the pope by the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops of France in 1819; and the regulations in force in regard to the payment of pensions to superannuated or superseded ministers, and of salaries to ministers holding a temporary charge in the absence of the incumbent.

has taken refuge in the cottage as in its last shelter. It has already found its way into the most retired country-districts, which resound every where with its blasphemies; its voice alone is heard, its action alone felt, at every turn; on every side one is encompassed and assailed by it. And, be it observed, the restoration of the faith which is now in progress among the intelligent classes and the town populations, is not, properly speaking, the work of the Clergy, it is the work of the press, that new and omnipotent lever of mind. It is the press alone that has given the impulse for that return to religious ideas, which is destined to save society by re-settling it on its true foundation. The Clergy are working only in subordination, as it were, to that power;

they can only second and regulate the movement.

"But this means of regeneration, which acts so mightily upon the higher classes and the town populations, has, as yet, and for a long time probably will have, no existence for the country people. They will never be brought back to religion, except by the clergy, who alone can draw them out of the abyss of ungodliness, the lowest depths of which they have perhaps not yet attained, and lead them back to their ancient belief. The Clergy alone can destroy in the minds of the common people those heinous prejudices which they have imbibed along with error, and make them taste again the sweetness and the charm of a religion which is especially intended for them, and which alone can render them happy. By their superiority in education, in knowledge, and in virtue, the Clergy become the fathers and instructors of the many; they are naturally and necessarily the guides of that numerous and interesting class of society, among whom no one can ever supply their place.

"This being the case, all eyes are naturally directed towards the Clergy, and the question is anxiously asked, whether they still are in possession of those powerful means of regeneration, through which our fathers were converted and civilized, and our rural population delivered from serfdom; through which, in all ages, so many wonders were accomplished, and so great and just an influence over the people

obtained by the Clergy.

"Alas! all observers note the frightful fact, that the French priest-hood is daily losing in dignity, in public estimation, and in influence; that its action is becoming weaker and weaker; and that its authority over the people is almost entirely dependent on personal qualities. Individuals are still respected; the body is so no longer. The man may be esteemed, but the priest is despised. This fact, deplorable as it is, is but too certain, no one can doubt it, who knows any thing of the state of our country parishes, and of the spirit which animates the people.

"What, then, is the cause of this profound nullity which threatens all the Clergy in France, and to which in great measure they are already reduced? Is it that their ignorance forms too great a contrast with the light of the age? If it be true that the superior Clergy were formerly more eminent for their learning, it is generally admitted that the country Clergy were at no period as well instructed as they are at present.

"Or is it some default of conduct, some laxity of morals? Still less. The revolution having stripped the sacred ministry of all its roses, and left on it nothing but thorns, the vocations have necessarily become purified; and the priesthood, taken as a body, has never exhibited before the people a more beautiful spectacle of regularity, decency, and virtue.

"Or is it the ambition of the Clergy, according to the reproach cast upon them by some misguided or perverse minds? No one will venture to say so at present; for upon what should that ambition be directed?—there is no longer any, not even an apparent, object for it. The priest, with us, is repelled from every civil employment; a suspicious or hostile legislation has deprived him of nearly all his rights as a citizen; and his own profession opens to him no other prospect

than obscurity, contempt, and almost starvation.

"We must, therefore, seek elsewhere for the cause of the evil which presses upon him, obstructing his course, and preventing him from fulfilling his Divine mission. If we wish to find it, we shall not have to look far for it; we perceive it at once in the vices of the constitution by which he is governed; or rather, in the total absence, practically at least, of any constitution whatever. The fact is, that while all the other estates of society are regularly constituted, having a settled hierarchy, acknowledged rights, fixed laws, and a special discipline, the Clergy alone are deprived of all these advantages, and, consequently, remain in a state of impotency. A body is strong and powerful only by the union and concert of its members; and those of the clerical body are separated and scattered, like the soldiers of a disbanded army. Its Bishops, holding with the Head of the Church none but rare and unimportant communications, being unable either to assemble themselves or to take counsel together, and isolated from the rest of the Clergy, are reduced to the necessity of fighting single-handed, and find it impossible to give to their separate measures that unity which constitutes their whole strength. The priests of the second order, being divided into two hitherto unknown classes, form two opposite parties, two rival camps, widely separated from each other. If one of these classes still retains some of the rights and privileges inherent in the pastoral character, the other, which comprises almost the whole of the priesthood, is totally stripped of them. Naked and defenceless, it is at the mercy, on one hand, of all the caprices of arbitrary power and good pleasure; on the other hand, of all the contempt, the insults, and persecutions of its enemies. . . .

"Thus the French Clergy have been placed in a false, humiliating position, which impedes their action, paralyses their influence, prevents them from coming up to the high dignity of their commission, or keeping pace with the actual wants of the people. While all around them is in motion, they alone remain stationary. At all former periods, they had been in advance of the age; at present, they are left behind. They cannot undertake, or execute, or prevent any thing. Never did the population stand in greater need of their guidance, and never were they less in a condition to exert over it a salutary ascendency. This

absolute impotency of the clerical body is a violent and unnatural state, which cannot continue without endangering the very existence of the body itself, and placing the interests of religion, yea, and those of social order, amongst us in jeopardy."

Such is the state of things which induced the Messrs, Allignol to come forward in defence of the sacred interests of their ministry, against a system which has its root entirely in the arbitrary legislation of the State in Church matters. Some of their statements are, it is true, denied by M. Boyer, in his short review of their work (No. 3, at the head of this article); but there is in M. Boyer's tone too much indignation at the evidently untoward disclosure of "the secrets of the prison-house," and too much indirectness and sophistry in the arguments by which he attempts a refutation, to allow us to attribute much weight to his denials. Had M. Boyer had any more solid grounds for controverting the facts stated by Messrs. Allignol, he need not have had recourse to the pitiful device of quoting certain passages in their book, (in which they found it expedient to speak in highly complimentary terms of the persons at present occupying the episcopate in France.) for the purpose of showing that the character given by themselves of the French bishops is wholly inconsistent with the statements made by them concerning the condition of the clergy Besides which, M. Boyer himself lets out a fact now and then, tending to confirm, in all its main points, the description given by Messrs. Allignol of the present state of the French clergy.

M. Boyer, let it be remembered, is directeur at the Séminaire of St. Sulpice, the principal college for the education of priests in France, which, though strictly speaking a diocesan institution, is looked up to as a model by the kindred institutions in other dioceses, and, by common consent, sets the standard of ecclesiastical education throughout France. Placed in this important official position, M. Boyer is naturally on the side of the bishops, with whom he shares that kind of favourable leaning towards the existing state of things, and that unwillingness to have abuses pointed out, which is common to all men placed in authority, and to none more so, than those whose authority is undue and irre-Yet, although differing from Messrs. Allignol as to the bondage in which the inferior clergy are held by their bishops, by virtue of the constitution imposed upon the Church by the State, M. Boyer complains no less than they do of the interference of the State in ecclesiastical matters, which he designates in the very title of his book by the term "heresy." The object for which, and the spirit in which, his "Defence of the Catholic Church against the constitutional heresy "is written, will be best understood from the following passage of his Preface:—

"The work which I herewith offer to the public, has, in default of any other merit, at all events that of being seasonable. It is (I beg pardon for the expression, which forms no part of my ordinary vocabulary, but flows in a manner spontaneously from my pen, so appropriate is it to the thought I wish to utter,) quite throbbing with present interest. Satan, who conducts the war which is at this moment carried on against Christianity, with that depth of malice noted by St. Paul, has mounted all his batteries against the doctrine which I am defending. He is well aware, that being once master of this advanced position of the city of God, he will be enabled to invade it with armed hand, and reign supreme within it; and upon this central point of his attack, therefore, all the power of defence, i. e. of Christian and Catholic controversy, must be brought to bear.

"The Church was reserved for this last trial, to see enemies, with the avowed object of destroying her, announce themselves as her protectors, as the guardians of her work; and, under this religious pretext, invade all the prerogatives of her Divine hierarchy, in order to turn them to account for her ruin and destruction. If victorious in this last conflict, the Church will be able to defy, with greater assurance than ever, the powers of hell to prevail against her; the marks of divinity with which she is irradiated, will shine with the more brilliant lustre; so as to be

³ M. Boyer's book consists of two parts, the history of "the Constitutional Heresy," and its refutation. The first part is subdivided into four sections, in the first of which he treats of Luther's reformation, and of the philosophy of the eighteenth century, which he traces to the reformation as its source, and to which he ascribes the encroachments of the civil power upon the Church in France, during the revolution and the reign of Bonaparte. The second section, entitled, "History of the Constitutional Heresy in England," contains a brief sketch of the English reformation under the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. The third section treats of the constitutional heresy in Russia, from Catharine to the Emperor Nicholas; and the fourth section, of the persecutions of the Roman Catholic Church in the Prussian states. Appended to this portion of the work, there are several historical documents relative to the position of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia. The second part of M. Boyer's work is mainly doctrinal, and defends the independence of the spiritual power in five separate sections, by arguments drawn from Scripture, from reason, from sound policy, from the tradition of the Church, and from the history of France since the revolution. In the fourth section we have a lengthy dissertation on the Romish hierarchy, in the usual strain. In the fifth the author particularly notices the civil constitution of the clergy enacted by the constituent assembly, the Concordate between the Pope and Bonaparte, certain occurrences during the Pope's stay in Paris in 1804, the parliamentary debates relative to the Church in the year 1826, and the speech made on that occasion in defence of the French clergy by the Bishop of Hermopolis. It is rather singular, that in point of composition the work of M. Boyer is greatly inferior not only to that of the Marquis de Regnon, but to that of Messrs. Allignoi, notwithstanding the supercilious manner in which he speaks of them in the pamphlet appended to his larger work. The train of his thoughts is remarkably abrupt, and his language uncouth, and deficient in clearness and precision; so much so, that through mere carelessness of style he seems occasionally to say the reverse of what he evidently intends.

mistaken by none but those who shall place a bandage over their

eves.

"Before, however, I begin my work, I may be permitted to give vent to a complaint which weighs heavily on my heart. Wherefore, should I, in a kingdom in which Catholicism is the religion of the majority of the sovereign people, be under the necessity of proving a doctrine which is the ground of all our doctrines, and without which the idea of the Catholic Church is impossible; of proving it in the form of a thesis, supported by all kinds of arguments drawn from the fountains of Divine knowledge?

"So recently as the year 1790, the error which I combat has been noted by the Holy See as a heresy, as a kind of analysis of all heresies; and that in one of the most solemn judgments inscribed on the records of the Catholic Church; its name 'the Constitutional Heresy' is, for every Catholic, like a mark of reprobation on the forehead. Bonaparte, the restorer of the Catholic worship in France, held the contrary doctrine; he solemnly proclaimed it at the moment when he complacently accepted the titles of 'the new Cyrus, the restorer of the temple of God.' Subsequently, he drew the sword against this same Church, the only power in Europe 'which then dared to carry itself as a sovereign and independent power. Yet even then he said not, 'The Catholic Church is not a sovereign power;' but he said, 'I am her protector; I must protect her against herself, when she is about to plunge into ruin.' And what has been his fate? He did not break that stone, but he was himself broken against it.

"The Bishops of several great kingdoms, in council assembled at Paris, addressed to him this firm and intrepid language:—'We are your subjects in the temporal order; but in the spiritual order, you are yourself the subject of that Church whose representatives we are. All power is given you to imprison us, and even to kill us; but if you propose to the Catholic Church, that she should abdicate that sovereignty over divine things, with which she has been invested by God Himself, we answer you in her name,—'Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's; and if we must choose between these two powers, judge yourself whether it be just and right to obey men rather than God.' I should like to have the time, the period, the moment named, when the supremacy of the Church in spiritual matters has not been acknowledged by a prince calling himself

Catholic.

"In 1826, a minister of the crown proclaimed this Catholic verity in the bosom of our parliaments; and the assembled legislators of our two chambers recognized it as the fundamental doctrine of the religion of the state. And yet who knows whether, in defending it, and endeavouring formally to prove it, I shall not be considered by many as an obscurant, as an enemy to progress. We old divines of ancient France

⁴ England, it appears, is as completely excluded from Europe in the geography of M. Boyer, as it is in his theology from the Catholic world.

do not understand a certain phraseology, which is unfortunately too familiar to our young France; our ears are wounded by it. The quod ubique, quod semper of St. Vincentius Lirinensis had hitherto been taken by us for a kind of motto of the Catholic Church; when, behold! it has become a crime for us to believe, that verities taught by the Son of God Himself, and borne out by antiquity and catholicity through no less than eighteen centuries, cannot vary with the months and years; and that there is more stability and consistency in God's word, than in the word of men. To the parties who stand at such an elevation of anti-catholic principles, I would say, -The same liberty of the press which permits you to blaspheme against God, authorizes me to defend his religion. This apology might suffice, but I shall draw one more direct and more irrefragable from the order established by law, and say, -I defend the Holy See. Our government entertains with that See such peaceable and friendly relations, and so openly professes to recognize, in the belief of the mother and mistress of all the Churches, its own religion and that of the French people, that a work undertaken for the defence of her faith cannot be displeasing to it."

The third witness whom we shall call, is a distinguished member of the laity of the Roman Catholic Church in France, the Marquis de Regnon. His "Appeal to the French Episcopate, with a view to a National Council⁵," has arisen more immediately out of the late discussions on the education question; but it turns chiefly on the general question of the interference of the State in the affairs of the Church, and calls in direct terms upon the French bishops to emancipate themselves from the bondage in which they are kept. His attachment to the Church in whose defence he

⁵ The following is a brief outline of M. de Regnon's argument. After the introduction, from which we are about to give extracts, follows a chapter in which he enumerates the different facts illustrative of the servitude of the French Church. He next compares the political constitutions of France and Belgium, with a view to show, that, instead of imitating the example of the archbishop of Mechlin, who was left alone to defend the rights of the Church at the time of the revolution in Belgium, the French episcopate took up a false position after the revolution of 1830, in consequence of which its interests and those of the Church at large have become divided. After this, he proceeds to examine the consequences of this state of things, and especially the state of impotence to which the French episcopate is reduced; and upon the ground of the charter, which guarantees universal religious liberty, he argues for the usefulness and practicability of a national council. Lastly, he throws out a variety of suggestions and proposals, with a view to facilitate the holding of such an assembly; and winds up by showing, that union between the Church and the State, constituted as the latter is in France since the revolution of 1830, is morally impossible, and that the Church must, therefore, fall back upon her internal resources to secure her integrity in the existing state of things. There is a copious appendix, which contains the French Charter of 1830, the Belgian Charter, parliamentary documents and newspaper discussions, chiefly on the question of the liberté d'enseignement, and a critical review of several pamphlets relative to the same subject. The whole work is placed by its noble author under the special patronage of the Virgin Mary, the patroness of France, "by whose mediation," he prays in the preface, that "God may sanctify it and render it fruitful."

writes, and to the supremacy of Rome, is apparent from the whole tenor and style of his book; and while he apologizes in his preface for the freedom of his statements, he observes, that the purity of his intentions cannot be doubted, seeing that the episcopate itself is the power to which he looks for a remedy against the unhappy condition of the Church. The following passages from the introduction will show the view he takes of that condition:—

"There is in the present state of society another far deeper and more fatal wound, than the exclusive domination of an irreligious and sceptical University, sustained by the political power. This wound, which it is sought to conceal, but which cannot be disguised, attacks the very core of the Church of France, and threatens to bring about her destruction far more speedily than the monopoly of the University will ever be able to effect it. The fact is, that the Church is no longer her own mistress; she has fallen under the bondage of the State; she is, like the University, a domain of the body politic. The State rules the University, or the University the State, no matter which. But the State rules the Church of France, and is not ruled by her, which alters the case. The State is thus at the head of these two hostile corporations. The State, carried away by the University, which has forced upon it its irreligious teaching as that which it ought to adopt, drags along the Church against her inclination, without suffering itself to be influenced by her. The servitude of the Church will be proved by this work; the fact will be evident to all who will give it an unprejudiced perusal. It will be demonstrated that the State power contemplates a monopoly of worship, similar to the monopoly of teaching which it has established."

After complaining of the neutrality of the bishops in the education question, and tracing it to the political vassalage into which they have fallen, M. de Regnon continues:—

"This is the proper way of stating at this time the question of the liberty of teaching, with a view to its solution. It merges in the question of the liberty of the Church. Those among us who are fathers, and who by their position are independent of the political power, must take this noble cause of the Church in hand, and maintain it by virtue of our rights as citizens. Our business alone it is to sustain an active conflict against the State and the University, on the ground of the constitutional charter; but before all things it is our duty to appeal to our bishops, with a view to make them abandon that system of neutrality, which runs counter to the nature of things; we must show them their present servitude, and point out to them that a council is the infallible means of reconstituting the Church in a state of efficiency, of honour and independence; so that she may again become the guardian of the families, the support of the weak, the arbitress of rights; and that, being free herself, she may, in that state of society in which we live, secure to all peace and true freedom.

"We shall, therefore, enter upon new questions, such as have not hitherto been treated of. We shall have to consider the episcopal body in itself, and to examine its present relations to the State and to the faithful. We shall find it standing between ourselves and the freedom which we strive to attain, between ourselves and the charter, which contains the liberty of the Church and of the families. Now in its present condition, it will present itself to us not as a support, not as an auxiliary of our wishes, but as an impediment, almost as an enemy to the liberties for which we are seeking. Our courage might well fail us at the idea of judging the heads of our Church; perhaps we ought to imitate those who have seen this state of things, and have shrunk from speaking of it. But as the acknowledged representative of all the fathers of France, we feel that we have, in regard of the religious part of the community, a great mission to fulfil. This then is the real position of the Catholic body in our land, that, as a matter of right, we have in our favour the charter, which recognizes explicitly the liberty of worship, and consequently, that of our Church, and implicitly the liberty of teaching, incompatible with the monopoly of the university; but that, as a matter of fact, we enjoy neither the entire liberty of our Church, nor any liberty in our families. both is the object of our struggle, and appears to be the common cause of the bishops and the fathers. Yet are the latter alone engaged in the They have to defend the joint cause of their Church and of their families, against the united power of the government and the university, while our bishops appear to disavow us by their neutrality, and by the fact of their voluntary presence in the camp which is opposed to us. This neutrality, this position of the episcopate, can be accounted for only by the supposition, that it has not considered the part which it is made to perform in the State. It has no suspicion, that it is made a tool of, for the purpose of enslaving the Church, and keeping the Catholic body in check, while the government and the university are concerting together the downfall of the Catholic religion."

At the close of the introduction, he thus sums up his complaint of the present condition of the Church:—

"We shall bring forward an overwhelming mass of proofs, to show to what extent the State and the university have already succeeded in dividing the Catholic party; how they have intruded themselves into the Church, separated the interests of the pastors from those of their flocks; how they smother the Church under a daily increasing weight of servitude; how they sever and isolate the different parts of the Church, in order to govern them more easily in separation; how especially the episcopal body is broken up, circumvented, turned to account, and invaded by them; so that for thirteen years past this body, respectable, and powerful as it is, has been unable to fulfil its duty, in saving religion and society. We shall show that the hardest bondage weighs down our Church; that a separation between the bishops and the faithful is at this time impending; that the State and the university have already obtained

all but the entire mastery over the heads of our Church, and, consequently, over her fate. After revealing the immensity of the existing danger, and the depth of the abyss over which we are suspended; after proving the frightful truth of the statement, that before the lapse of ten years, perhaps, the Catholic religion will have been conquered in France by the joint forces of the State and the university; after demonstrating that no time is to be lost in escaping from so horrible a position, and that powerful means must be resorted to for saving at once the Church of Jesus Christ, the Catholic parents, and the rights of the French nation; we shall point out the Council as the effectual remedy."

To these extracts, which are sufficient to show the particular point of view from which the different writers referred to have treated the question, we add the following general statement, as to the enslaved condition of the Gallican Church. M. Boyer, who refers to it in a strain of lively indignation, ascribes the origin of it to the dictatorial proceeding of Bonaparte, in appending to the Concordate which he had concluded with the pope, a series of Organic Articles, which subjected the Church to the dominion of the State, in a manner not only not sanctioned by the terms of the Concordate, but expressly, though in vain, disavowed by the pope after their publication:—

"Bonaparte," he says, "whose faith in the Gospel was at least doubtful, confesses with trembling, that Jesus, the Son of Mary, is that great King by whom alone kings reign, who alone can make thrones stable, and the laws respected. With his iron-arm and six hundred thousand men by his side, he acknowledges himself incapable of governing an atheist nation; and to serve his ambition and love of power, he adheres, in spite of the protests of his army, his chambers, and his state-councils, constituted by impiety, to the determination to re-open the temples of the Catholic Church; and he encourages the French people to replace their legitimate pastors in triumph in their sees.

"But he soon perceives that his Concordate carries him too far, that the supremacy of the pope, so formally recognized in it, takes from him the supremacy in matters of religion, and all the advantages which the civil power can derive from religion for political ends. The idea of a priesthood slavishly subject to his orders, after the fashion of the Russian clergy, appears to him most tempting; he endeavours, therefore, to take back again what he had conceded; and when the Concordate is solemnly published, the French clergy are astonished to find it altered by a body of so-called organic laws, which under the specious pretext of completing the Concordate, and giving it practical effect, pervert it, and alter its nature; so much so, that the kind-hearted and peaceful pope Pius VII., by whom it was signed, no longer recognizes in it his own work, and feels himself called upon to enter his protest, and to declare its articles infected with all the poison of the constitutional heresy; which important duty of the office of St. Peter being

performed, he remains silent, and the Catholic Church hears and understands him.

"Have we then arrived at the end of that order of things, when liberty of worship is inscribed on the first leaf of every charter, while the Catholic worship remains in a state of servitude, and this religion, in return for the many benefits which it has unceasingly bestowed upon the nations, is treated by them like a malefactor, who deserves for his misdeeds to be watched over by the law, and to be specially commended to the superintendence of the police. Have we, I say, arrived at the end of so deplorable a state of things?"

The answer which M. Boyer himself returns to this question, is, as might be expected, in the negative. In listening to his complaints of the enslavement of the Church by Bonaparte, it should, however, be borne in mind, that this mighty usurper was by no means the first ruler of France who deemed it expedient to curb with a strong hand the power of the Pope over the French clergy, and to assert the supremacy of the State in ecclesiastical matters. As early as 1438, the Pragmatic Sanction encroached very considerably upon what were considered the prerogatives of the visible head of the Church; and still more decisive was the assertion of the independence of the Gallican Church from the supremacy claimed by the Roman See, in the four articles of Both these enactments of the National Church of France continued in force down to the time of the revolution, and the consequent overthrow of the Church; notwithstanding the frequent remonstrances of the Roman Court, and the various attempts made to get them, if not repealed, at least modified, and practically suspended. The extent to which the royal authority superseded that claimed by the Pope, may be judged from the statement of Fenelon, that "practically the King, rather than the Pope, is the head of the Church in France. Liberties," he continues, "in regard to the Pope; servitude in regard to the King. The King's authority over the Church devolving upon lay judges. Laymen domineering over the Bishops!" And to the same effect the Church historian Fleury observes, that "it would be easy to write a treatise on the servitudes of the Gallican Church, as there have been treatises on her liberties; and proofs would not be wanting." In the face of such facts, it is scarcely fair to lay upon Bonaparte the charge of having deprived the Pope of what, in the Romish view of the question, is his legitimate authority over the Gallican Church. While he restored the public profession of the Roman Catholic faith in France, and reorganized the Church upon a plan adapted to the circumstances in which the French nation was then placed, he can hardly be said to have proceeded with less regard for the jurisdiction claimed by the

Pope, than was evinced before him by St. Louis, by Charles VII.,

and by Louis XIV.

There is more reason in the position taken up by M. de Regnon, who maintains that whatever might have been the claims which the temporal power had, to exercise control over the Church, while the faith of the Church was the religion of the State, those claims have become wholly inadmissible since the revolution of 1830; because the State then renounced all profession of any religion whatever, and contented itself to insure by the charter to all Frenchmen the free exercise of their religion. Accordingly, he considers the interference of the present government of France in the affairs of the Roman Catholic Church, as an unwarrantable usurpation, and as a violation of the terms of the compact entered into between the nation and the new dynasty.

On inquiring what are the specific grievances on which these general complaints of the enslaved and degraded condition of the Gallican Church are founded, we find the nomination of the Bishops by the State mentioned as one of the principal evils. This, however, is at all events no new grievance. As far back as the year 1516, the Concordate between Leo X. and Francis I. formally conceded to the kings of France the power of nominating the Bishops, which, as a matter of fact, they had previously exercised by way of royal recommendation. M. de Regnon acknowledges this fact, which, in his opinion, was at all times an encroachment upon the just rights of the Church; but he observes that the merits of the case are materially altered, since the State has cast off her alliance, and is ruled over by a government which no longer represents her laity, as it had done in former times.

"A power, which by the constitution is declared atheistical, has become the head of the Catholic Bishops: it has at this time the complete mastery over the episcopate, and over public instruction. Hence there exists no longer any charter, any religious liberty for the Catholics. The heads of the Church have no longer any power to assist her; they are in bondage to the despotic power of the Ruler of the State. It is he that appoints them, he that instals them after they have received the investiture which it is not yet considered safe to withdraw from the Sovereign Pontiff. He binds them to his person by a political oath, as formerly, when the Church and State were one. He converts them into special functionaries, bound to communicate directly and confidentially with himself. or with the Minister of worship. By this means, he puts them on a level, mingles, and confounds them with the other ministers of the different sorts of worship recognized by him, such as protestant pastors. rabbins, &c. He issues his orders to them, transmits to them ordinances, both general and special, for the regulation of Catholic worship.

No one can be made even a vicar-general, a canon, or a curé cantonnal⁶, but the head of the State, who is politically an atheist, must confirm him by an ordinance under his hand, imposes an oath upon him, and causes him to be regularly installed in his name; all which is done under title of the liberties of the Gallican Church, which have absorbed the liberties of the charter."

It could hardly be expected that, under such circumstances. the government would put in nomination for the vacant sees men of energetic character, and of decided Church principles. position of the political power being such as to render it necessary to conciliate, and, as far as possible, to please all parties, it follows as a necessary consequence, that the appointment of such men as the Church has most need of in the episcopal office, of zealous and consistent Churchmen, would be carefully avoided, and that such men only would be chosen, as would be likely to content themselves with a negative position, in which they can give the State no trouble. This inevitable consequence of entrusting the choice of Bishops to the hands of a political power, which has itself no definite religious principles, has not escaped the keen eye of M. de Regnon.

"The political power," he says, "has been careful to keep out men of energetic character, animated by religious enthusiasm; such as, for instance, the Bishop of Chartres; it has looked out the supplest characters of the day, in whom the pre-requisites of piety and meek virtues were to be met with. In one word, it has chosen for itself the class of men most likely to answer its own purposes, not such men as the Church, assailed as she is on all sides, might have required in such times as these; above all, it has chosen men who were not hostile to the university; when the Church would rather have had energetic defenders of the right of Christian instruction."

The result of the policy pursued by the government of 1830, in the nomination of Bishops, is thus described by the same author.

"We have an Episcopate, which within these thirteen years has been almost entirely renewed, and which, appointed under the rule of the

7 Of the fifteen archbishops of France, thirteen have been promoted by the present dynasty; eleven of them, and forty-seven out of the sixty-five bishops, owe to it their

elevation to the episcopate.

⁶ By this title are distinguished the incumbents of the principal parishes of each diocese, who alone hold their appointments in perpetuity. All the other parishes, including the whole of the rural districts, are called succursales, and are served by priests termed desservans, who, as well as the assistant ministers of the curés de canton, the vicaires or stipendiary curates, may be removed and transferred from parish to parish at any time by the bishop, under whose absolute control they are placed as a kind of ecclesiastic militia.

charter, constitutes the most formal denial of the charter; an Episcopate which appeals to the traditional relations which subsisted between the Church of France and the old Catholic State, and attempts to continue these relations with a State professing atheism; an Episcopate drawn on by a kind of necessity, along with the present government, openly to encompass the overthrow of the charter, and of the institutions which the nation holds dear; and, consequently, forced to deny, to its own hurt, the principles of liberty of worship and liberty of teaching."

The late movements of a large number of the French Bishops on the education question, seem to indicate that M. de Regnon somewhat overrated their obsequiousness to the government; at the same time, the manner in which their protests were received by the latter, plainly shows that a different course was expected of them. As regards the main point, the nomination of the Bishops of the Church by a political body, which, as such, professes to have no religion, it is of course not affected by the conduct which, at a moment of great public excitement, the Bishops for the time being may pursue, either for or against the interests of the Church; and it is impossible to withhold assent from the following observations of M. de Regnon:—

"What opinion can the people have of an Episcopate, appointed by the chief of a State which has no creed, and to which all religions do public homage, by receiving at its hands their chief teachers? How degrading does this servitude appear to us Catholics! What! the avowed enemies of our worship, the despisers of our faith, the partisans of the university, the ministers of a State which denies the divinity of our religion, undertake, out of pity for our too credulous faith in Jesus Christ, to choose Bishops for us; because, forsooth, our clergy would not be able to discern the suitable qualifications; because the Catholic Church cannot maintain herself without the temporal power, whatever that power may have become, even though it be atheistical, that is to say, worse than Mahometan. Is it possible to manifest greater contempt for the spouse of our Lord Jesus Christ?"

While M. de Regnon thus openly declares that the French bishops have, in consequence of their dependence on the State, forfeited the confidence of the laity, Messrs. Allignol give an equally unfavourable account of the effect which the false position wherein they are placed, has produced upon their ecclesiastic relations. They, however, trace the evil of which they complain, further back, to the new régime introduced at the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion in France by Bonaparte.

"However imperfectly acted upon, the Organic Articles have singularly diminished the relations of the French episcopate with the Holy See. Our bishops hardly ever address themselves to the Pope, except

to solicit canonical institution, to request dispensations or indulgences, or to write him letters of congratulation. We see no longer those intimate and incessant communications between the head and its members, which make the former the supreme directing power, produce an active superintendence over the faith and the conduct of the latter, and impart

to the whole body so much strength.

"It would be easy for us to show, that all the ties which ought to unite the members to the head, are either torn or loosened. Whence is this? does it arise from opposition to the Holy See? No one would dare even to think it; the Church of France is eminently Romish; no particular Church affords, in this respect, greater consolation to the sovereign pontiff; and her bishops are united, heart and soul, to the Vicar of Christ, no less, and perhaps more so, than the bishops of any other nation. Nothing, therefore, can stand in the way of their external union with him, but the position in which our Organic Articles have placed them.

"Rome being the centre of unity, the common bond of the whole episcopate, their isolation from the head must necessarily have produced the isolation of the members from one another. And what, in fact, do we behold? What are the external bonds which unite our prelates to one another? In vain should we look for them. There are no longer any general assemblies, any metropolitan councils, and consequently no longer any meetings, any intercourse, any agreement between them; they are not even acquainted with each other. A state visit now and then between neighbours, or a small reunion for the consecration of a newly-elected bishop, a few letters on current business, and occasionally a little intercourse on unimportant matters, or from mere civility,—such are, in reality, the only external bonds which

unite our bishops together.

"But while thus isolated from their head, and from one another, are our prelates at least in union with their own clergy? Alas! we cannot on this subject venture to speak our whole mind; suffice it to say, that the Organic Articles, by leaving it to the discretion of the bishops whether they will consult their canons on the current business of the diocese, which by constant custom they were formerly bound to do, have snapped asunder the principal link which connected the bishop with the chapter, and have altogether annihilated the influence of the latter; that the suppression of the diocesan synods, and of the pastoral visitations in the rural districts, has deprived the bishop of the two principal means which he had for being acquainted with his priests, employing them according to their merit, and putting himself with them upon that footing of pastoral intercourse, which alone can maintain union, agreement, and co-operation; that the newly-created intermediate authority of the curés de canton must have a constant tendency to prevent communication between the bishop and the diocesan clergy, and must ultimately isolate them completely from one another; that the arbitrary power of judging and punishing priests, and recalling and transferring those called desservans, must have changed the feelings of love, confidence, and frankness, into feelings of mistrust, of fear, and of reserve. Already are these sad effects but too perceptible every where. The first result, therefore, of the new régime, in regard to the episcopate, has been to isolate the bishops from their head, from one another, and from the diocesan clergy."

The former part of this statement, in reference to the interruption of free communication between the French bishops and the Pope, M. Boyer denies; asserting, on the contrary, that "the bishops write openly to the Pope, and receive his answers by the post." In a matter of this description, we cannot take upon ourselves to decide between the obviously superior information of the directeur at the Séminaire of Paris, and the apparently greater candour of the two country pastors; the two first paragraphs of the Articles Organiques 8 do certainly not favour the idea that the communication between the French bishops and the Pope is free and unrestricted. But whatever liberty of intercourse with the Pope might be allowed to the French episcopate by the connivance of government, it is evident that the statement of Messrs. Allignol, respecting their intercourse with each other. is perfectly correct, being confirmed, in plain terms, by M. Boyer himself. After stating, that in allowing the bishops freely to communicate with the Pope, the French government sets to other states an example worthy of imitation, he continues:—

"There might be, I think, more consistency and harmony in our diocesan administration, if our prelates were at liberty to meet together with a view to agree upon an uniform system of discipline, after regulating among themselves the order and conduct of such assemblies. The intolerance of our police in this respect produces a disagreeable contrast between our charters and our laws on individual liberty on one hand, and that pagan toleration on the other hand, which did not even fail during those ages of bloody memory, which we term the era of the martyrs."

As regards the arbitrary power of the bishops over the inferior clergy, alluded to in the last part of the above extract from the work of Messrs. Allignol, it is a subject of great moment. There are in the eighty dioceses of France, 3272 curés de canton, or

⁸ They run as follows :-

[&]quot;Art. 1. No bull, brief, rescript, decree, mandate, provision [i.e. letter of appointment], or signature intended to serve as a provision, nor any other dispatch of the Court of Rome, even though concerning private individuals only, can be received, published, printed, or in any other way executed, without the authority of government being first obtained."

[&]quot;Art. 2. No individual, calling himself nuncio, legate, vicar, or commissary apostolic, or making use of any other denomination, can, without obtaining the like authority, exercise either upon French ground, or elsewhere, any function relative to the affairs of the Gallican Church."

perpetual incumbents, and more than 34,000 vicaires, or assistant curates, and desservans, or district curates. In consequence of the abolition of the ecclesiastical courts in France, all these are, strictly speaking, dependent upon the personal and arbitrary jurisdiction of the bishop; but the curés de canton, who are appointed with the concurrence of the State, enjoy a certain kind of protection, though, in an ecclesiastical point of view, a very questionable one; inasmuch as the bishop can only suspend them from the exercise of their functions, but cannot deprive or remove them without the consent of the government; failing which, they continue to draw their income, and the bishop is left to provide, as best he can, for the performance of their duties. No such check existing in the case of the vicaires and the desservans, these are entirely at the mercy of their diocesan, in a position of abject dependence, which forms the theme of repeated and indignant complaints on the part of Messrs. Allignol.

"Before the year 1802, the Church court was in every diocese the special tribunal for adjudicating in the first instance ecclesiastical causes, with all the formalities of contentious jurisdiction. You are surprised to see nothing of the kind now; to find the person and honour of the priests thrown upon the mercy not only of the bishops, but of the lowest of his vicars general, who has power to judge and to punish them, without hearing them, or observing, in regard to them, any canonical form. This causes you as much regret as surprise; you have only to go on reading the Organic Articles, and, if your regret remains, your surprise at least will cease. For, in the first place, we read, Art. 11, 'The bishops will be allowed to establish in their dioceses cathedral chapters and seminaries. All other ecclesiastical appointments are suppressed.'

"Now the special tribunals for purely clerical causes, and in particular the Church courts, are ecclesiastical establishments. They continue, therefore, to be effectually and duly suppressed; and, consequently, there is no longer any special tribunal for the trial of priests in the first instance; their persons and their honour are unprotected, and left, both as a matter of fact, and by the operation of the new law, at the mercy of all the caprices of arbitrary will and good pleasure. But even if it were possible to erect special tribunals, and to re-establish the Church courts, what would be the use of them, considering the

power given to the bishop under the new régime?"

"Art. 31. says:—'The desservans are subject to the bishop's approbation and recall.' Now the recall of a priest of itself involves all the canonical penalties; and, moreover, it involves at this time the

⁹ Of these, six thousand only are, properly speaking, assistant curates; nearly 28,000 are the regularly officiating ministers of succursales, or country and district churches, occupying stations which before the new régime were, and unquestionably ought to be, perpetual incumbencies.

loss of all claim to the official salary, that is to one's subsistence; so that the bishop, yea, the least of his vicars general, possesses over all the *desservans*, *i.e.* over almost the entire body of parochial clergy, an arbitrary power, by virtue of which he can, if it pleases him, reduce them to starvation.

"In ecclesiastical causes, there had always been a right of appeal from an inferior to a superior tribunal. Priests always had an appeal from the sentence of the bishop or his official to the metropolitan, and from him to the sovereign pontiff. This is no longer the case; all ecclesiastical appeals are abolished. Not only does the bishop judge and punish arbitrarily, but he concludes every thing in the last instance, without preliminaries and without canonical forms, without control, and without advice. So have the Organic Articles decreed it; but yet they have condescended to establish a kind of appeal in the place of all Church

appeals; but what appeal? Read again,

"Art. 6. 'Recourse may be had to the Council of State, in all cases of abuse, on the part of superiors and of other ecclesiastical persons.' This is the only redress open at present to ecclesiastics. Henceforward, then, even in purely clerical causes, priests and bishops will no longer be judged in the last instance by the metropolitan, the provincial council, or the sovereign pontiff, nor by any other person of their own order; but simply by laymen, barristers, medical and military men, and financiers, who, there can be no doubt, in order worthily to exercise the ecclesiastical office committed to them, will not fail to read up their theology, and to familiarize themselves with the canons of the Church."

The practical working of this system is, according to the statement of Messrs. Allignol, most deplorable.

"Another pernicious effect of this arbitrary course of proceeding is, that it opens the door to all kinds of secret accusations and calumnies. Indeed, are they not directly encouraged? Having an opportunity of denouncing and slandering without incurring the slightest risk, is it not evident that the evil-disposed, the enemies of the desservans (and of these they have enough, God knows!) will all seize eagerly upon this sure and easy method of ruining them in the opinion of their superiors, and blackening their character in public estimation? Accordingly, we are told, secret accusations have in all the dioceses become beyond all measure frequent; in some of them all the priests have been denounced; the ecclesiastical authorities know not what to think or what to do; and the very excess of the evil promises to become its remedy."

We cannot leave this part of our subject, without extracting the following summary of the account which our author gives of the position of the country pastor in France, under the existing system of Church government:—

"Surrounded by every kind of obstacles, he is made dependent upon all around him; a perfect slave, in a state of servitude such as has never

been witnessed before. Servitude, first, in reference to his bishop; his whole being rests on the will and good pleasure of the prelate; his reputation, his honour, his position in society, his very existence, all depends on him. One word from the bishop's mouth, two lines from his pen, suffice to ruin and disgrace the poor desservant for ever, without leaving him any means of preventing or repairing so great a misfortune. If, at least, he so depended on the bishop alone, and personally, the exalted dignity, the sublime character of the episcopate on the one hand, and the accustomed respect and habitual submission on the other, might render such a servitude in some sort tolerable; but it exists to the same extent in reference to all the vicars general; and here there is no palliation, it appears in its intolerable reality. Where was the like ever seen? The desservant is not even master of his own mind. Let him carefully beware, lest he have a sentiment or an opinion of his own: lest he think differently from his masters; he would be marked for evil, and in due time remembered. He must cease to be himself, he must. so to speak, renounce his personality. Accordingly, you would now look in vain in our country parishes for those bold outlines of character, and that noble originality, which are capable of thought, and of frank expression, capable of repelling error, from whatever quarter it may You will find there only minds of no particular shade, always on their guard, with a view to correspond with the character impressed upon You would think that they were all cast in the same mould, and that one single soul is animating a thousand bodies.

"Servitude, secondly, in reference to the curé de canton. Placed under his superintendence and direction, degraded to the position of his vice-gerent and substitute, liable on any day to have his character blackened by his reports in the eyes of his superiors; he feels that his reputation, his honour, his state, his place, and even his very existence, are dependent likewise upon this secondary authority. He must, therefore, if he means to maintain his ground, crouch low before it, and bend his neck igno-

miniously under the voke.

"Servitude, thirdly, in reference to the maire. Let the desservant but once incur the displeasure of the rural magistrate, let the least collision occur between them, let there be but incompatibility of temper, and the maire will easily instil his antipathy into the municipal council under his influence. Thereupon, countless requisitions for a change, and, if necessary, false reports, secret denunciations, calumnious accusations, will be forwarded to the bishop. What, meanwhile, can the poor desservant do? May he not protest and justify himself? Let him beware not to attempt it; without saying a word he must empty the cup to the very dregs; because for all he might say, he would no less be violently torn away from his post, and his position would be all the worse. He would be considered a troublesome character, and this bad name would follow him from place to place.

"Servitude, fourthly, in reference to the *yeomanry*. Woe be to him, if he treats these new village squires as he does the rest of the flock. They require to be treated with singular regard, with distinction and

deference, to be looked up to by him respectfully on all occasions. If he fails in this, he will make as many enemies as there are small yeomen in the parish. He will find himself engaged in an unequal and dangerous struggle with them, which will always end in his being transferred to another parish, or deprived altogether. Happy for him, if at least his reputation is not attacked; if it were, it would infallibly be ruined.

"Who would think it possible? Servitude, fifthly, in reference to the schoolmaster. Being hardly placed on a level with him, according to the new régime, the rural pastor has sunk below him, in consequence of the new law on primary instruction, which, by making the office of the schoolmaster perpetual, has added to his importance, increased his audacity, and inflated his already proverbial presumption. He soars proudly above the desservant, against whom, if he does not happen to please him, he excites, on the strength of his own position, all sorts of mischief; for, from the very nature of things, he is thoroughly convinced that the issue of the conflict will always be in his favour, and that the removable curate is the party to yield, and to leave the place.

"Servitude, lastly, in reference to all his parishioners. They have but too readily learned how to get rid of a pastor whom they do not like. The new régime opens the door to secret denunciations on their part; they are perfectly aware that calumny always leaves unpleasant impressions on the mind, and that by multiplying slander, they will certainly, and without any risk to themselves, succeed in ruining the desservant in the opinion of his superiors, and obtaining either his removal or his deprivation. In order to accelerate his departure, they will, if necessary, add contradiction, annoyance, chicanery, and persecution, until, his patience being exhausted, he is forced to seek of his own accord for greater peace and tranquillity elsewhere. If his departure should be delayed beyond their wishes, gross insults, ill-treatment, nay, even brutal force, will be applied. This last method has within a few years been frightfully on the increase under our own eyes; within a radius of less than five leagues, thirteen desservans have been thrust from their parishes with the butt-end of the gun. Had they alienated the minds of all their parishioners, or even of the great majority of them? By no means. They had all but a few enemies; but a small number is, and always will be, sufficiently strong against a pastor who is despoiled of all his rights, and given up naked and defenceless to the assaults of any one who desires to hurt him or drive him away. But what desservant can be without enemies, if he desires to fulfil his pastoral duties? If he would enjoy peace, the country pastor has, therefore, no other alternative, than meanly to please everybody, to leave all the wicked to go on in the way of perdition, and to wrap himself in the cloak of a complete nullity; but where is the honourable man, where the priest of Jesus Christ, that can make up his mind to bear the weight of so disgraceful an existence?"

The effects of this systematic degradation upon the minds of the

ministers, and the prospects of the Gallican Church, are thus described:—

"Already a great number of them [the desservans, or country pastors], finding themselves sent to and fro, and kicked about by the authorities; weary of having an arbitrary removal or deprivation suspended over their heads; indignant at the suspicions, denunciations, and calumnies to which they are subjected; repulsed by the annoying and disgusting treatment which they experience every where in the exercise of their holy ministry; discouraged by the scorn, the contempt, the chicanery, the insults, and persecutions to which they are exposed on every side; unable to endure the misery and the disgrace of such a position;—are taking their measures, so as to be enabled to dispense with their functions, and to shake off a yoke which has become intolerable. The result will be one more wound inflicted upon the Church, in addition to so many wounds, and perhaps the most dangerous of them all; for, ultimately, men will be discouraged from entering her ministry 1."

While the position of the great body of the inferior Clergy in France is thus described as wretched and uninviting in the extreme, it does not appear, that the road which leads to that position is free from the most serious objections. In order to gain admission into the ministry, a person must (under ordinary circumstances) have been educated in an ecclesiastical seminary from the early age of ten or twelve years; an age at which it is impossible to determine the future career of life, especially if it involve, as in the case of the Romish priesthood, sacrifices and self-denials of no ordinary kind. It is, therefore, but reasonable to suppose, that among those whose early education has been conducted with a view to their probable entrance into the ministry, many will be found who, feeling no inward call to devote themselves to that holy office, would prefer, and ought to be left free, to enter into any other profession; and for this contingency, provision ought to be made in the regulations of the inferior clerical seminaries. But from such an arrangement the Church is debarred by the present state of the law in France. The number of seminaries, as well as the number of pupils to be received into each seminary, is circumscribed, and that within such narrow limits, as to be scarcely sufficient to afford an adequate supply of ministers, if all the pupils were ultimately to devote themselves to the clerical office; and those who have been educated in them, are, in the event of their preferring a secular profession, placed at such a disadvantage, as to render it, on the one hand, most hazardous to

¹ This view of the matter is confirmed by a statement of M. de Regnon, according to which there are from eight to ten thousand *succursales*, or rural and district churches, without a clergyman, owing to the insufficient number of men educated for the priesthood.

place a child in one of the inferior clerical seminaries; and, on the other hand, to make it highly probable that many individuals will, with no taste or vocation for the ministerial office, intrude into it from the mere pressure of necessity. The operation of this system will be best understood from the following remarks of M. de Regnon:—

"The university declares that a young man who has completed his course of rhetoric and philosophy in a petit séminaire, (the inferior elerical seminary,) cannot obtain the necessary certificate of study, in order to be admitted to the examination for the bachelor's degree; the university refusing such a certificate, because it has not educated him; and those who have educated him, not being permitted to give the certificate, because they are not under the jurisdiction of the university.

"But as the bachelor's degree has been made an indispensable condition of access to any of the liberal professions, a monstrous result ensues; which is this, that if a young man, after a conscientious examination of his proper vocation, and under the enlightened advice of his spiritual guides, discovers that he has no call to the priesthood, he finds himself in the dilemma of having either to renounce every liberal profession, or else to recommence his course of rhetoric and philosophy in

an university college.

"No matter, though he have gone through his studies with the greatest success, though he have even finished his course of theology, and, from conscientious motives, delayed to decide upon his vocation until the age fixed for this decision by the civil law, i. e. beyond the age of twenty-one, still he must, whatever be his age or his proficiency, go back for two or three years to the benches of such colleges as the Collège Bourbon or the Collège Louis-le-Grand."

As it is not to be expected that under such discouragements as these, parents of the higher, or even the middling classes, will often venture upon the hazardous experiment of entrusting their children to a clerical seminary, the consequence is, that the supply of clergy in France is drawn chiefly from the lowest ranks of society; a circumstance which is of itself calculated to depress the clerical office in public estimation. How far the character of the instruction imparted in the seminaries may contribute to produce the last-named result, is another question, and one on which we have reason to know that Messrs. Allignol are not far from the truth in the following statement:—

"The wants of the Church not being the same as formerly, the system of ecclesiastical instruction which formerly prevailed, can no longer be adequate, and ought to have been greatly modified immediately on the re-establishment of ecclesiastical colleges. Unfortunately, this was not done. Clerical instruction was taken up again at the very same point at which it stood sixty years ago, with the same ideas, the same books, the same methods, without any change or improvement. From

that time to this, most of our seminaries have either remained completely stationary, or, if any progress has been made in the plan of clerical instruction, it has been but trifling; and the young Levites educated in them are, on their entrance into the world, as men coming from another age or a foreign land; they are equally astounded to find that the knowledge which they have acquired, is altogether useless, and that they are, on the contrary, destitute of the most important and even necessary information. By the superior education of all the other liberal professions, they find themselves every where thrown into the shade, greatly inferior to educated men of the world. Hence it is that the pastoral office is so little esteemed, so despised, and so unsuccessful."

In making the foregoing extracts, in illustration of the position in which the Gallican Church is placed at this time, we have confined ourselves to those points which bear most vitally upon her constitution and efficiency, viz. the education, the appointment, and the government of her ministers. There are many collateral points which we cannot notice within the limits of this article; one of them, however, bearing upon a subject which has given rise to so much just complaint among ourselves, we cannot pass over altogether in silence; viz. the question of the performance of the offices of the Church, at the burial of notorious ill-livers or un-Speaking of the outcry raised against the bishop of Clermont, who refused the offices of the Church at the burial of M. de Montlosier, on account of the pantheistical opinions which he had expressed in his writings, and which upon his death-bed he had refused to retract, M. Boyer thus pleads the cause of the Church against the interference of the State with matters of religion :--

"The ministers of the Catholic faith approach his death-bed and say: 'You are not a Christian; you must retract all these impious and anti-Christian propositions, which rank you among Deists, or rather Atheists; else we declare to you that the Catholic Church will deprive you of the honour of sepulture, and of participation in the benefits of her communion.' Thereupon certain titled individuals are pleased to make a great noise, to raise a cry of oppression, and to have recourse to the famous appel comme d' abus before the Council of State. And what is the upshot of this mighty business? You shall hear. Of course a bishop, a Catholic priest is not called to account for his doctrines, and his religious belief; upon all these points the charter and the liberty of worship cover him with their ægis; but the moment that the outward profession of them is accompanied by the defamation of individuals, and the interruption of public order, the government has a right to interfere, and the charge of abuse of ecclesiastical power is proved. The fact is, that by dint of these big words, the liberty of worship vanishes in smoke. The immense distance between the despotism and tyranny of the ancient parliaments in matters of religion, and the charter of 1830 with its enactments respecting liberty of worship, is lost sight of; it is got over by mere words. A crowd of miscreants, of carbonari, of implacable enemies of the Catholic religion, have only to cause a noise and a scandal, to get up a riot, and to raise a cry of defamation; and behold, the charter is suspended, the statue of liberty wrapped in a veil, and the ministers of the Catholic faith have no other alternative left them, but either to betray their conscience by an evident inconsistency between the principles of their belief, and the outward acts of their ministry, or else to incur the censure of the courts of justice."

Nothing, however, can place the extent to which the State interference with the internal government of the Gallican Church is carried, in a clearer light, than the official relation in which the Bishops find themselves with the Minister of public worship:—

"It has been noticed," says M. de Regnon, "that the relations of the Episcopate with the State are at this time, more than ever, secret, and carefully withdrawn from the knowledge of all the Catholics. Considerable curiosity is, however, excited, as to these singularly confidential relations between the ministers of the living God, and the Minister of political atheism, between the high priest of the Christian covenant, and the man of political power, who despises all religions in the name of the constitution, or of modern philosophy; and by some indirect means, or by some breach of confidence, it is ascertained, that in all these confidential relations, the atheistical chief commands the religious chief; prescribes to him inaction and silence; threatens the bishop to prosecute him before the Council of State, if he should venture to acquaint the faithful with the pernicious state of public education; prohibits him from divulging his secret devices against the Church, if he should have discovered them; and insists on his maintaining at least a neutral position in regard to that monopoly of which the families complain."

It may readily be supposed that the Minister of worship is no favourite with M. de Regnon: the following sketch which he gives of that demi-political, demi-ecclesiastic functionary, is rather entertaining.

"A Minister of worship is, de jure and de facto, member of all communions at once. He attends mass publicly some Easter-day, in order to do homage to the Catholic faith; on some other day he repairs to the preaching-house, with a view to quiet the Protestants, and to the synagogue, that the Jews may not lose sight of him; he is the man of all religions, admitted as chief and pivot into all communions whatsoever. He is the centre of all spiritual life, the cardinal point to which all religious truths converge, the incomprehensible knot which binds truth and all kinds of error together, the representative of every form of God upon earth. He is, like the fabled god, a man of many countenances, differing from himself under a thousand different aspects. He speaks all sorts of incoherent and mystical languages

wonderfully well. He possesses, moreover, a treasury of acts of grace and protection, from which he makes impartial distribution to all religions."

The official belief of this personage, known in France under the name *idées religieuses*, and not altogether unknown among ourselves, under the ominous title "general religion," is thus exposed to the contempt it deserves:—

"Observe, that the object avowed by this intruded Minister, whom the Charter, our liberties, religion, and common sense alike proscribe from our constitutional system, is to overthrow the catholic doctrines. by melting them down with those of other communions, and fusing them all together, so as to produce an amalgam, in which all creeds and symbols mixed up in one mass, are combined or neutralized in the crucible of the ministerial laboratory; he wants to set up another and a political symbol, which is to be exempt from all doctrinal intolerance, and which is to bear the name of 'idées religieuses.' This term. newly invented by the Minister of all kinds of worship, includes all, answers to all, and favours the execution of his designs against the Church. Idées religieuses is a term which may be applied to the Catholic faith; it falls in likewise with the consciences of Protestants; it adapts itself to any kind of religion whatever, even though it were as vague as the Deism or Pantheism of the heads of the university. The idées religieuses are a department of public administration in a State which, being hard-pressed by the logical consequences of the principle of liberty of worship, is unwilling to abandon the government of religious matters. The Minister has thus formed a symbol for himself, inoffensive, as he supposes, to the different communions, which, according to his notion, ought to see in it a sort of respectful recognition of their particular doctrines. Thus we find the university teaching that absolute morality has a fated existence in an order of things which is superior to all religious doctrines; that this high morality, properly so called, is not derived from any particular doctrine or religion, and that it may be conceived as superior to all religious and philosophic speculations. Every religion which holds peculiar and distinctive doctrines, has, according to this notion, drawn upon the common source of high morality, with a view to strengthen and maintain its doctrines. view of an abstract morality, independent of all religions, is generally adopted in the university. It is needless to say, that it altogether overthrows Christianity, because the latter cannot admit such a morality as this, pushed back into the depths of an absurd fatalism, and because it can see no reason for any duty except in those mysterious doctrines which God has revealed to man in his Church from the creation of the world. Be this as it may, as morality has been separated, and, as it were, extracted from all religions, so is it now intended to go somewhat further, and to separate and extract from all the Christian and anti-Christian creeds a certain residue, which it is thought all religions have in common. The operators are, however, very guarded, as to defining

this common residue of all religions; for they feel that it might turn out to be nothing more than pure Deism: all is left indistinct and obscure! And this quintessence of religion, this alleged common residue of all religions, is termed idées religieuses. The Minister of worship takes under his administration only these idées religieuses, and leaves to the different communions the liberty of holding their various distinctive doctrines."

The idea of recognizing this deistical supervision of the Church, is indignantly repudiated, on the part of the Gallicans, by M. de Regnon.

"But are we—a Catholic people, servants of the living God, to whom are committed his Word and the Catholic traditions of the whole world, are we to approach God no longer, except through a Minister who seeks to realize in his administration that Pantheism which, as a philosophical speculation, has already found its way into the teaching of his university? Do we not perceive that the door is thus thrown open to every kind of error, however fatal to religion? Are we not surrendering our altars to Baal, by allowing this Minister of an atheistical power, to intrude into the innermost sanctuary of our temples, in order to choose our high-priests for us, to govern our worship, to reform our faith, and to corrupt our families by the university instruction. the Charter and the laws give us a right to drive him, in his official capacity as Minister of worship, out of our sanctuary, shall we permit him to discipline us into some vague notion of idées religieuses, which are nothing else than a denial of all doctrine? Shall we suffer him to extinguish the sacred flame of the Catholic faith in our fair fatherland? May our cries serve at least to wake up the watchmen of the temple, and to make them aware, how the enemy has already taken possession of the principal entrance, and to what bondage we are already reduced."

Before we bring our article to a close, it will be far from uninteresting to turn for a few moments to the picture which our author gives of the internal condition of the Gallican Church. We are accustomed to hear so much of the unity of the Roman Catholic Church, that we are surprised to meet with repeated complaints of the divisions and the party spirit prevalent among the Gallican clergy. This will, probably, already have struck our readers in perusing some of the foregoing extracts; we subjoin one or two more in illustration of this important feature of the case. Thus, for instance, Messrs. Allignol, in pursuing the consequence of the precarious position in which by far the greatest portion of the inferior clergy of France are placed by the new legislation forced upon the Church by the State, observe:

"This wretched state of things has produced another most deplorable result. Among the clergy of every diocese two opposite parties have been formed, who may, like the political parties, be designated as the

ministerial party and the opposition. Those who are supposed to adhere to the former, are treated by their opponents as spies, informers, and favourites of the powers that be; those of the other party, on the contrary, are taxed with systematic opposition, with insubordination, and almost with schism. The superiors themselves nourish this fatal division, unintentionally no doubt; for it is a consequence necessarily resulting from their position."

While there is thus a spirit of division and mistrust abroad among the lower clergy, those in higher stations, and especially the bishops, are, if we may believe the statement of M. de Regnon, infected with a spirit of timidity and time-serving.

"Every thing has a tendency to lower itself beneath the despotism of the State, even the episcopal character itself. Instead of energy, nothing is now heard of but prudence. In the name of prudence, that zeal which is too apt to cool, is condemned; all power seems to be lost, except against religion, simply because religion is attacked by the powerful, and nothing is to be gained by defending it. The champions which now and then start up in its defence, are immolated to the wrath of the government; and if a respectable author publishes a pamphlet containing thousands of facts which expose the irreligious character of the University, if he has thereby rendered an essential service to the public, some energetic censure from a consecrated hand, will, to the great astonishment of all religious persons, light upon him, for having spoken out too freely; for not having spared the enemies of the Church; for not having shown any of that political charity which, out of tenderness for the unjust and the mighty who oppress him, always supposes the complainant to be in the wrong. Is this, then, what the people have to expect of the new political episcopate, which the spirit of monopoly has set up amongst us? Is this the support due to the champions of religion? Can there be any sight more deplorable, than to see a bishop, with his own hands, deliver up the most ardent and useful champions of the cause of religion into the hands of impiety, because it is powerful? Such is the strength of an episcopate appointed by an atheist power!"

Against this policy of the Bishops and their adherents, whom M. de Regnon designates by the expressive appellation, 'le parti dynastique,' an increasing party appears to be forming among the lower clergy of all ranks.

"We know," says the same author, "and why should we disguise it, since our only object is to enlighten our chiefs as to what is passing around them,—we know, that a great number of venerable priests no longer conceal their fears as to the course pursued by the Episcopate. They are heard to say, 'Whither are we going? whither are we being led? what are our chiefs doing amidst the many dangers by which we are surrounded? Are the shepherds of the flock asleep?' This reaction from below, which is now taking place in the Church, is sufficiently justified, in the eyes of all reasonable men, by the common interest which

God has given to all the parts of the body the Church, with a view to rekindle life in those members, in whom it seems to be flagging."

The existence of this party, and the reaction which it produces against the Episcopate, are recognized even by M. Boyer, who is slow to admit faults existing within the Church, and who, true to his character as the apologist of the Bishops, stigmatises it as a "presbyterian" tendency. He complains that the great malady of the age has found its way into the very bosom of the Church.

"I should have dwelt less on this subject (canonical submission to the episcopal authority), but that I see some right-minded men alarmed at some symptoms of presbyterianism, which manifest themselves in different places. And, truly, it wants but this last misfortune, to overwhelm the Church, and to complete her desolation. Is this the moment for priests to raise the standard of disunion, when, by a kind of signal of distress, the Church invites them to close their ranks, to march on, united as one man, under the guidance of their leaders, in order to fight, pro aris et focis, against enemies whose aim is directed against her very existence, against her temples and her altars?"

And what then are, our readers may ask, the prospects of the Gallican Church, under such circumstances? Our authors will supply an answer to this question also.

"In consequence of this position," say Messrs. Allignol, "in which the new régime has placed the Clergy, the very existence of the Catholic faith in France is at this time at the mercy of any of those revolutions which are so common in our age; it may depend upon a simple change of government; nay, more, it may depend upon the caprice of a single individual.

"Supposing, for instance, that the spirit which presides over a given order of things, should demand a change of religion, a separation from Rome, and the elevation of the standard of schism; the legalization of the impieties of Châtel, or the general adoption of the Calvinistic heresy; that the interest of this or that prince should require such a change, what would there be to prevent it? whence is an invincible obstacle, an insuperable opposition to arise?"

Of course there may be, and, to our mind, there are, many other and most weighty causes, to account for this tottering condition of "the Catholic faith" in France. We only adduce the statement of our authors in evidence of the fact, that the Gallican Church is in this precarious state; and that, in the view of her members, the root of the evil is to be traced to the political bondage in which she finds herself. We have already seen that the same discouraging view of her condition and prospects is entertained by M. de Regnon, who likewise attributes it to the interference of the State in matters of religion.

"State intervention," he says, "is the canker which undermines the Church's existence, the slow poison which infuses death into her veins. Let it be observed, that there are only two ways of making war upon the Church among the people. Either she is assailed by open force, by bloody persecution; and in that case God visibly assists her. In dying for his faith, the Christian commits it to God, who undertakes its defence; and then the blood of martyrs becomes the seed of the Church. Or, she is destroyed slowly, by a secret, internal power of darkness; that is, by the fatal intervention of an hostile power; and in that case God abandons her to her miserable fate. It was hers to be free, and she would not. God does not save any particular Church which will not embrace the means of safety offered her. She has, therefore, only herself to blame for the bondage which she would not avoid, and for the shame which she made no effort to avert."

We shall close our extracts by the following apostrophe of M. Boyer to the political powers, who, having undertaken to be protectors of the Church, have become her oppressors. Read, as it may be read, without reference to the papal supremacy, as a simple exposition of the language which an oppressed Church may hold towards a State who has become unfaithful to the terms of the original covenant between Church and State, the remarks of the author have a more than local application and interest.

"The protection," says M. Bover, addressing the State in the name of the Church, "which you afford me is an honour done to me; but it is not necessary to my existence; it is more useful to yourself than profitable for me; it bears you a harvest of peace and happiness more conducive to the prosperity of your dominions, than all your assistance is to the advancement of my kingdom, which is Christ's. You punish crimes when they outwardly appear; I stop them at the fountainhead. You repress rebellion when it breaks out sword in hand in the streets and squares; I prevent it in the heart, in that inmost seat of thought where conspiracies are plotted. The throne which I have reared for you in the sanctuary of conscience by the side of God's throne, is much more stable than that whereon birth or military conquest have placed you; and you are blind, indeed, if you do not perceive that my faith is a surer defence to you in the hearts of men than all your police-force and your executioners. Know, that if I could be born, and grow and strengthen in spite of you, I shall be able to maintain and preserve myself without you. Where were you, when I was striking my roots far into the depth of the earth, and spreading out my branches widely as the palm-tree? There was a time when you posted decrees of proscription against me on the walls of your cities and the pillars of your markets: at that very time did I extend myself from place to place, I entered into your palaces, your senate chambers, I filled all your houses, and caused your temples to stand deserted. If you think of enslaving me, of lording it over me in that moral order of things which is the true kingdom of God; if you mean to make of me a blind tool for your political schemes, I retire, I depart from your dominions. Confusion and anarchy will enter in after I have left, and discord and warfare will too surely avenge your haughty disdain of me, and your unjust proceedings."

We have purposely abstained, as much as possible, from intermingling our own views with the evidence which we have thus adduced from unimpeachable witnesses put forth by the Gallican Church herself. The facts, and the reasonings of the relators upon them, speak for themselves. Many of their remarks will find an application nearer home, which we leave our readers to discover. The sum of their testimony gives but a melancholy idea of the prospects of Christianity in that country, in which the immense majority of the nation belongs, nominally at least, to their communion². We have transferred on English canvass this picture of the condition of our grievously depressed, and no less grievously erring Gallican sister; not in a spirit of rejoicing at her affliction, nor in a spirit of boastfulness on account of the far better position in which, as the most prejudiced must allow, our Church finds herself; but with a view to establish, by incontrovertible evidence, the fact, that neither connexion with Rome, nor separation de jure from the State, can protect the Church against the encroachments of that political usurpation, which the earthly and materialistic tendencies of this age are calculated immeasurably to aggravate. We shall have attained our object, and done, we trust, some good service to the cause of Christ's holy Church in our own land, if our readers shall rise from the perusal of the evidence laid before them, with the conviction, that if we would stem the tide of State encroachments upon the Church, we must not play the part either of Romanizing theologians, or of ecclesiastic agitators, but we must, in reliance on the mighty help of Him who has promised that the gates of hell shall not prevail against his Church, strive to increase her inward energies, by promoting union among her members, and deepening the tone of religious principle within her; nothing doubting that the moral ascendency which, if united and faithful, she cannot fail to exercise over the public mind, will soon procure for her, from a national sense of justice, the enjoyment of those rights and immunities, which have been brought into abeyance by the force of circumstances, and which she has not yet had time to recover in the general confusion of this restless and unthinking age.

² From the census of 1843 it appears, that out of the entire population of France, amounting to thirty-four millions, there are no more than one million Protestants. All the rest, with the exception of an inconsiderable number of Jews, are either infidels or Roman Catholics.

ART. III.—A Letter to the Parishioners of Leeds. By W. F. Hook, D.D. Vicar.

An Act to authorize the Division of the Parish and Vicarage of Leeds, in the county of York, into several Parishes and Vicarages. 7 Victoria, Sess. 1844.

In the Divine commission which our blessed Lord gave to his Apostles and their successors, "Go, disciple all nations—preach the Gospel to every creature," we have the charter of the Church's authority to convey the blessings of Christianity to every individual child of man. This feature in the Church's economy explains the development of her polity and discipline. At first, the Apostles themselves were sufficient for the work immediately before them; but as soon as the number of the faithful increased, and the saved were daily added to the Church, they committed to others a portion of their own functions, reserving to themselves direction and oversight. Hence arose the orders of priest and deacon.

For several ages after the foundation of the Church, the parochial system, in the modern meaning of the phrase, did not exist. The bishops of each diocese sent forth their priests and deacons to whatever portion of it required assistance. Eventually, however, certain divisions of each diocese were committed to the care of presbyters, who solemnized in their allotted spheres, as the bishop's representatives, those offices which are common to both orders. Such seems to have been the origin of parishes. They arose out of the necessities of the Church, and were essential to the execution of her holy mission, to ensure the blessings of Chris-

tianity individually to mankind.

No precise epoch may be fixed upon when this centralization of the Church's energy commenced. Indeed, the necessity for it would vary in different localities; and as the necessity for it arose, it was applied. There are, however, a few passages in the pages of early Christian writers which give a glimpse both of the origin of the parochial system (for at present we are not concerned with the diocesan), and the general character of it. Thus S. Epiphanius tells us, that all the churches in Alexandria had their own particular presbyters assigned to them, who dwelt near their own churches, every one in his own street or division '. The custom, even then common, gradually prevailed throughout the Church, and in England we find the parochial system thoroughly established at the end of the seventh century.

¹ Quoted by Bingham, Book ix. Sect. 5. Ed. A.D. 1711.

At their origin among us, the extent of parishes was greater than it became afterwards; for the same necessity, increase of population, which had made it incumbent to create parishes, rendered it imperative to sub-divide the parishes thus created. "For as the country grew more populous," we are now quoting no less an authority on parochial antiquities than Bishop Kennet, "and persons more devout, several other churches were founded within the extent of the former, and then a new parochial circuit was allotted in proportion to the new church, near the manor or estate of the founder of it. Thus certainly began the increase of parishes, when one too large and diffuse for the resort of all the inhabitants to the one church, was by the addition of some one or more new churches, cantoned into more limited divisions 2."

It is plain, therefore, that the parochial system, the principle of which was, as Dr. Hook truly observes in the letter mentioned at the head of this article, that each parish priest might be able personally to have the oversight of each member of his parish, acting himself under the immediate superintendence of the bishop, is the organization which the Church, in her collective wisdom, has adopted for fulfilling her Lord's command to disciple all nations,

and to preach the Gospel to every creature.

The advantages of the parochial system are too obvious to require a particular enumeration. It must suffice to mention the greatest of them; and we shall here avail ourselves of Dr. Hook's expressions:—

"It is only," he says, "when the minister resides in the midst of his people, that the poor are brought to regard him as their protector and friend, to whom they may, as a matter of course, resort for advice in difficulty, and assistance in distress; it is only then that the Gospel can be effectually taught in the cottage, as well as preached from the pulpit; it is only then that the eloquence of a good example can have its full influence."

The parochial system in England only existed in its perfection prior to the appropriation of benefices to religious houses,—a measure which, though well-intentioned in its origin, became most deeply injurious to the Church. The revenues of benefices having been seized by the monks, secular, and occasionally regular clergy, under the designation of vicars, were appointed to perform the religious offices of the parish, with a stipend wholly insufficient for their position. For one part of the revenues received by the parochial clergy was bound to be expended in entertaining strangers and relieving the poor, for which purpose

² Kennet's Parochial Antiquities, p. 587.

every parish priest kept a register, wherein he entered the names of his needy parishioners, and calling them over at the churchdoor, distributed to every one as his stock would afford, and their necessities required. He also lodged pilgrims and strangers, for which reason parsonage-houses, as well as monasteries, were built on the highways, or on the edge of wide commons. But impropriations too frequently reduced the parochial clergy to beggary, and forced them to eke out a livelihood by becoming chantry priests. The fact censured by Chaucer was often a matter more of necessity than of choice:—

"Left his sheep encumbered in the mire, And ran to London, and St. Pauls, To seek a chantry for souls."

We hope the importance of the subject will excuse our dwell-

ing a little on those evils and their results 3.

The patrons who had given up their advowson of benefices into the hands of the monasteries, soon found out the mistake which they had committed, and in the reign of Henry III. complained to the pope, "that the sole reason why they and their predecessors had transferred their right of patronage upon the religious, was a high opinion of the sanctity of those men; that they would better consult the health of souls, and the relief of the poor; but finding themselves to be frustrate of that pious intention, they ought now to resume the patronage of the several churches within their own fee, and to keep them in their own disposal, as reverting to them upon breach of the trust committed to them."

The clergy in convocation (1246) declare that it had been a good custom in the kingdom of England, for the rectors of parish churches to live in hospitality and charity; whereas a subducting of their former profits, had put them under a necessity of closeness and narrowness of living, and their poverty had exposed them to oppression and diminution of their dues, to the

great scandal and damage of the universal Church.

When Henry V., at the beginning of his reign, requested the university of Oxford to advise him of those matters which chiefly required reform in the ecclesiastical system, they assign to manifold appropriation of churches "a great discomfort to the parishioners by the withdrawal of hospitable refreshment to the poor, and, what is worse, the neglect of the care of souls. May it, therefore, please," the university adds, "upon due advice and proceeding, to revoke such appropriations, and wisely to prevent them for the future."

³ The subject is fully discussed in Bp. Kennet's admirable work on parochial antiquities, to which we are much indebted in these pages.

Nor were parliaments in those days silent on the subject. Thus we find the House of Commons, in the reign of Richard II., remonstrating, that—

"Whereas it is known according to the Divine laws, canon laws, and human laws, that benefices of Holy Church, having cure of souls, were first of all instituted and established to the honour of God, the health and remedy of the founders, the government and relief of the parishioners of the same, and the promotion and advancement of the clergy. Notwithstanding the spiritual patrons of these benefices mischievously appropriate the said benefices, and generally throw down the houses and edifices of the same to the ground, and carry them away, and cruelly take away and destroy divine service, hospitality, and other marks of charity, which were accustomed to be done in the said benefices, in offence to God, confusion of their souls, grievous desolation of the country and parishioners . . . that it will please you to provide and ordain due remedy therein in this present parliament."

Nor was this subversion of the parochial system without assailants in the times which intervene before the reformation. Archbishop Peckham, Bishop Grostete, and even several of the popes and monastic orders denounced it. And although at the reformation the rapacity of Henry VIII. wrested these endowments from the monks, and appropriated them to himself and his creatures, it was not without the parliament, which sanctioned the sacrilege. being somewhat bluntly adjured by a London merchant, in the name of his poor brethren, to consider well this abuse, and see it amended. In the succeeding reign we find Cranmer opposing a bill for the dissolution of chantries, upon the ground of the clergy being much impoverished by the state of impropriated tithes, which ought in all reason to have returned into the Church, but upon the dissolution of abbeys, were sold among the laity. might Bucer also pronounce this malum sane intolerabile. Queen Elizabeth did not lack a bold rebuke on this head from Archbishop Whitgift, as that primate's noble letter, quoted by good Isaak Walton, in his "Life of Hooker," shows. Lord Bacon wished "that impropriations were returned to the Church, as the most proper and natural endowments." Indeed many of the most illustrious names, and the deepest thinkers in our history, Camden, the royal martyr Charles, Laud, Selden, Spelman, Dugdale, and many others quoted by Kennet, all denounced the system of impropriations, and laboured for its overthrow. And though, in the reign of Queen Anne, her majesty's noble munificence to the parochial clergy was looked upon by some as a sufficient remedy for the evil of impropriations, there were many even then. who saw its inadequacy. Then it was that Kennet produced his work on impropriations, which, besides the weight of his own

advocacy, contains a summary of all former efforts in the cause, and incontrovertibly proves impropriations to have caused an insufficient clergy, increase of the poor, dilapidation of vicarage-houses, the necessity of uniting parish churches, and thereby most effectually crippling the parochial system, and producing

pluralities and non-residence.

Robert Nelson also tells us that Bull, who was bishop of St. David's, in the reign of Queen Anne, though a great admirer of the constitution of the Church of England, as being in the main founded on the best and purest antiquity, often lamented her distressed state from the decay of ancient discipline, and from those divisions which prevailed in the kingdom; and more particularly from the great number of lay impropriations. The last of these he looked upon as the occasion of the two former, upon which he said, several good men called the alienation of tithes the scandal of the reformation; and that they esteemed it the great blemish of the happy restoration, that there was not sufficient care taken at that time of the interest of the Church of England in respect to the revenues of it 4.

In accordance with these sentiments, Bull greatly exerted himself, while bishop of St. David's, to obtain from lay impropriators, who much abound in that diocese, those tithes which originally belonged to the Church. Had he been more successful, the recent outbreaks in that locality would probably have been unheard of, since the commissioners appointed to inquire into the matter assign the defective condition of the parochial system, which is the result of lay impropriations, as one of the causes of the riots.

The passage referred to in this report is as follows:—

"We feel it incumbent upon us, before closing the report, to add a few words on a subject which it is impossible to regard without serious concern and regret; we refer to the existing position and circumstances of the Church in South Wales. That so large a proportion of the lower and middle classes are seceders from her communion is a fact, which, on whatever other grounds it may be partly accounted for, the deficiency of her means has, beyond all doubt, greatly contributed to promote. In no part of the kingdom has so large a portion of the tithes been diverted into lay hands. In the diocese of St. David's, which includes nearly the whole of the six counties, the average value of vicarages is stated to amount to 137l. per annum. In consequence of this state of things, many of the rural and thinly-peopled districts have been left without accessible means of worship, or spiritual instruction, while the ministers of large and populous town-parishes have received stipends wholly inadequate to provide them with those requisites which

⁴ Nelson's Life of Bull, p. 431.

are usually deemed necessary for their station, or to the demands which their office involves 5." Page 37.

With these views of the parochial functions of our Church we have hailed with delight, as the harbinger of better days, the appearance of Dr. Hook's letter to his parishioners, proposing the division of his immense parish into several parishes and vicarages. And right glad are we to find this letter so quickly followed by a bill for carrying these admirable provisions into effect, which has become law, amidst the gratulations of all faithful churchmen. We were pleased to remark that the Premier himself, on the third reading of the bill, in the House of Commons, did justice to the liberality in which this noble measure originated.

The conduct of the vicar of Leeds, in the renunciation of the power, patronage (of fourteen Churches), and emolument, which this measure involves, is, in these days of self-indulgence, an ex-

ample of almost inestimable value.

"My plan," says Dr. Hook, "proposes the relinquishment, on my part, of half my income, and the removal of my family to a smaller parsonage in the vicinity of St. Peter's Church. These concessions I am prepared to make whenever the Ecclesiastical commissioners are ready to carry the proposed measure into effect."

The parishioners of Leeds may well feel a sort of pride in such conduct, dictated as it is by the purest zeal for their welfare, and by a spirit of self-sacrifice, which is ready to relinquish all worldly privileges and enjoyments for their salvation. To have selected such a man for the important office of vicar of Leeds, was in itself most highly to the honour of the citizens of that great, and opulent, and intelligent community. To have received him with the affectionate and cordial respect with which he has always been surrounded, and which has enabled him to carry through such designs for the spiritual welfare of the vast population entrusted to his care, is in itself a circumstance which must always be to the praise and honour of the parish of Leeds. But the measure before us is one which must cause the highest rejoicing to every true friend of the Church—exhibiting as it does the united action of a pastor and his people in the same noble cause, and in the same spirit of self-denial. The vicar, who has reduced his income to one half, and relinquished the patronage of fourteen churches; the trustees, who have consented to diminish so far the value of the benefice in their gift; the parishioners, who have consented

⁵ On comparing this passage with the opinions of Nelson and Bull, as expressed in the bishop's Life, it will be seen that these eminent men assigned to the same cause the prevalence of dissent in South Wales, nearly a century and a half ago.

to throw open the area of every church in Leeds to the *poor*—all merit the deepest gratitude, the warmest praise of every son of the Church; and, assuredly, the reward of those who have thus ministered to the poor in the name of Christ, shall be great in heaven.

But it is with the measure, and not the author of it, that we are now concerned. And this we conceive to be a most seasonable application of the only method which can bring the English Church to bear upon the people. For a century and half at least, empiric after empiric has been prescribing his panacea for healing the defects of our ecclesiastical regimen as regards pastoral superintendence. But dissent is still rife; the millions of our manufacturing districts are fast sinking into practical heathenism, if they have ever emerged from it; and though there is a happy revival of sounder principles, and a better appreciation of the doctrines and discipline of the Church, yet from the want of fitting machinery to propagate them, there is no little danger of a relapse.

But Dr. Hook's plan appears to us to point to the true remedies for our present evils. It seems to carry out fully the intentions of the Church; and we should indeed rejoice to see the following admirable conditions of it carried into effect in all places similarly circumstanced:

similarly circumstanced:—

"II. A convenient district to be annexed to each of the existing churches, which shall become a parish for all spiritual and ecclesiastical purposes.

"III. Each church to be a vicarage, and the incumbent to be vicar of, and have the sole cure of souls within the parish annexed to the

church.

"IV. Such part of the parish as shall not be annexed to any existing church, to be formed into convenient districts for pastoral superintendence, such districts to be similar to those formed under the act of last session.

"V. On the erection and consecration of a church within such districts, the same to become vicarages and parishes, as in the case of existing churches.

"VI. The floor of every church to be wholly free and unappro-

priated.

"VII. A suitable house of residence for the clergyman to be pro-

vided in every parish.

"VIII. The church not to become a parish church until the floor shall have been declared free, and a residence for the clergyman shall have been provided."

1

Such are the principal features in this noble plan.

Leeds, however, though one of the most important, is but one of our overgrown parishes, among many hundred others, wherein the parochial system must be said to be known only by name. Greatly, therefore, as we rejoice at the prospect of the metropolis of the West Riding of Yorkshire being restored to the Church's ancient rule, we cannot but feel anxious to see the same prospects of good for other districts. Bradford ', Halifax ', Sheffield, Huddersfield, Manchester, and Liverpool, not to mention other equally important places, all require a similar measure to make the Church felt among them, or commensurate with the real wants of the people.

"The hungry sheep look up and are not fed."

We are aware that there are great obstacles to a general application of Dr. Hook's plan to overgrown parishes. It is not every incumbent who is willing to divest himself of the influence and patronage connected with the headship of a large parish: and even in cases where incumbents are willing to surrender their rights to others, the income of the mother Church would so materially suffer, that few vicars could afford, whatever might be their inclination, to make the sacrifice. This we take to be the really formidable obstacle to the restoration of our parochial system. The evil would be at an end, however, were the Church again in possession of the property which was taken from her by the monasteries, and which is now in the hands of the laity. impropriations be restored to the Church, either by the voluntary piety of the persons who hold them, or by a society incorporated for the purchase of them, and then there will be funds amply sufficient for endowing new vicarages without impoverishing the old mother Churches.

Very many instances are on record of impropriators having voluntarily restored these portions of their income to God and his Church. And now that a spirit of ancient piety is reviving, we are not without hope that some of our wealthy impropriators may consider this to be the most becoming and efficient method of testifying their love and reverence to their spiritual mother.

In conclusion, we must notice the only objection of any importance which has been urged against the division of the vicarage of

Leeds.

It has been said, that whatever may be the ulterior benefits of

² An act of parliament was passed, some years ago, for dividing the extensive and wealthy vicarage of Halifax at the next vacancy.

¹ It is only fair to say, that the vicar of Bradford has, to some extent, imitated Dr. Hook's plan.

the measure, its present effects are calculated to check a career of great usefulness, and prove no inconsiderable obstacle to the cause of orthodoxy. Dr. Hook, it is well known, holds a distinguished place amongst the advocates of sound Church principles. Now the parish of Leeds is that $\pi o \tilde{v} \sigma \tau \tilde{\omega}$ which a theological Archimedes might well covet for putting his principles in motion. But by descending from this commanding sphere, to that of a vicar of an inconsiderable portion of it, and thereby ceding to others who may hold opposite views an authority equal to his own, he is yielding vantage-ground which it will be difficult, if not

impossible, to regain in other ways.

There is, no doubt, some truth in this view of the case. A sphere of immense influence will be resigned. Dr. Hook, as an individual, will make a sacrifice which no mere party man would make. But the real question seems to be, whether positions of such commanding influence occupied by individual presbyters, are, upon the whole, advantageous to the Church. The good old maxim, $\chi \omega \rho i c \tau \delta \tilde{\nu} i \kappa \kappa \delta \pi \omega u \mu \delta \tilde{\epsilon} \nu \pi \sigma i \tilde{\epsilon} \tau \epsilon$, is too likely to be forgotten in such positions, and much rivalry and ill-feeling among brother presbyters to be engendered. We are sure, however, that the legitimate influence which attaches to learning and piety, zeal and ability, will, in the present instance, receive a new impulse from so touching an example of self-denial.

But what the English Church wants now, more than ever, as the legitimate channel for conveying the restored tone of our theology throughout the land, is a larger body of really working clergy, each carrying out the solemn vows of his ordination in a prescribed sphere with the faithfulness, energy, and prudence, of one who feels his responsibility, and knows his sphere to be, in

some degree, commensurate with man's physical powers.

"Detached from pleasure, to the love of gain Superior; insusceptible of pride,
And by ambitious longings undisturbed;
Men whose delight is where their duty leads
Or fixes them; whose least distinguished day
Shines with some portion of that heavenly lustre
Which makes the Sabbath lovely in the sight
Of blessed angels, pitying human cares."

Such men only are of our "pure altars worthy;" and by no other means shall we impress the Church in all her spiritual vitality upon the teeming millions of our population. But let our parishes be subdivided, and each parish be supplied with a priest, who, besides high moral and intellectual qualifications, is possessed of pecuniary means, not only becoming his own posi-

tion, but sufficient for the duties of hospitality and almsgiving; living amongst his people, and becoming one of themselves; preaching to them day by day with the persuasive eloquence of a good life, and bringing the entire teaching of the English Praver Book to bear upon their daily avocations, their sympathies, their joys and sorrows; and soon will our Church bestir herself in every limb with the strength of a giant. Dissent will stagger like a drunken man, and be at its wit's end. The poor will return to the Church, claim kindred there, and have their claims allowed. The rich will be excited to a generous rivalry in ministering to her need; and thus a well-ordered body of priests, superintended by an increased number of vigilant bishops, together with a dutiful and well-instructed laity, will not fail to bring down the blessing of the great Head of the Church upon us, and make the English Church the glory and blessing of England and of Christendom.

ART. IV.—Lives of the Queens of England. By Agnes Strick-LAND. Vols. VI. and VII. London: Colburn.

Perhaps no character in history has been more exposed to every variety and excess of praise and censure, than that of our greatest English sovereign, Queen Elizabeth. Her image has for ages stood conspicuous in the annals of Europe, and been consecrated in the admiring gratitude of her country. From her reign we date the final establishment of the Reformation in our Church, our commercial and political greatness, our naval glory, our immortal literature; and all this was, in a degree which in this modern state of society is no longer practicable, influenced and directed by the personal qualities of the sovereign. And since a more reverential spirit seems reviving among us, with an anxious looking back to the past for some reality on which the quality of veneration may rest, it may be a task not wholly devoid of interest, to enquire into the justice of Elizabeth's ancient fame, and the causes of the hostility which has of late assailed it. The dearest interests of our country are involved in the question; for it is impossible to despise the giver, without casting some slur either on the receiver, or on the value of the benefits bestowed.

To Miss Strickland's "Lives of the Queens of England" we are indebted for much curious and entertaining information on the private habits and demeanour of Elizabeth, which would seem likely to facilitate an acquaintance with her character; but probably few readers have risen from the perusal without experiencing something approaching to inextricable confusion of ideas. The preceding lives afforded a highly interesting and instructive account of royal ladies, whose part in history was seldom a prominent one, and of whom popular opinion seems frequently to have received a mistaken impression. If some inaccuracy and carelessness have been detected in these volumes, and occasional dependence on suspicious authorities, still their various and original information on the customs of past ages, and the interiors of half-civilized courts; the romantic and affecting adventures, and yet more, the shining qualities and goodness thus brought into notice, make them a most agreeable addition to the literature of the day. So angelic do the mild virtues of our queens (with few

exceptions) appear, contrasting with the rude, unholy characters of their more distinguished consorts, that we are tempted to exclaim with the Chinese poet, "Virtue would have been forgotten upon earth, had not these virtuous heroines arisen to remind us of it." They were examples of piety, patrons of literature, the chief promoters of every art which serves to embellish life, in ages when war or political intrigue was the favourite occupation of men. Even when driven by the violence of the times, and by their own passions, into the commission of crime, they are shown to have been, in many cases, more sinned against than sinning. From a writer thus alive to the honour of her sex, and so well able to delineate its excellence, we had hoped for a juster appreciation of a sovereign who was amongst its most distinguished ornaments.

than has hitherto been accorded by female biographers.

But far from increasing her efforts to keep pace with the extended importance of her subject. Miss Strickland seems to have had recourse, by preference, to the most trivial materials for her life of Elizabeth. It is not by minute descriptions of new costumes or court galas; not by the petulant criticisms of discontented courtiers, or the malicious gossip of foreign envoys, that a life replete with the destiny of empires can be fairly represented. With these the work abounds, and certainly a more amusing collection of heterogeneous anecdotes could not be desired. There is a sort of impartiality in the selection, which records with equal fidelity the obscure libel, and the glowing panegyric, whose contradictory evidences follow one another in immediate and puzzling succession. On the great political and ecclesiastical affairs of the reign, there is little information, and that of a most unsatisfactory nature; while a disposition to misrepresent and depreciate the important personal part taken by the queen is perpetually and unpleasantly evident. The account of her early life and trials is by far the best written portion of these volumes; and though disfigured by the unfair, inimical spirit to which we have alluded, supplies such evidence of youthful excellence and wisdom, as might alone have sufficed to establish a deathless renown.

From her infancy the daughter of Anne Boleyn was distinguished by endowments of mind and person which seem to have endeared her, in the forlorn position to which she was reduced by the fate of her unfortunate mother, to all around her. She won the favour of her unfeeling father, and the warm affection of each successive victim of his conjugal caprice; and we are told, that "those who knew her best were accustomed to say of her, that God who had endowed her with such rare gifts had certainly destined her to some distinguished employment in the world."

She was the favourite companion and fellow-student of her brother Edward; and the accounts which are given of the progress made by these children in every branch of learning approach the marvellous. On the death of Henry, Elizabeth was left at the age of thirteen to the care of his surviving queen, Catharine Parr, who does not appear to have shown the prudence and good conduct usually attributed to her in this office. She had married, in the first month of this, her third widowhood, Lord Thomas Seymour, the intriguing brother of the protector Somerset, and her husband directed his efforts to obtaining an undue influence over the youthful princess. Catharine at first encouraged, but became jealous of their intimacy. Her death in the following year left Seymour at liberty to offer his addresses, though clandestinely, to her daughter-in-law, an intrigue which contributed to his untimely end, and was the means of casting some suspicion on Elizabeth. But even from the report of those who manifest an unaccountable desire to find cause of scandal against her, she is proved to have behaved during the whole affair with a dignity, good sense and propriety, admirable in so young a girl, thrown into a singularly difficult and unprotected situation. That her accomplished though unprincipled suitor had partially succeeded in gaining her affections, certainly rather adds to her claims for a favourable construction. But while her prudence deserves praise, her warm and generous defence of her governess Mrs. Ashley, who had acted with less discretion, equally displays the goodness of her heart and the sincerity of her attachments. It is, indeed, observable throughout Elizabeth's life, that even when in danger herself, she never deserted her friends; and those who had served her in her youth retained her regard till death. After the execution of Seymour, she passed the remaining years of Edward's life chiefly in retirement, devoted to the acquirement of learning, and the practice of every feminine virtue. From the letter of her tutor Ascham to Sturmius the following testimony is given:-

"The lady Elizabeth has completed her sixteenth year; and so much solidity of understanding, such courtesy united with dignity, have never been observed at so early an age. She has the most ardent love of true religion, and the best kind of literature; the constitution of her mind is exempt from female weakness, and she is endued with masculine power of application; no apprehension can be quicker than hers, no memory more retentive. French and Italian she speaks like English; Latin with fluency, propriety, and judgment. She also spoke Greek with me frequently, willingly, and moderately well. Nothing can be more elegant than her handwriting, whether in the Greek or the Roman character. In music she is very skilful, but does not greatly

delight. With respect to personal decoration, she greatly prefers a simple elegance, to show and splendour, so despising the outward adorning and plaiting the hair and wearing of gold, that in the whole manner of her life, she rather resembles Hippolyta than Phædra."—p. 54.

"The king her father," says Dr. Aylmer, "left her rich clothes and jewels, and I know it to be true that in seven years after his death she never, in all that time, looked upon that rich attire and precious jewels but once, and that against her will; and that there never came gold or stone upon her head, till her sister forced her to lay off all her former soberness, and bear company in her glittering gayness; and then she so wore it, that all men might see that her body carried that which her heart misliked. I am sure that her maidenly apparel which she used in king Edward's time, made the noblemen's wives and daughters ashamed to be dressed and painted like peacocks, being more moved with her most virtuous example, than with all that ever Paul or Peter wrote, touching the matter."—p. 50.

All this continuance in well-doing is oddly ascribed by Miss Strickland to such a premature perfection in the art of dissimulation, as the practice of a long life could hardly have bestowed, and which in a young girl would not have been little less than miraculous. It was, we suppose, what Mrs. Malaprop means by a "retrospection as to the future," which enabled her to adopt such a course as was likely to gain the love and reverence of all men. If so, the end was certainly attained; she was the darling of the people; the hope and stay of the reformation; and consequently, on the accession of her less loved and less gifted sister, an object of fear and jealousy to her. Of her trials and perils during that sister's disastrous reign, it is sufficient to observe, that no fault could ever be proved against her, while the piety, fortitude and meekness with which she endured imprisonment and threatened destruction, converted determined foes, when admitted to her presence, into faithful friends. Thus the fierce earl of Arundel, who had counselled her execution, was so moved by her demeanour when examined before the council, that he knelt at her feet, acknowledged her wrongs, and ever after devoted himself to her service. (p. 97.) Philip, also, who had demanded her removal as a condition of his coming to England, afterwards treated her with the highest distinction; while the followers and partakers of her evil fortunes were beguiled of their affliction by "the sweet words and sweeter deeds of their mistress and fellow prisoner." (See Sir John Hanington's letter, p. 99.)

And now the days of her probation were over, and Elizabeth was called—to use her own expression on entering the tower as queen, "from being a prisoner in this place, to be prince in this

land." Yet was her situation one of scarce less danger and difficulty than before.

"Let us in the forcible words of bishop Jewel," said Strype, "look upon the state as she found it. What hunger was in the land! many of our brethren died for want of food. What cruel executions were there in London! There were few streets where was not set up a gallows or a gibbet. What diseases fell upon us! the gravest and wisest and richest men were taken away. Calais was lost. A stranger and foreign people had the rule over us. All things went against us, because God was not with us; but He restored by his servant the queen, those joys again which we lacked."

A report of her first measures is thus quoted by Strype from a contemporary writer.

"Whereas the former queen did all in haste in the beginning of her reign, her sister did everything with more avisement and less trust. She, being God's chosen instrument to represent here among us His Majesty, walked wisely in the steps of Him that called her; and studied diligently to represent a lively image in her mortality, of the incomparable and infinite Majesty, by using correction without severity, by seeking the lost with clemency, by governing wisely without fury, by weighing and judging without rashness, by purging evil humours with deliberation; and to conclude, in doing her duty without affection."

The great question of religion had first to be settled, and to the firmness and moderation of Elizabeth, is England mainly indebted for escape from the errors of Rome on the one hand, and of Geneva on the other. During the latter part of her sister's reign, she had so far conformed to the Roman form of worship as to attend its ceremonies in public; and she retained more respect for some ancient observances, than the churchmen of Edward VI.'s time would have sanctioned. She retained the figure of the crucifix in her own chapel; she observed to the end of her life, all the fasts with strictness, and the ancient and pious custom of washing the feet of the poor on Maundy Thursday 1. She never would endure to hear the nature of the holy Eucharist made a subject of familiar discussion, and she was with difficulty induced, by the united remonstrances of Archbishop Parker and the reformed divines, to authorize the substitution of communion. tables in the place of altars. Yet her adherence to the doctrines of the Reformation had never been questioned, and before she had had time to give any indication of her plans, on coming to the throne, the bishops of the Roman party had, with one exception,

¹ James II. is said to have been the last of our sovereigns who performed this rite in person; but the lord Almoner always washed the feet of the poor on Maundy Thursday, till the middle of the last century. See Gentleman's Magazine, vol. i. p. 172.

refused to take a part in her coronation, while many of their adherents hastened to offer their allegiance to the queen of Scots. Her design of uniting all Englishmen in the Communion of our Catholic Church, was in the end frustrated by the violence of party. The zeal of Archbishop Parker against the non-conformists, led him into severities towards them which the queen was obliged to restrain. His successor, Grindal, on the contrary, by his intractable, though conscientious, encouragement of the puritans, provoked her to suspend him from his office. Thus were Elizabeth's efforts for peace frustrated; while her moderation has been attributed to indifference, or to mere political wisdom; and at the same time her memory is loaded with obloquy on account of the penalties which the excesses and treasons of the Romanists and other sectaries at length drew down upon themselves.

The confusion caused in church property by the changes of the preceding reigns, required an examination into its present state. A commission was accordingly issued for this purpose, and a bill passed by the queen's first parliament, enabling her "to resume the temporal possessions of vacant sees," exchanging them for impropriations, &c. Great opposition was made to this act by the newly-appointed bishops; and the venerable Cox, bishop of Ely, composed a remonstrance to Elizabeth on the possible use she might make of such power,—it is, however, uncertain whether this was ever presented to her. Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History, rather unjustly charges her with having stripped and impoverished the Church, since it appears from his chief authority, Strype's Annals, that the episcopal revenues had been wasted by the "Marian Prelates," who, foreseeing their own expulsion, "had so leased out their houses, lands, and parks, that some of the new bishops had scarce a corner of a house to live in; and divers not so much ground as to graze a goose or a sheep." Elizabeth, on the other hand, restored to them so many manors and possessions, that she was soon called on to defend her prelates against the popular clamour, accusing them of excessive wealth and rapacity. Cox especially was inveighed against on this score, and was so much harassed in his old age, that he frequently requested the queen's permission to resign his bishopric, and retire from what he termed "his unsavory isle." That Elizabeth sometimes exerted her prerogative in punishing offending prelates, is certain; and she strongly objected to their practice of deserting their dioceses to reside in London. To improve the condition and education of the parochial clergy, was made a principal object; and care was shown to preserve the venerable service of our cathedrals. The queen restored and confirmed to the different chapters the lands assigned for their maintenance; and under her encouragement our Church music attained the highest degree of excellence. An anecdote is related by Strype, that the French ambassador having accompanied Elizabeth in her visit to Canterbury, and "hearing the excellent music in the cathedral church, extolled it up to the sky, and broke out into these words, O God, I think no prince beside, in all Europe, ever heard the like; no, not our holy father, the pope, himself."

It was the favourite policy of Elizabeth to make the wealth of the country, and not its industry, bear the burden of government, and she did not, perhaps, sufficiently respect the rights of individuals, in pursuing this design. The poor, indeed, were her peculiar care. Her parsimony was ever directed to spare the people from taxation and oppression. How touching is her first charge to the judges—

"Have care over my people. You have my people. Do you that which I ought to do. Every man oppresseth them, and spoileth them without mercy. They cannot revenge their quarrel, nor help themselves. See unto them, see unto them; for they are myself. My life is not dear to me; my care is for my people.' 'These ears,' saith bishop Jewel, 'heard when her majesty spake these words.'"

The restoration of the coin of the realm to a pure currency, within two years of her accession, and without loss to the people, was such a measure, as no monarch for ages had ventured to attempt. The establishment of the poor laws was a scheme of yet more lasting importance. The dissolution of monasteries and other causes had left a large portion of the populace without settled means of subsistence, either from charity or labour; and caused the country to be infested with swarms of vagrants and "sturdy beggars." Henry's remedy was to hang them by thousands; but even this unscrupulous expedient scarcely lessened the evil. The numerous dissensions and unsettled state of religion rendered it impossible to entrust the charge of the poor entirely to the clergy; under these circumstances the present measure was wisely and beneficently adapted to meet the actual wants of the lower classes; while it established the great principle of the right of the people to means of existence from the land which they cultivated. Elizabeth's unceasing devotion to the welfare of her people, was amply repaid by their enthusiastic love, and by that confidence in their fidelity, which enabled her to encounter with cheerfulness and success every peril from foreign aggression or domestic conspiracy; for she "would believe nothing of them, which a mother might not believe of her children;"

and such, in truth, was their mutual position from her accession to her death.

Meanwhile, the graver cares of government were enlivened by the homage which awaits a young and admired woman in a dis-Scarcely was Elizabeth's accession antinguished position. nounced, before suitors for her hand came forward, like those of Portia, in the merchant of Venice, from every court of Europe. Princes under allegiance to the see of Rome, were undeterred by the papal bulls which denounced her as a heretic, an usurper, and illegitimate; and her brother-in-law, Philip of Spain, was the first and most urgent claimant; but his was an alliance against which every feeling of the English nation revolted. Charles of Austria, the king of Sweden, the prince of Saxony, and the earls of Arran and Arundel, were among her earliest suitors; but Elizabeth persisted in the resolution she had announced during her sister's lifetime, and declared her determination to live and Robert Dudley, the celebrated earl of Leicester, die a virgin. was not immediately considered as an aspirant to the crown matrimonial; but it soon became manifest that no one stood so high in the queen's favour. The strong and enduring regard which she bestowed upon a man, commonly denounced as unworthy, has often been made a ground of reproach both to her virtue and wisdom; yet, surely, with injustice. Born in the same hour, companions in childhood, and fellow-prisoners in the tower, there was that link of sympathy between them which seems, in all cases, to have exercised a powerful influence over the noble and constant nature of Elizabeth. The friends of her youthful adversity were sharers in her after-glory, and the acknowledged talents and accomplishments of Leicester were thoroughly fitted to improve this advantage; yet they could not succeed in blinding her to his faults. Her partiality might have been sufficiently great to have overcome her aversion to matrimony in his favour, had his birth been more equal; but it never procured for him that unremitting confidence which she placed in the integrity of Burleigh—it never enabled him to counteract the influence of wiser counsels, or to interfere with the well-being of the state. If Leicester were as vicious as his worst enemies have represented him, we must, in candour, admire the strength and rectitude of mind which enabled his sovereign to keep in check the evil passions of such a favourite, as much as we blame the weakness which could be attracted by his brilliant qualities. The recent publication, by the Camden Society, of the "Leicester correspondence," throws much light on the true character and position of this nobleman, and more especially of his conduct when governor of the low countries. His letters exhibit great ability

and extensive knowledge, with a style of remarkable ease and liveliness; but they also give evidence of a violent and vindictive temper. His attachments, however, appear to have been as earnest and sincere as his enmities, and a deep respect and submission to the queen is everywhere apparent. While successive historians describe Elizabeth as supporting the incapacity of her favourite against the indignation of the world, we find her, in these authentic documents, severe, watchful, and demanding account for every appearance of misconduct: uninfluenced by his opinions, and, at last, insisting on his recal, notwithstanding the entreaties and efforts of her whole cabinet to counteract it. This correspondence exhibits, indeed, in a remarkable way, the independence of Elizabeth's decisions, and her intimate acquaintance with every act of government; while, like the letters of her statesmen, published some years since, they prove the deference which her ministers paid to her judgment and foresight. In some instances, when their united representations had induced her to relinquish her first determination, Burleigh and Walsingham confess to each other that her views ultimately appear to have been the right ones; and when they brought her information, they often found her more accurately acquainted with the state of affairs than themselves.

The cloud which was to obscure much of the happiness and glory of this reign, and which has left its shadow for ever on the fame of Elizabeth, hung over her horizon from the beginning, and threatened the first hours of her accession with storms.

It is unnecessary to enter on the interminable dispute, as to the guilt or innocence of the unfortunate Mary: the peculiar difficulties with which she was surrounded were such as perhaps no prudence or good conduct on her own part could have overcome; but Elizabeth had not the remotest share in these; neither could she have assisted her, except with good advice, which she undoubtedly offered. By affording her an asylum in England, though under restraint, she did the best which the condition of that unhappy princess would admit of, on whom such a load of infamy had fallen through her own indiscretion and the rancour of her enemies, as it was not in the power of Elizabeth either to remove or overlook. The parents of Darnley were clamouring for vengeance on the supposed murderess of their son; the ruling party in Scotland were resolved against her return. Having once set foot in England, her detention there, however in the result injurious to both sovereigns, and fatal to one, was inevitable. This fertile source of secret conspiracies and open revolt, Elizabeth endured with fortitude and forbearance, though posterity has allowed her little credit for so doing. Less careful of her own life than her councillors were for her, (to whom, indeed, the accession of Mary would have been certain destruction,) she keenly felt that the miseries of the captive princess would throw lasting reproach on her own dominion; and there is no reason for supposing, that her horror of proceeding to the extremities, which the general voice of the nation called for, was not as sincere as it was just and natural. But either her scruples were over-strained, or her resolution was at fault: for once, her mind was distracted by conflicting claims; she left to circumstances what should have been decided by principle. Miss Strickland has partially approached the truth in attributing the grief of Elizabeth, when she found the sentence against Mary had been executed, to remorse, rather than hypocrisy; the favourite imputation of other historians. Camden, who probably sincerely desired to give due honour to a sovereign whose memory was still fresh in the grateful memory of the nation, was obliged to speak with tenderness of the mother of the reigning king. He also appears to have adopted the sentiments of that sapient monarch on the royal science of dissimulation; and has contributed much to Elizabeth's character for possessing that quality, by gratuitously praising her policy, when she merely gave way to excited feelings and contradictory emotions. It is quite certain that Burleigh, Walsingham, Hatton, and the other councillors who had for years devoted their great abilities and influence to accomplishing Mary's destruction, had not the least doubt of the reality of the queen's sorrow and anger at the final success of their design.

Happily for Elizabeth and her ministers, this most painful period of her life was followed by one of spirit-stirring trial and unstained triumph. No longer harassed by dark conspiracies and domestic treachery, she was called on to defend her realm against a formidable but open foe; while the greatness of the danger called into action every noble quality of the nation and their ruler. Philip of Spain had completed his vast preparations for the invasion of England, and trusting to his overwhelming forces, he sent insulting proposals of submission to Elizabeth, which she, with classic scorn, referred for fulfilment to the Greek An atrocious libel was at this time disseminated with a view to excite the people, and more especially the Romanists, against the queen; but it had a precisely contrary effect. Even the party for whose prejudices it was intended, rejected it with shame and indignation, and the author, supposed to be Cardinal Allen², endeavoured to suppress it. One English historian,

² See Soames's "Elizabethan Religious History," for information respecting this and other Popish libels of the period.

Dr. Lingard, has nevertheless ventured to recal this disgraceful publication, and by recording its filthy calumnies as matter of history, has taken upon himself all the credit due to their original inventor.

The loyalty and patriotism shown at this crisis by the Roman Catholics, and the generous confidence with which Elizabeth repaid them, is equally honourable to both, and in itself disproves the allegations of cruelty and injustice towards the former, so often brought against her. Some of her advisers would have treated them as adherents of the enemy; but she preferred to employ their free services in his defeat, and entrusted the command of her fleet to one of that faith, Lord Howard of Effingham,

The latter years of Elizabeth's life were disturbed by the incurable distractions of Ireland, and by the misconduct of her over-indulged protégé, Essex. This unhappy nobleman had been recommended by his dying father, at the age of ten years, to the protection of the queen, whose kinsman he was on his mother's side; and surely, it is a shameful sign of the strange perversity of human judgment, that the parental affection lavished by the aged monarch on her young relative, should be usually attributed to a less excusable weakness. His character, both in its faults and merits, was marked by those lively qualities which the old always admire in youth. His conduct was that of a thoroughly spoiled child; he became ungrateful, insolent, reckless. A saying preserved by Bacon in his apophthegms, briefly describes the position in which these accomplishments soon placed him at court:—"I know but one friend and one enemy my lord hath, and that one friend is the queen, and that one enemy himself."

At last he broke out into avowed rebellion—the insanity of the attempt might have been urged as a plea for mercy; but the peace of the country was at stake, the lives of her subjects endangered, and Elizabeth with reluctance assented to his execution as a convicted traitor. It was a cruel stroke, a bitter expedient: yet who will not affirm that sympathy is not more due to the injured, grief-stricken sovereign, than to the perverse and headstrong rebel? The last link to which her affections clung on earth. thus rudely severed, Elizabeth was left desolate in her declining years, yet still unshaken in fortitude. The friends of her youth, the faithful servants of her lengthened career, had yielded one by one to that stern power, whose hand alone was able to dissolve their old and well-proved attachments. Of these the most deeply regretted, the most irreparable loss, was Burleigh, who died about two years before the fall of Essex. Could personal kindness, unalterable confidence, and even occasional submission of her own

will and opinion, have justified suspicions injurious to Elizabeth, with regard to their object, she must undoubtedly have incurred them by her behaviour to that great statesman. For more than forty years he enjoyed all those marks of favour in a higher degree than any rival could boast of. When, as frequently happened, he was disabled by gout, she would visit and consult him in his chamber. On one of these occasions, at the time of the Spanish invasion, she said to his attendant, who warned her that the door was low: "I will stoop for your master, though not for the king of Spain." She never permitted him to remain standing in her presence. During his last illness her solicitude was extreme. She said that "her comfort had been in her people's happiness, and their happiness in his discretion." "Neither can we find," adds the narrator, "in ancient records such wisdom in a prince to discern a servant's ability, nor such integrity to reward and honour a prince's choice."

She watched over his death-bed, and would feed him with her own hands, as he tells his son with fervent gratitude, in a few words written during his last illness—the letter concludes thus:
—"Serve God by serving the queen, for all other service is

indeed bondage to the devil."

O good old man! how well in thee appears The constant service of the antique world: Thou art not for the fashion of these times.

The closing scene of this great queen's life may appear dreary, and even appalling to human weakness, because all who had pos-

sessed her intimate love and confidence were gone before.

These trying hours of mortal anguish have been made, like every other circumstance of Elizabeth's existence, the subject of idle and unfeeling misrepresentation and calumny³. The narrative of Sir Robert Carey, afterwards Earl of Monmouth, who was present, is the most clear and authentic. He relates, that the Sunday preceding her death, she had intended to attend divine service in the chapel as usual, but finding herself too weak, ordered cushions to be placed on the floor of her privy-chamber, near the door, where she heard the service. Growing rapidly worse, she remained on the cushions, and refused to be moved for four days, when Lord Howard, the last of her old kinsmen yet living, having been sent for, persuaded her to allow herself to be placed in bed. She then made signs for her council to be called, and signified to them that the king of Scotland should succeed

³ The story of Lord Essex's ring, of which so much has been said by late historians, was not heard of within a century of Elizabeth's death.

her; and about six at night sent for the Archbishop of Canterbury and her chaplains. He thus proceeds:

"The bishop kneeled down by her, and examined her first of her faith; and she so punctually answered all his several questions, by lifting up her eyes, and holding up her hand, as it was a comfort to all beholders. Then the good man told her plainly what she was, and what she was to come to, and though she had been long a great queen here upon earth, yet shortly she was to yield an account of her stewardship to the great King of kings. After this he began to pray, and all that were by did answer him. He continued with earnest cries to God for her soul's health, which he uttered with that fervency of spirit that the queen to all our sight much rejoiced thereat, and gave testimony to us all of her Christian and comfortable end. By this time it grew late, and every one departed, all but the women who attended her.' 'This,' says Carey, 'that I heard with my ears, and did see with mine eyes, I thought it my duty to set down and to affirm it for a truth upon the faith of a Christian; because I know there have been many false lies reported of the end and death of that good lady."

Miss Strickland's "Life" is, with many works of the same class, a lively illustration of the ease with which inventions may be woven into the grave web of historic truth. Like a broken mirror, this writer presents the same facts in confused and multiplied shapes, but always more or less imperfect and distorted. Where the subjects touch on the tenderest points of female reputation, her hints and deductions might seem calculated to found a new "School for Scandal." While her own minute investigations amply display the groundlessness of every suspicion which has assailed the maiden fame of Elizabeth, from the courtship of Lord Thomas Seymour, when she was scarcely fifteen, to the favouritism of Essex, half a century later; she never fails to give her the benefit of an insinuation of doubt; we are sure to be reminded that there must always be a possibility of guilt, though no appearance of it can be detected. At this rate what reputation can be secure? The profound and intricate affairs, on the conduct of which the fate of Europe depended, are discussed in the same frivolous tone of tea-table scandal. The lively but apparently malicious and not over trust-worthy details with which the despatches of successive French envoys amused the court of Paris, or soothed its mortifications, are the fertile sources, whence our authoress has derived most of her ideas on such subjects. But sometimes she discovers absurdities, hardly (we should suppose) contemplated by the original narrators. For instance, when Sir James Melville, Mary's ambassador, says that the queen received him on his public introduction, to announce the birth of an heir to Scotland, with a merry volt, (volto, countenance,) it is added,

"which certainly must mean that she cut a caper at the sight of him." We are informed, but on what authority does not appear, that Elizabeth was in the habit of cherishing a gold frog in her bosom, out of compliment to her suitor the Duke d'Alençon. Is this the origin of our vernacular epithet of Johnny Crapaud? or was it then in use as a polite designation for Frenchmen? or was it really the badge of d'Alençon? Miss Strickland should throw some light on this point.

But while Elizabeth is scarce permitted to bestow a smile, or wear a ribbon with impunity, a large indulgence is afforded to any of her ladies and kinswomen, who by clandestine marriage, or more inexcusable delinquencies, impaired their own fame, and incurred her displeasure; the latter being uniformly attributed to cruelty,

malignity, jealousy, &c. on the queen's part.

Cruelty indeed is, throughout, the favourite vice alleged against Elizabeth, notwithstanding the evidence of her most trustworthy contemporaries, who are constantly blaming her for excess of the opposite quality. Burleigh, in one of his letters says, "The queen's majesty hath always been a merciful body, and by mercy she hath taken more harm than justice." "I fear," said Randolph, writing to the Bishop of Durham, on the queen's desire to spare the Duke of Norfolk, "the Bishop of Lincoln's words in his sermon before her majesty, grow true, alleged out of Augustine, 'that there was misericordia puniens, and crudelitas parcens *." But no malefactor can meet with the due penalty of his offence, without our being told that Elizabeth "wreaked her vengeance on him;" or if by the exercise of her prerogative she interferes to save him, it is with "the feline malice of tantalizing her victim with visions of life and liberty." The case alluded to above, of Norfolk, affords ample exercise of this faculty of misrepresentation. His "romantic passion" for Mary, whom he had never seen, and whom he spoke of with contempt, his accomplishments, and amiability, and distinguished rank, are dwelt upon, and supposed to be the chief cause of Elizabeth's "malignity," and his untimely end⁵. That he was confessedly in league with the enemies of his country, the accomplice, or, at best, the infatuated dupe, in conspiracies to betray and destroy the sovereign whose favour he enjoyed, to overturn the religion he professed; all this is nothing to the purpose. Neither does the fact avail, that she had warned him of his danger, and, after his conviction, that she could not be induced to consent to his death, till a letter from Mary to the king of Spain was shown her, in which this clemency was urged as a proof of the weakness of her government. In like

4 See Steph. Annals, vol. ii. b. 1. c. 9.

⁵ See the absurd slander borrowed from La Mothe Fénélon, vol. i. p. 318.

manner, the misfortunes of Norfolk's no less weak and misguided son, the earl of Arundel, are ascribed, not to his offences, but to her pitiless hatred. The example of his younger son, Charles Howard, and the famous "Belted Will" of Naworth, to whom the wardenship of the north was entrusted by Elizabeth, still more of his kinsman, the Lord Admiral, should convince her maligners, that neither race nor religious profession could prevent loyalty and integrity from enjoying the favour and confidence of this queen. Miss Strickland would fain convict Elizabeth of blood-thirstiness.

The use of torture, which had been frightfully abused in the preceding reign, and was, till a very recent period, universally employed on the continent, had been revived in this reign at the trials of the Jesuit priests, and other papist conspirators, about the year 1584. This affords too good an opportunity to be missed for inveighing against Elizabeth, and we find it asserted, without a shadow of evidence, that, "unfortunately, she was an advocate for the use of torture." Camden, on the contrary, records, that when she heard of the rigour which had been used towards Campian, and his fellow-plotters against her life, she was very angry with the magistracy, and, notwithstanding their excuses, forbade the future use of the rack and such-like punishments; and commanded "seventy of the seminary priests, some of whom were condemned, and all of them under prosecution, to be set at liberty and banished." She was, in fact, the first sovereign who abolished this barbarous custom. Alluding to the civil wars in Ireland it is asserted, "the barbarity with which she caused that unhappy country to be devastated, is unprecedented, excepting in the extermination of the Caribs by the Spaniards 6;" and this, apparently, on no other foundation, than Elizabeth's indignant exclamation on being informed of the severities exercised there by her lord-deputy, Mountjoy, whom she immediately recalled, "that she found she had sent wolves, not shepherds, to govern Ireland, for they had left nothing but ashes and carcasses for her to reign over." Elizabeth, indeed, had extended all the efforts of a careful ruler to that unhappy country. From the first she had entrusted its government to the best and most distinguished of her nobles and statesmen; she had endeavoured to secure to the people the benefits of a reformed church; she had founded and built their university on the liberal principles of English education. If she failed in bestowing peace and prosperity on a soil consecrated to discord, who will presume to lay the blame on her personally, till some English legislator has at last succeeded in achieving what has hitherto baffled human resource? Cowardice, moral and physical,

is not omitted in the category of Elizabeth's sins. One proof of the first kind, coupled with want of filial piety, is, that on her accession she did not more publicly vindicate her mother's fame, at the expense of raking up the evidences of the injustice and wickedness of her other parent, whom (strange as it may appear) she had always been accustomed to regard with reverence. Immediately after a striking instance of her intrepidity, magnanimity, and kind consideration for others, on an occasion when her life was endangered, we are coolly told that "more has been said than can be demonstrated" of the queen's courage, because she was with difficulty persuaded to have an aching tooth pulled out *! Even her learning does not escape without a sneer; her oration to the University of Cambridge is gratuitously assigned to Cecil; and her high-spirited, prompt, and judicious reply to the unexpected insolence of the Polish ambassador's oration, is designated "a sample of her fluent powers of scolding extemporaneously in Latin." In the face of Carey's narrative, above quoted, Miss Strictland thinks proper to declare, that "more, alas! of superstition than devotion attended the last days of this mighty victress;" a most injurious assertion, which she attempts to support solely from some MS., said to be written by one of the queen's attendants, Lady Southwell, containing a gossiping account of her last illness, at variance, especially in the dates, with more authentic reports. This lady says, that a queen of hearts with a nail through the forehead was discovered fastened to the queen's chair, and this, according to the superstition of the times, was supposed by her attendants to have been placed there for her destruction. She also relates that while Elizabeth lay in her last sleep, Lady Guildford having left the chamber, imagined she saw the form of her dying mistress in another apartment, an illusion by no means uncommon to persons in a highly excited state, and worn by long watching 9. Now, both these circumstances may appear equally contemptible to our enlightened judgments; but how they can be called "traits of weakness exhibited by Elizabeth," we are totally at a loss to understand. She can hardly be suspected of a witchcraft meant for her injury, and she cannot reasonably be made answerable for the appearance of her own fetch or ghost. It is not even pretended that she was ever made aware of either occurrence.

The following is a summary of Elizabeth's daily habits after she came to the throne, as given by Miss Strickland from the report of a contemporary, Bohun.

[&]quot;Before day, every morning, she transacted business with her secre-

⁷ Vol. i. p. 176.

taries of state and masters of requests. She caused the orders in council, proclamations, and all other papers relating to public affairs, to be read, and gave such orders as she thought fit on each, which were set down in short notes, either by herself or her secretaries. If she met with anything perplexing, she sent for her most sagacious councillors, and debated the matter with them, carefully weighing the arguments on each side, till she was able to come to a correct decision. When wearied with her morning work, she would take a walk in her garden, if the sun shone; but if the weather were wet or windy, she paced her long galleries, in company with some of the most learned gentlemen of her court, with whom she was wont to discuss intellectual topics. There was scarcely a day in which she did not devote some portion of her time to reading history, or some other important study. She would commonly have some learned man with her, whose labour and talents she would well reward.

"She ate very little, and in her declining life became still more abstemious. She strictly observed all the fast-days, and then allowed no meat to be served up. When she dined in public, she ordered her table to be served with the greatest magnificence, and the side tables to be adorned with costly plate, taking pride in displaying her treasures, especially when she entertained the foreign ambassadors. Her nobles

then waited upon her very reverentially.

"At supper she would relax herself with her friends and attendants, and endeavour to draw them into merry and pleasant discourse. Sometimes she recreated herself with a game of chess, dancing or singing. When she retired to her bed-chamber, she was attended by the married ladies of her household. Some lady of good quality, who enjoyed her confidence, always lying in the same chamber, and besides her guards, who were constantly on duty, there was always a gentleman of good quality, and some others up in the next chamber, who were to wake her in case anything extraordinary happened. In her progresses she was always most easy of approach; private persons and magistrates, men, women, and children, came joyfully and without any fear to wait upon her, and to see her. Her ears were then open to the complaints of the afflicted, and of those who had been in any way injured. She would not suffer the meanest of her people to be shut out from the places where she resided, but the greatest and the least appeared equal in her sight. She took with her own hand, and read with the greatest goodness, the petitions of the meanest rustics, and disdained not to speak kindly to them, and to assure them that she would take a particular care of their affairs." (Vol. II. pp. 122-126.)

Francis Bacon, afterwards the great lord chancellor, whose superior genius had early attracted the favour of Elizabeth, has left many striking records of her virtues and talents, and the admiration of such a man cannot be thought a light proof of both. Speaking of "such particulars as have occasioned some malicious tongues to abuse her," he says,

"As to her religion, she was pious, moderate, and constant, and an enemy to novelty. She was seldom absent from divine service and other duties of religion, either in her chapel or closet. She was very conversant in the Scriptures, and writings of the Fathers, especially St. Augustine. When she mentioned the name of God, though in ordinary discourse, she generally added the title of Creator, and composed her eyes and countenance to an expression of humility and reverence, which I myself have often observed." "As to what was reported, that she was altogether so unmindful of mortality, as not to bear the mention of death or old age, it is absolutely false; for several years before her death, she would often facetiously call herself 'the old woman,' and discourse about what epitaph she should like, adding, that she was no lover of pompous titles, but only desired that her name might be recorded in a line or two, which should briefly express her name, her virginity, the years of her reign, the reformation of religion under it, and her preservation of peace. To speak the truth," he concludes, "the only proper encomiast of this princess is time, which, during the ages it has run, never produced her like for the government of a kingdom."

These testimonies to Elizabeth's character, from the bestinformed and highest sources, like the eulogies of archbishop Abbott, of bishop Hall, of Fuller, of Camden, and many more, are free from the suspicion which must, in all cases, attach to the incense offered at the shrine of living greatness. The dead have no flatterers—the very dynasty of the Tudors had passed away, and a stranger sat upon the throne of England, who could only from necessity have tolerated the adoration paid to the memory of his more glorious predecessor, the stern arbitress of his race. No motive, then, but a sense of sacred justice, could have prompted the tongues and pens of statesmen, poets, and divines, to concur, as they have done, in celebrating her praise. Yet not one, perhaps, has fully entered into the depths of sublimity of a position, of which the world can scarce afford a similar example. Dazzled by the splendour of the triumph, they forgot the strife. Parentless, husbandless, childless, the last of her race, this great and much misrepresented woman, unsupported by the common ties of humanity, had borne the mighty burden of her destiny. Sustained alone by her own virtues and a firm reliance on God, she had gloriously overcome the disadvantages of her sex, the malice of powerful foes, the difficulties of a doubtful title, of an impoverished state, and of opposing factions. She raised her country to a degree of prosperity unparalleled before or since, and to greatness from which its present pre-eminence among nations proceeds. Her long pilgrimage on earth had been passed, not in luxurious ease, but in anxious cares and watchfulness over the people committed to her charge. In all her deeds she forgot not to Whom she must render up account, and her last dying

gestures expressed her faith in His mercy.

With the exception of France, there is no considerable country of Europe which does not boast of its distinguished female sovereign, to whose reign they are accustomed to refer as the most glorious epoch in their annals. Such was the northern Margaret, who united Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, under her fortunate Such, the all-excellent Isabella of Castile, who, with her husband Ferdinand, drove the Moors out of Spain, and by her patronage of Columbus annexed the new world to her successor's dominions. Maria Theresa of Austria, who, from the lowest depths of distress, achieved empire through heroic fortitude; and lastly, the great, but not virtuous, Catherine the second, of Russia. This empress most nearly resembles Elizabeth in the vastness of her policy, and its mighty and enduring results; yet she is unworthy of being compared with her; for though Catherine may claim, in all things, equality with the most celebrated of heroes and rulers, she degraded herself to a level with the lowest of her own sex. But our Elizabeth had no vices; her defects were those incidental to genius, of which she possessed as large a share as ever shone beneath the regal diadem. Her fault was irritability, with impatience of contradiction; her weakness, love of approbation, 'that last infirmity of noble minds,' carried to excess. This desire of praise sometimes led her to look more to the opinions of men, than her own unbiassed and conscientious judgment; sometimes, exposed her to ridicule, by seeking the admiration of persons she despised, towards trifles that were not worthy of her attention. It is sometimes said that her character, though well-fitted for the times in which she ruled, would not be tolerated in our own, when freedom is better understood. But the same sagacity and mental vigor, which adapted itself so admirably to existing circumstances, would not probably have failed in conducting a more regulated state of affairs. It is true that the principles of representative government were little understood in that age, and the lawless despotism of the preceding Tudors had almost trodden out the spirit of our ancient liberty. But it revived with the restoration of the law's supremacy, under the sway of Elizabeth. The poorest man, then, was sure of receiving justice, though he had to plead his cause against the crown. Her temper might have been impetuous, even arbitrary; but her principles were always just; her judgment cool and Without ambition, she abhorred war and conquest; yet never was martial ardour more conspicuous in defence of our native soil. Her reign strikingly shows how much more the power, as the prosperity of a state, is promoted by the arts of peace, than the hollow triumphs of the sword. Though uninstructed in modern habits of superficial restraint, she well understood the nobler science of moral self-government; and having instructed the people in their rights, by always respecting them in her own person, she knew both how to restrain their encroach-

ments, and to yield to their reasonable demands.

The growth of the democratic principle will always keep pace with the spread of knowledge and social improvement; and from this reign we may watch the rise of that formidable power, which, under the feebler rule of her successors, attained an eminence fatal to the monarchy. The notable speech of the puritanical Wentworth in the commons, (inveighing, among other topics, against the mercy persisted in towards the queen of Scots,) for sedition and evil-speaking of dignities, would not shame the loudest demagogues of our own days; but the house was not ripe for such diatribes; their member was too much in advance of his times; they heard him long with dismay; but before he had come to a conclusion, he was unanimously silenced, and it was agreed he should be sequestered, and sent to the tower; whence the queen soon after liberated him, though the chief violence of his invectives had been directed against her authority. Dearly as the people of England love liberty of speech and legislation, it must be confessed that they soon get tired of their own supremacy, when it is once acknowledged. Their parliament had scarcely established itself on the ruins of the throne, the aristocracy, and the hierarchy, before it was extinguished by the hand of its own servant, the most unlimited of despots, Cromwell. The House of Commons has again, by a more deliberate process, assumed to itself the supreme ruling power of these realms, and already a decided feeling appears to be gradually gaining ground, that it may be possible to discover a more agreeable form of despotism.

But this is ground which must not be lightly touched on. Under the smooth, self-flattering mask of polished society there lurks a sense of growing insecurity, a fear of uncertain danger, which all confess, though none agree how it may be averted, or from what quarter the dreaded storm will at last break forth. The splendour of the gilded surface serves but to make more frightful the misery and corruption beneath. All feel that the hour may be approaching, when a crisis more formidable than those of which our pages have treated, shall require the energies, the self-reliance, and above all, the exalted self-devotion of an Elizabeth, to control and direct the course of its events to a happy termination. Neither have we need to despair; if the promise of youthful firmness and domestic virtues, in high and hitherto unmolested station, can be trusted, then may England once more, under Providence, be indebted to her Queen for a

renovated and happier existence.

ART. V.—Sermons preached before the University of Oxford. By Henry Edward Manning, M.A., Archdeacon of Chichester, and late Fellow of Merton College. Oxford: J. H. Parker. London: Rivingtons.

At the present day, the office of a preacher before the University of Oxford has become one of unusual difficulty and responsi-The excitement of prevalent controversies, which renders it as impossible to avoid a certain class of subjects if attention is to be secured, as it is difficult to approach such subjects without increasing dissensions already too painfully felt, must, we are persuaded, be the source of much anxiety to almost every conscientious preacher, in the exercise of his office before this learned and intelligent auditory. The importance which attaches to the duty can hardly be too highly estimated; there is not any pulpit in Europe at this moment, which in its immediate or its remote effects exercises so potent an influence on the condition and destinies of Christ's Church on earth; and the solemn and impressive admonitions which the author of the discourses now before us has addressed to his hearers, in reference to the consequences of single actions and expressions, deserve the especial attention of all who may be called on to fill the office which he has recently occupied.

But such anxieties as we have above alluded to, however naturally arising in a conscientious heart, are perhaps, after all, signs of an imperfect condition of the spiritual constitution. Men of ordinary religious attainments will feel oppressed by care and anxiety lest the cause of God should suffer some injury through their own deficiencies; but there are others who come as it were from some higher region, and take their course in a calm and fearless power, which carries them onward amidst an atmosphere, where all human passions and all transitory things are silenced and subdued. The secret of this power is disclosed in the following

passage:-

"The most direct and effective discipline of the reason is a holy life. That there is some real and close connection between the intellectual and the spiritual powers, we all acknowledge. Holy Scripture expressly declares it; and the evidence of fact plainly confirms the same. The illumination possessed by those who live purely, and the darkness of sensual and inflated minds, alike convince us that there is,

and must be, some law by which the intellectual powers of those that live in humility and prayer are elevated above their natural range. . . It is evident that the most powerful intellects of those who live either in sin or spiritual sloth, are mysteriously limited in their perceptions After all their toil and labour spent upon the matter of Divine revelation, they appear to get no further than the external tradition of language and definitions. They seem to dwell in the outer court of Divine knowledge; in the logical and controversial region; in the restless exercise of the active intellect; the superficial and verbal exposition of the mysteries which shroud from them the realities of the Divine Presence. Even in the study of Holy Scripture, with the acutest critical knowledge of the text, they seem to have little or no realization of the sense. The characters which are traced upon the veil, they read with a perfect skill; but the ideas which are behind it, they seem not so much as to apprehend. It appears as if the faculties which are related to the objects of contemplation were wanting; or, if we may so say, as if, with a perfect state of the organs of sight, the original power of perception were limited.

On the other hand, the slowest and most unapt among devout and pure minds, although they be wanting in the logical and communicative powers, show by their moral energies, by the realities of patience, reverence, obedience, love, inflexibility, wisdom of life, such an inward realization and intuition of truth, as would probably be beyond the

power of speech fully to express."—pp. 167—170.

And the inference drawn from this applies especially in the case before us.

"Now, what is thus true of the most uncultivated minds, must be equally true of all. That which is able to make them wise, despite of every intellectual hindrance, will doubtless work with a greater and more searching virtue, for the illumination of those that are gifted both with intellectual powers and with the discipline of instruction. If depth, penetration, discernment, be conferred by a holy life upon untutored minds, how much more upon those who, with equal devotion, have greater intellectual gifts!"—p. 172.

How perfectly true, and how singularly adapted to its object, is this! That very cultivation of the intellect which possesses so devouring an interest for those who are thus addressed, is enlisted in the service of religion. It is at once elevated, humbled, chastened, and stimulated; and all the interests connected with it, while permitted to remain, are concentrated and directed on the business of salvation. We think that the Sermons before us afford a remarkable exemplification of powers thus created and directed. It were superfluous to speak of the intellectual attainments and accomplishments visible in almost every page; but we cannot refrain from expressing our admiration at the singular

wisdom with which subjects of the greatest difficulty have been approached, and the beautiful adaptation of the argument to the circumstances of those to whom it was addressed. It is this adaptation which appears to us as the peculiar merit of these discourses. Every sentence is calculated to have its effect; and it is this which confers tenfold value on the combination of varied powers which adorns these pages.

In truth, every one, we suppose, who has had the fortune to hear Archdeacon Manning, can bear witness to the practical effects of his teaching. And the position which he accordingly holds in the public estimation, renders it a matter of more than ordinary interest, when, as in the volume before us, he enters on the discussion of subjects vitally important to the Church at

all times, and especially so at this moment.

The first sermon in the volume deduces from the fall of Judas the great practical lesson of the danger of sinning in the midst of religious privileges, and of permitting the conscious growth of any single evil affection; and all this is applied with great force to the case of those who are engaged in the sacred ministry, as well as of those who are enjoying the privileges of a religious education.

The next sermon, on "the Probation of the Church," enters on deeper questions connected with the vindication of God's providential government. It is argued, that since the world is fallen, evil must exist,—sin, and heresy, and sectarianism must continue to deform the world. The following passage points at one of the most dangerous and uncatholic sentiments of the present day,—a doctrine which has been unconsciously borrowed from the Novatians, the Donatists, and the modern Independents:—

"We are apt to speak of the Church as if the original scheme of the Divine mind were to realize, at this present time, something very different from what we now see; as if it were designed to exhibit, in this present world, a state of holiness and unity, far beyond what we any where find to exist; as if God in the beginning had laid the groundplan of a perfect work, and man had marred it in the superstructure. But is it not nearer to the truth, to believe that it was designed to be what indeed it is; that the Divine Monarchy over the world is really expressed in all things, even as they are; that there is some deeper reason in the fact that they are not otherwise; that all the offences. scandals, and falls of Christian men and of Churches are all foreseen, and, so to speak, reckoned into, and allowed for, in the great scheme; so that the purpose of God is fulfilling, not only in spite, but by means of the most adverse powers? We should, perhaps, have expected in the Church an unbroken unity, an uncontaminated faith, and an increasing sanctity of life; and yet we find the phenomena of its history to be in direct variance with such anticipations. It was no sooner

founded, than there were some who were not of it, who went out from it. The Catholic faith is hardly older than the Gnostic heresy. It may be, on the hypothesis of good and evil co-existing in the Church, and of a moral, not a mechanical, restoration of our nature to God, that schism and heresy are the foils and conditions of the manifestation of unity and truth; as St. Paul has said, 'There must be heresies among you ($\delta \epsilon \tilde{\imath} \gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho \kappa \alpha \tilde{\imath} \alpha \dot{\imath} \rho \dot{\epsilon} \sigma \epsilon \iota g \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\nu} \nu \dot{\mu} \tilde{\imath} \nu \kappa \iota l$), that they which are proved may be made manifest among you.'"—pp. 26—28.

We are obliged reluctantly to refrain from further extracts on this subject, which appears to us to be of the greatest possible importance in every way. Many amongst us have unconsciously adopted abstract theories of the nature of the Church, from which error, and sin, and division, are wholly excluded, as inconsistent with the notion of the Divine institution and government of the Church; and they do not see that such views, if carried out to their legitimate consequences, would result in the denial of creation and of Providence altogether; for the world at large is certainly at least as full of imperfections and evils as the Church. The formation of such ideal theories of the Church appears to us quite as likely to lead to the shipwreck of all settled faith whatever, as to disloyalty towards our branch of the Catholic Church.

We have, on other occasions, remarked on the great difference between confessing the defects of the Church in the hope of amendment, and pointing them out in an undutiful and hostile spirit. The following passage will exemplify the former mode, the spirit of which we would contrast with that of Mr. Newman's sermons, or of Mr. Ward's "Ideal of a Christian Church."

"To take a particular case: I mean the state of the Church of Christ among us. The land seems full of offences; they lie within the precinct of the Church; offences seem to multiply day by day; old stumbling-blocks are not taken out of the way, new are cast down: there must needs be heresies among us, and heresies there are: throughout the land there is the voice as of a great multitude, but speaking diverse things; discipline is relaxed; the Church year by year deplores it; her national character seems fading away; rival Churches, priesthoods, doctrines, and sacraments challenge her legitimacy. Of her own some forsake her: the habit of faith in realities external to the mind is weak and languid: the moral character of division is fully out upon our people: it is sustained in its intensity among the sects which beset the Church; it finds too ready a sympathy even within its They that bear us no good will would say more; and they that dwell overmuch on the visible face rather than the hidden purpose of our trials, are tempted to believe them. But so 'it must needs be:' from the beginning it hath been so; it is, and ever shall be. 'There hath no temptation taken' us, 'but such as is common' to the Church. They who complain, or are cast down at these things, do they not.

unconsciously, repine at the discipline by which the Church is to be perfected, and impeach the wisdom of Christ's providential rule? . . . There is some greater destiny before us for which we are not yet ripe. It may be that there is in store for this Church some rougher work than to dress her own vineyard; some higher lot than to open and shut the fold of one people. It is, doubtless, expedient that we should be tempted, humbled, and chastised; that we should learn deeper lessons in warfare with the gates of hell; that we may realise, and identify with our very life, our mystical union with Christ through this branch of his Church Catholic, and become conscious of the great gifts of his presence among us; and offer ourselves up to Him through it, to be trained and strengthened in obedience to the mother of our regenera-It may be, that these offences are permitted, in order to work out our stedfastness, to turn our passive abiding in the Church into a conscious and energetic principle of loyalty. It is just in this point that we are tried, and it is there we most need a trial."—pp. 32—34.

The fourth discourse, on "the work appointed us," discusses the question, whether each individual has some special work or vocation appointed to him by the will of his Creator, and lays down some valuable practical rules for ascertaining that vocation, which is inferred to be the state in which we are actually placed by Providence, or which external circumstances lead us to. Towards the conclusion, those who have spoken undutifully of the Church and highly of themselves, are advised to test the sincerity of their professions, by entering on the work of evangelizing the benighted and heathen population of our manufacturing districts.

But the fifth sermon, "Christ's kingdom not of this world," is, in our opinion, and we do not doubt that it will be in that of the Church generally, by far the most valuable and important of the whole volume. What a contrast between the views here enunciated and those put forward by Hoadly in his discourse on the same subject! We shall not dwell on the introductory part, which clearly and beautifully announces the heavenly ends and prerogatives of the Church, and its institutions, as a means of accomplishing the Divine purposes. Nor shall we pause to review such excellent practical inferences as these—that separation from the policy of the world is the law of the Church—and that it is unfaithful in her to assume the power or admit the principles of the world; but shall pass at once to the more important branch of the subject, the evils that have actually resulted from the disregard of such principles.

"It is undeniable that the spirit of the world did, in later ages, diffuse itself in the visible body of the Church, drawing after it principles and wisdom which are earthly, and alien from Christ; and diverting its

prominent and active powers from the purely spiritual end for which it was ordained. But it would be a false account of this unquestionable fact, if we were to suppose that the first or chief agents in these departures from the spirit of Christ's kingdom were uniformly evil, or conscious of their deflections. . . . It is remarkable how, both in the East and in the West, this tendency, though under different aspects, developed itself in the same direction. In both, the spiritual element became more or less subservient to the secular. In the East, for instance, we find the later Greek emperors, not content with the Christian prerogatives wielded by the earlier, gradually proceeding to extravagant assumptions; we find also the later councils and canonists of the Greek Church favouring and enlarging their claims. In like manner also in the West, we find the holy boldness of earlier days settling down into the worldly policy of later Pontiffs: and saints that withstood the world by patience and the arms of the spirit, drawn into precedent by the advocates of the Roman court for assumption of universal sovereignty. As if it were a small thing to claim an universal jurisdiction in things spiritual over the whole Church of God, and that by divine right, the Bishop of Rome took to himself a power of disposing also of all things temporal, on the plea of promoting spiritual ends. . . . From this principle a manifold secularity spread itself in the Western Church. Spiritual powers were turned to worldly ends. The ecclesiastical system . . . became, at times, itself, so far as a Divine work can be swayed aside by human obliquity, the source of tumult and intrigue. The power of spiritual censure, excommunication and interdict, were wielded by hands that measured their strength with the princes of the world in fleets and armies. the same principles of disorder come also an evil which is the converse of the last, namely, that of using worldly policy for spiritual ends. For instance, the use of persecution to promote unity of faith; the deposition of princes for heresy, the absolving their subjects from oaths of obedience, the instigating their destruction. These fundamental laws of spiritual and civil anarchy, howsoever repudiated now by individuals, and even by Churches of the Roman obedience, were, nevertheless, the potent and active principle of that court and see for ages: they were formally elaborated by schoolmen, defended by doctors, recognized in councils; and what is more than all polemical arguments, openly put in act. Five times the Roman Pontiff has assumed to depose emperors and kings, and to absolve their subjects from their allegiance. these acts are justified by his most cherished and honoured advocates. The inveterate and unnatural schism by which this our Church is afflicted, is the perpetual memorial, and ever-present witness, of the attempt of Pius the Fifth to depose the Queen of England for heresy and usurpation."-pp. 76-83.

We have only space for another passage, in reference to the abolition of the papal jurisdiction in England.

"If we would rightly understand both the acts by which, for just causes, and by a rightful authority, the Roman jurisdiction was finally

removed, and the true nature of the ecclesiastical prerogative claimed by our princes, we must follow the statutes of provisors along the course of our history. The act of the sixteenth century was the last and successful effort in a long series of ineffectual struggles against the secular encroachments of the Roman court. It was counselled, completed, and justified by men, whom the advocates of the pontiff could in no other point attaint of error. And the principle on which they rested this act, and on which our relation to the Roman Church is still amply to be defended, is this—that there is no one supreme prince or power in things temporal, from whom the civil rulers of this realm derive their sovereign authority; neither by Divine right any one supreme spiritual head or centre, from whom the pastors of this Church derive their Apostolical commission; that both the spiritualty and temporalty of this Church and realm severally possess full authority and jurisdiction derived to them by succession and devolution; and that both, under Christ alone, are within their respective spheres perfect and complete."-pp. 91, 92.

The two last sermons, on "the Beatific Vision," and "the gift of Illumination," are both devoted to the object of gathering all the highest aspirations and longings of the human mind, and making them subservient to moral culture and sanctity of life. Rarely indeed has this great cause been pleaded so zealously and so well as in these beautiful and striking discourses. We feel confident, that many of those who listened to them, will retain to the latest day of their lives some salutary impressions from them. Words like these are not to be forgotten. They produce no transient effect. They will bear fruit, we humbly trust, to the future welfare of God's Church, and the salvation of many a Christian soul.

- ART. VI. 1. Oxford Parish Burial Grounds Statement Oxford: Parker. London: Rivingtons.
- 2. Report of the Oxford Parish Burial Ground Committee, Feb. 1, 1844.
- 3. Report on the Sanatory Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain.
- A Supplementary Report on the Results of a Special Inquiry into the Practice of Interments in Towns. By Edwin Chadwick, Esq., Barrister-at-law. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, 1843.

The subject which we now approach is by no means new to the public. It would seem, at first sight, unattractive, as it is inauspicious,—and yet it is not unpopular. A funeral will always attract a crowd, even where such spectacles are common. The sameness of every-day life makes men seek disagreeable excitement rather than remain without excitement; and there is a taste for tragedy, and curiosity for the terror which death inspires, natural to mankind from childhood upwards. The same tendency of the human mind is displayed in the desire which we often witness, especially in great towns, to see the injuries produced by a fatal or serious accident, and the avidity with which accounts of such distressing events are read in newspapers,—to say nothing of the more objectionable thirst for strong emotions actuating the crowds who flock to public executions.

This disposition, or mental tendency, is undoubtedly immoral. It belongs more to the least refined and worst educated than to any other class of the community; and it is at variance, not only with correct taste, but with true catholic feeling. Those painful and shocking objects ought to be looked upon with dignified resolution, as necessary accidents of our existence here on earth, and as occasions to perform a duty or to derive an example; but the mind ought not to encourage or dwell on the feelings which they naturally impress on human infirmity. The mind ought not to dwell on any species of deformity, moral or physical, excepting with reference to something collateral in the nature of duty or example. These principles are much neglected in our times; and of that neglect we can scarcely produce a more striking example than the form in which the most serious and important subject of burials has been brought before the public lately.

No doubt it was necessary that that subject should be considered with reference to public health, and with a view to sanatory legislation. It was right that facts should be collected for the purpose of ascertaining whether the existing usages, as to the burial of the dead, were or were not injurious. But how was this done? Gravediggers and resurrection-men, and other persons conversant with death, disease, and misery, were summoned to tell strange stories of the lives and adventures of themselves and their fellows, and the things which they had seen and heard, which were appreciated and admired in proportion to their hideous-Those disgusting legends, garnished with all the terrors of typhus fever, were then recorded in print, to frighten the people into suppressing churchyards in towns; and soon obtained great notoriety, through the vulgar love of horrors so prevalent in this country. The bad taste of the common herd was indulged with a rich treat. They were fed to satiety with vivid descriptions of the pestilence of Enon chapel, and the abominations of St. Clement's churchyard, until these sources of excitement became stale and flat. and some new object arrested the attention of the reading mob.

No doubt, some good was done by this appeal to the morbid feelings of the people. Some good was done by the publication of the facts, showing the impropriety of the unlimited use of burying-grounds situated in the midst of a dense population in the largest city in Europe. But those facts were highly coloured and caricatured, and dressed up in spectral garments, to excite vulgar amazement and childish terror. The consequence of this was, that the view taken by what is called public opinion was narrow and insufficient. The subject was considered in a small way, with a reference to the present alarm only, and without having regard to other considerations, involving great principles of public law and ecclesiastical discipline. People thought with horror of the dangers to which they were exposed in the performance of their devotions, in their daily walks, and even in their dwellings; and no idea suggested itself to their minds, but that of providing for their safety. Fear naturally produces narrowmindedness.

The effect of this panic was to produce, or at least confirm and extend, a strong feeling against burying in churchyards, and in favour of the newly-invented cemeteries. There was a cry for legislation; but parliament could not deal with the difficulties of the subject. It was, therefore, left to public opinion; and that formidable authority dealt practically with it, in the narrow way to which we have alluded,—that is to say, with reference to the sole question of public health.

But it is evident that a state of things now exists which renders

necessary a broad and comprehensive examination of the whole

subject of the burial of the dead.

While the old-established system of parochial interments remained uninfringed, there was little necessity for such an investigation. But the increase of population made some modification of that system requisite. A change took place, by the establishment of public cemeteries. The causes to which we have adverted rendered that change more extensive in its operation, and more important in its effects. The result is, that a strange heterogeneous system has been produced, in which the old Church laws and the modern devices war against each other, and a system presenting enormous violations of ecclesiastical principles and Christian obligations. The Church herself has, through inadvertence and a mistaken indulgence towards modern prejudices and crudities, become in some degree implicated in these things. We are speaking, not of mere irregularities or inconveniences, but of gross simony,—systematic traffic in funeral rites and dead men's graves,—and wilful sacrilege. These are heavy charges, but they shall be substantiated. It shall be shown that the corporations called cemetery companies are guilty of these enormities, and that they have committed them under the sanction of the legislature.

But before entering on the painful task of proving these serious accusations, it is desirable to take a wider range, in order to establish on firm ground the principles which ought to guide us in our judgment on the facts as they now stand in this country. When those principles have been shown by the light of ecclesiastical law and the precedents furnished by history, we shall see this important subject in all its true bearings, not without astonishment at the narrow and imperfect views of those to whom the practical administration of the matter has fallen in these times. The question now arises,—from what sources are these principles to be taken? The answer is easy. The general consent of mankind (which, according to Grotius, constitutes a great proof of what is natural law,) has established, that the burial of the dead is a sacred thing, a matter intimately connected with religion, and generally of ecclesiastical cognizance. This universal jus gentium naturally springs from a belief in the great truth of the immortality of the soul, and it was firmly established among the wisest nations of antiquity. Here we have the most weighty and undeniable testimony of the natural law. But the Church affords us still higher authority. The authority of the Church to decree rites and ceremonies, and generally to regulate all matters of

¹ Grotius D. de la G. et de la P. L. ii. Ch. xix.

discipline, cannot be doubted. Moreover, the practice of the Church, from the first ages downwards, is of very great weight, to show what its law is, and what ought to be the law and usage of Christian nations, on any given matter. Now, by the natural law, and by the law of the Christian Church, the burial of the dead is a religious rite, and within the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical power. It cannot, therefore, be denied, that the principles and practice of that power in the Christian Church must be to every Christian prince and civil ruler of paramount authority, to determine what temporal laws ought to be enacted and what practices permitted, touching the burial of the dead. ter affecting public health and economy, as a portion of the outward administration of the commonwealth, the burial of the dead is within the province of the civil magistrate; but the civil magistrate is bound to observe the principles of the Church in legislating on a subject essentially within the Church's jurisdiction, and partaking of the nature of a religious rite. He cannot do otherwise, without violating both the natural law and the law which is obligatory on him as a Christian.

These positions do not require to be demonstrated. We must deduce from them that this very important branch of public law cannot be dealt with safely, unless it be clearly understood what are the doctrines and laws of the Christian Church thereon. Those doctrines and laws shall now be explained. They are to be found in the traditions of the Church, and in Canons of councils and the laws of the Christian emperors

of the first ages.

From the earliest times of the Church, it was held that the bodies of the faithful should be honoured with certain funeral rites, as having been the dwellings of immortal souls and the temples of the Holy Spirit 2. And St. Jerome observes, that funeral honours are sanctioned not only in the Old, but in the New Testament, citing the instances of Moses and Aaron, and of St. Stephen, whose obsequies he believes to have been performed with solemnity. In accordance with these principles, St. Augustine says, in the first book of his treatise, De Civitate Dei, chap. 13, "Non sunt contemnenda et abjicienda corpora defunctorum maximeque justorum et fidelium, quibus, tanquam organis ac vasis ad omnia bona opera, Sanctus usus est Spiritus." And in the same place he says, that offices of piety towards the dead are pleasing to God, their remains being within His providence, because of the doctrine of the resurrection. Van Espen also refers to more on this subject, in St. Augustine's book,

² Van Espen, Jus Eccles. Univers. pt. ii. sect. iv. tit. vii. De Sepultur. § 1. VOL. II.—NO. IV.—DEC. 1844.

De Cura pro Mortuis; and in his Sermon 32, De Verbis Apostoli."

We have seen how high are the grounds from which the solemnities of Christian burial are deduced by the Fathers of the Church. They appeal to the great doctrines of the resurrection of the body, and of the influence of the Holy Spirit on the soul which inhabits that body. This deduction is indeed clearly suggested by the sublime and mysterious argument of St. Paul, in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, wherein he speaks of the relation between the natural body sown in corruption and dishonour, and the spiritual body raised in incorruption and glory. It is impossible to read that portion of Scripture without being struck with the reference made therein to the burial of the dead, in connexion with the great doctrine of the resurrection, and immediately becoming impressed with the sacredness of the rite of burial, which the Apostle likens to the sowing of grain, whereby a plant is to be quickened into life.

St. Paul must have been peculiarly well prepared by his education as a Roman, to receive these high views concerning funeral rites, which the Romans, guided by the light of natural law and

philosophy, looked upon as very sacred 3.

That jus gentium among the ancients is the more interesting, because it was by no means neglected in the usages of the Christian Church, which in some instances were derived, not only from the Jews but from the Pagans ': although the Church adapted those usages by some appropriate reason to Christian principles, particularly with reference to the resurrection of the

body, and the hope of happiness after death 5.

Thus St. John Chrysostom shows, in his Homily on the fourth epistle to the Hebrews, that torches or lights were carried in funerals of good Christians, as a sign of triumph and victory. Pursuing the same idea, he says, "Why are hymns chant d? Do we not glorify God, and return thanks, for that He has crowned him who has left us? Do we not thank God for freeing him from his labours? for taking him to Himself, casting off all fears? Are not hymns for those purposes used? All these things belong to men rejoicing." Singing was also used at funerals by the pagans; but their music was of a gloomy kind, to which they added wild cries and extravagant signs of grief: and that clamorous species of lamentation was customary among the

4 Van Espen, ubi cit. § xi. xii.

³ Vid. Pandect. Tit. de Relig. et Sumpt. Funer. Tit. De Mortuo inferendo. Tit. de Sepulcr. Viol.

⁵ S. Chrysost. Homil. 4. Epist. ad Hebr. apud Van Esp. And see Decree of Gratian, Caus. 13. Quæst. 2. Can. 28. Van Esp. ubi sup. § xxxiii. xxxv. S. August. Serm. 32, de Verb. Apost.

Jews; for, when our Lord went to the house of the ruler whose daughter was dead, He found musicians and a multitude of people crying and making a noise. This immoderate grief was condemned by the Fathers of the Church, according to the precept of the Apostle, not to be sorry as men without hope. And thus St. Cyprian, in his treatise De Mortalitate 6, says, "Fratres nostros non esse lugendos assertione Dominica de seculo liberatos; cum sciamus eos non amitti sed præmitti, recedentes præcedere ut proficiscentes, ut navigantes solent : desiderari eos debere non plangi; nec accipiendas hic esse atras vestes quando ibi indumenta alba jam sumpserint: occasionem dandam non esse Gentilibus ut nos merito ac jure reprehendant, quod quos vivere apud Deum dicimus ut extinctos et perditos lugeamus: et fidem quam sermone et voce depromimus cordis et pectoris testimonio non probemus." And thus the Council of Toledo, in the year 1473, forbade the clergy to wear mourning dresses for their deceased relations, stigmatizing that usage as absurd and reprehensible, not in the proud and inflexible spirit with which the Venetian senate followed their doge to the grave in scarlet robes, inferius majestate sua rati si palam lamentarentur, but because (in the words of the Council of Toledo) "secundum sententiam ore benedicto prolatam qui credit in Christum, etiamsi mortuus fuerit, vivit.

We must not, however, conclude that the Church disapproved of all mourning; for, as St. Augustine beautifully says, in his Sermon 32, de Verbis Apostoli, "Ideo non admonuit Apostolus ut non contristemur; sed non sicut cæteri qui spem non habent. Contristamur ergo nos in nostrorum mortibus, necessitate amittendi, sed cum spe recipiendi: inde angimur, hinc consolamur: inde infirmitas afficit, hinc fides reficit: inde dolet humana con-

ditio, hine sanat Divina promissio."

These authorities suffice to show, how thoroughly the usages of the early Church, concerning the burial of the dead, were identified with the principles and doctrines of the Gospel. They all had reference not only to the belief in a future state, but to the resurrection of the body and the hope of eternal happiness. They differed from those of the pagans, in being founded not on arguments of probability and philosophic reasoning, whereby the ancients arrived at an apprehension of the immortality of the soul, but on the certainty of a direct and positive revelation. This, undeniably, invests every thing relating to the burial of the dead among Christians with a very religious character. And this also clearly proves, that every thing regarding the rite and the

office of burial ought to be jealously protected from whatever so much as resembles profanation, and even guarded from every temporal influence or association calculated to affect their exclusively ecclesiastical and religious character.

Such are the real principles on which the whole subject of the

burial of the dead must be regulated in a Christian state.

The law of the twelve tables shows, that among the Romans it was forbidden to bury in cities 7. And a law of the emperor Hadrian, renewed by a constitution of Diocletian and Maximian⁸, forbade it under a penalty. The observance of these laws, however, seems to have been relaxed; for in the year 381, the emperor Theodosius the younger repeated the prohibition, grounding it on the same Pagan superstition, which is to be found in the law of the twelve tables; namely, the supposed violation of the sacredness of a town by the presence of a corpse, which was supposed to funestare sacra civitatis. In the same law, the emperor expressly forbids burials near the tombs of the apostles and martyrs, whose bodies were honourably translated within the walls of towns after the cessation of the persecutions. Over those tombs churches, called Martyria, were constructed, and many were desirous of being buried near them, from a feeling of affectionate reverence for those eminent persons, and, in some cases, perhaps, out of pride 9.

This strong feeling caused the law, forbidding burials in cities, to be gradually disregarded, until the emperor, by his fifty-third novell, fully permitted what Theodosius had so strictly forbidden. The terms in which Leo abrogated the old law are remarkable, as showing that it had been already repealed in effect by usage; "ut a consuetudine recte contemnitur, sic etiam Decreto nostro

prorsus reprobatur."

The same spirit which produced this change in the law, caused the early Christians to be buried near the basilicæ and other principal churches. From these usages of the ancient Christians are derived churchyards, or burial-places near churches, especially parish churches, whether within or without towns, which were usually called cemeteries, from the word $\kappa o \iota \mu \acute{a} \omega$, that is to say, sleeping-places ¹⁰.

It follows from these historical facts, that the prohibition of burials in towns by the Roman law, arose from a Pagan superstition¹; that the piety of the Christians made them desire burial

⁷ Et vid. L. 3. § 5. ff. de Sepulcr. Viol.

⁸ L. 12. Cod. de Religios. et Sumpt. Funer.

⁹ Van Esp. pt. ii. sec. iv. tit. vii. De Sepultur. § i. ix.

¹⁰ Van Esp. ubi sup. § x. xvi.

¹ Vid. Gothofred ad L. 5 and 6. Cod. Theod. de Sepulcr. Viol.

near churches and chapels, that the old law became ineffectual, and that the emperor Leo was compelled, by the feeling of the Church, to abrogate that law. It is therefore evident, that when Mr. Chadwick says in his report, that burial in public cemeteries out of towns, and unconnected with churches, is a practice to which the earliest Christians conformed, he makes an assertion calculated to mislead 2, for the early Christians only conformed to this Pagan law, while they could not avoid doing so. Besides, it is undoubted, that the laws of the ancient Romans, which Mr. Chadwick relies on as an authority, can have nothing to do with sanatory reasons, since the ancients reduced their dead to ashes, in which state they could not produce any inconvenience to the health of the living 3.

It is clear, then, that there is no ancient authority against, and that there is very high authority in favour of burial near churches, and even in towns.

It has now been shown that, from the earliest period at which the Christian Church was able to exercise any degree of freedom, burial near churches has been the law and practice, whether those churches were in towns or in the rural districts. The ancient pagans indeed held the ground, in which the ashes of a human body had been entombed, to be religiosum, but they superstitiously believed that to carry a body into a city would funestare sacra civitatis. The Church, however, viewed the rite of burial in a higher way. The doctrine of the resurrection of the body, and the high spiritual privileges of the soul inhabiting that body here on earth, necessarily led the ancient Christians to look upon that rite as very sacred, and to contemplate it, not with abhorrence and dread, as the occasion of violent and clamorous grief, like the heathens, but in the spirit of that sentence which we often see inscribed on the entrance of ancient ecclesiastical buildings—Mors Janua vita. They, therefore, placed the tombs of the faithful around their churches and in their cities. We will not dwell on the feelings of piety, example, and affection which this beautiful custom of antiquity suggests. Those feelings are so natural, so vivid, so common, that it would be difficult to describe them without repeating what has been said and felt by millions for ages.

Another branch of the subject now claims our attention, and to this, indeed, allusion has been strongly made in the commencement of this article, namely, the purity, the freedom from all simoniacal taint (which is sacrilege) required by the Church in

² Chadwick, Supplement Rep. p. 148.

³ The case of the Athenians and the body of Marcus Marcellus was grounded on religious reasons, as appears from Cicero, and as Mr. Chadwick admits.

the administration of Christian burial. And we cannot better enter on this matter than in the grave words of the learned and famous Spelman:—

"As it is a work of the law of nature and nations, of human and Divine law to bury the dead, so it is to administer that which necessarily conduceth to it, the place and office of burial. If a man were so impious as not to afford it, the earth to his shame will do it; she will open the pores of her body, and take in the blood; she will send forth her children the worms to bring in the flesh of their brother, and with her mantle, the grass, as with a winding-sheet, she will enfold the bones, and bury all together in her own bosom. Men (in passion) refuse oftentimes to do it to their enemies, to wicked persons, and to notorious offenders; but she as a natural mother, that can forget none of her children, doth thus for them all, both good and bad, teaching us thereby what we should do for our brethren, and branding those with impiety who answer with Cain, Am I my brother's keeper?

"The drift of my speech tendeth to the reproof of a custom grown up among us Christians, not heard of, I suppose, among the barbarians,

selling of graves, and the duty of burial 4."

It would indeed be monstrous that the Church, entertaining such noble and sacred views concerning the rite of Christian burial, should allow that rite to be prostituted to the base and sordid purposes of a traffic not heard of among the barbarians—selling of graves, and the duty of burial. The Church allows no such abomination.

Let us look back to history. We find in the Holy Scripture that Ephron sold a piece of ground to be used as a burial-place. For this transaction St. Jerome severely censures Ephron. It is, however, clear that this is the case of a mere sale of the field and the cave of Machpelah for a burial-place; that is to say, a sale of land to be converted into a burial-place in perpetuity. The children of Heth did not refuse to allow Abraham to bury his dead unless he purchased a tomb. On the contrary, they said, "None of us shall withhold from thee his sepulchre." Abraham wished to possess a piece of ground of his own for the burial of his dead, and he asked for the field and cave of Machpelah for that purpose. It seems, however, that Ephron scrupled to take money for the purchase, and was with difficulty persuaded to accept the value of the land. This transaction is quite free from simony. But the animadversions of St. Jerome show how strongly that great father of the Church felt the duty of avoiding simony in the burial of the dead.

The earliest Christian laws respecting the payment of funeral

⁴ Spelman, de Sepultur. in princip. Spelm. Engl. Works, p. 175.

expenses are a constitution of the Emperor Anastasius, a novel of Justinian, and one of Leo the Wise⁵. Those laws granted and confirmed to the great Church of Constantinople certain revenues, that all funerals might be performed gratis in the city, at the same time limiting the expenses of funerals. Their object was not merely the relief of those who were unable to bear the charge of burials, but also to avoid the semblance of any desire for lucre on the part of the clergy in the pious and charitable

work of burying the dead.

It is worthy of remark, that these laws did not in the slightest degree infringe on the ecclesiastical character of funeral rites. The emperors never thought of national cemeteries, managed and controlled by official servants of the civil government. They never thought of committing to "medical officers" "the regulation of the service of interments in national cemeteries," according to the system recommended by Mr. Chadwick. They granted to the Church the property which they devoted to the purposes of funeral rites; and they left the whole administration of burial in the hands of the Church, according to the constant and invariable usage of Christendom from the earliest ages. Thus it is clear that the laws of the ancient Christian emperors afford no authority for the system of national interment proposed by Mr. Chadwick. Mr. Chadwick also appeals to the authority of the cemetery at Frankfort, of which he gives a drawing, resembling a heathen temple adapted to the purposes of a railway station, and the systems followed in the United States of America, at Paris, and in Prussia, all of which are referred to in the report, with more or less approbation, as worthy of imitation. But such authorities as these can have no weight whatever in this country. The people of England will not hear of them; the clergy, nobility, and commonalty of this realm will utterly reject them as alien to their usages, their feelings, their honour, and their piety. But let us resume the thread of our argument.

The Church has never condemned the custom which prevailed from the earliest ages of making oblations for the dead; and, therefore, the clergy are not forbidden to receive them. It is necessary to understand this point, in order to distinguish the lawful dues of the Church in the administration of the rite of burial from simoniacal lucre. That distinction must be made clear before we proceed to show how the Church has condemned

the selling of graves and the duty of burial.

No spiritual thing, and nothing annexed to that which is spi-

L. 18. Cod. de SS. Eccles. Justin. Novel. 59. Leo, Nov. 12.
 Chadwick, Supplem. Rep. p. 200. § 259.

ritual, can be given for money or money's worth. That is the general rule. Thus no rite of the Church can be made the subject of a bargain, or be given in consideration for money or money's worth. It follows that a clergyman, undertaking and performing his ecclesiastical duty for the sake of emolument, commits simony. But we have the authority of the Jewish dispensation for holding that certain property ought to be set apart for the maintenance of the clergy and the celebration of Divine worship. Whether that provision is made by endowment consisting of land or of personalty, or by dues of fees, the principle is the same.

The clergy ought not to be reduced to beg or to earn their living by secular occupations, and the Church must therefore maintain them. The celebration of Divine worship also requires a variety of things which cannot be obtained gratuitously, and funds must therefore be provided, either by endowment or by dues and fees, for that purpose. Hence arose tithes, which, in the early ages of the Church, were voluntary, but the payment of which afterwards became compulsory; and it is the same with dues and fees which are received by the clergy on the occasion of their performing divers parts of their duty. It is evident that whether the clergy receive the revenues arising from endowments or dues and fees, the principle is precisely the same. In neither case do they sell the performance of their functions, and for both there is direct authority in the Old Testament.

These principles apply as well to fees and dues received by the clergy on the occasion of burials, as to those received on the performance of other functions. But a clergyman commits simony by bargaining for a greater fee than he is entitled to, or for some other advantage besides the fee, or by refusing to perform his

duty until the fee is paid or the payment secured.

It is also necessary to bear in mind that it is the nature of the act, and not the quality of person performing the act, that constitutes simony. Thus simony may be committed by a layman; and this is undeniable, for Simon Magus himself was a layman, and so was Gehazi. And it is evident that if a layman bargains that, for a consideration, whether the payment of money, or consisting of any other advantage or emolument, a spiritual office or duty shall be performed, he as much commits simony as if he himself performed that office or duty for the consideration; for he sells that office or duty. So if A. keeps a chaplain, B., for a fixed stipend, and derives a temporal emolument from the spiritual services of B.; by receiving money from third parties, A. is guilty of simony, for he sells the spiritual services of B. The case of Gehazi plainly establishes this position, which no canonist

can deny. Gehazi was punished for deriving an emolument, not from his own, but from the spiritual act of the Prophet, his master. He was punished for the falsehood; but he was also punished for the simoniacal corruption, as distinctly appears from the words of the Prophet.

All these principles manifestly apply to the rite of burial, in common with other spiritual offices and duties; and it will be necessary for the reader to bear them in mind, while we proceed to show the determinations of the Church respecting simony in

burials.

And we cannot better investigate this important part of the subject than under the guidance of the famous Spelman: after speaking of St. Jerome's animadversion against Ephron, he says,

"Yet did he (St. Jerome) not so much reprove this taking by Ephron, as the vice and sin of our time in requiring and exacting money for burial; which beginning then to creep into the world, gave the Church a just occasion both to censure and condemn it by many constitutions, canons, and decrees, whereof I will recite some which I conceive are at this day in force (as touching the substance of them) in our Church, though neglected, and not observed by our Churchmen?."

Thus Spelman holds that those constitutions, canons, and decrees, are in force in the Church of England, as touching the substance of them; that is to say, that the principles which they contain are binding on English Churchmen, a proposition which he afterwards repeats more explicitly. This is very important, proceeding from so high an authority. Spelman then goes on to cite seven canons touching the matter in hand:—

"Canon I.—Nereida, a noble woman, complaining to Gregory the Great, that Jannarius, bishop of Sardinia, blushed not to require a hundred shillings for the burial of her daughter, Gregory, by a decretal epistle to him saith, We have utterly forbidden this vice in our Church, and do not suffer so bad a custom should in any case be usurped. If Ephron, a Pagan, were so considerate as to refuse it, how much more ought we to do it that are called priests? We therefore admonish, that from henceforth none attempt this vice of covetousness in any churches. But if, at any time, you permit any to be buried in your church, and that his next kinsmen or heirs will, of their own accord, offer any thing for lights, we forbid not that to be taken; but to exact or ask anything we utterly forbid, lest that (which were most irreligious) the Church, peradventure, might be said to be sold (which, God forbid), and you also to seem glad of men's deaths, if you reap any commodity of their carcases."

⁷ Spelm. de Sepult. English Works, p. 176; and see p. 179.

Spelm. de Seplit. English Works, p. 170, and see p. 173.

Spelm. ib. p. 177. See this decision in the Decree Caus. 13. Quæst. 2. Can. 12.

"CANON II .- But a blow or two could not kill this serpent, for iniquity hath many heads. Some, as it seemeth in the Council of Tribury, A.D. 899, made a question, utrum terra coemetariata vendi possit pro sepultura? The Council answered, No. For it is written in Ecclesiasticus, Deny not courtesy unto the dead, for we shall all die: and again, All things that are of earth do return to earth. Earth, why sellest thou earth? Remember that thou art earth, and shalt go to earth; that thou must die, and that earth is coming towards thee, and lingereth not. Remember that the earth is not man's; but as the Psalmist saith, The earth is the Lord's, and they that dwell therein. If thou sellest this earth, thou art guilty of invading the goods of another; thou hast received it freely from God, give it freely for his We, therefore, absolutely forbid all Christian people to sell earth for the dead, and to deny burial due to them, unless the kindred or friends of the dead person in the name of the Lord will of their own accord give anything 9."

Spelman then cites a Canon of the Councils of Mans and Varens to the same purpose, given by Gratian in the Decree 1: and then the Council of Tours, under Alexander III. cap. non satis, which forbids the exaction of reward for sepulture, and rejects the plea of custom, whereby that corrupt practice was defended. After which he proceeds to the Canons of General Councils.

"CANON V .- The twelfth General Council, wherein both the churches, Greek and Latin, were assembled by the same Alexander, at Lateran, in the year 1180, cap. cum in ecclesiæ corpore, saith, The buying and selling that is reported to be in some churches is too horrible; as that somewhat is required for installing bishops, abbots, and all kinds of ecclesiastical persons in their seats; for inducting priests into their churches, and for sepulture and funeral rites; for benediction of the married couple, and for other sacraments: verily, many think it lawful, because they suppose the law of custom hath got authority by long continuance; not considering that offences are so much the more grievous, by how much the longer they have ensnared the wicked soul of man. Therefore, lest these things should be done hereafter; we straitly forbid anything to be exacted, either for conducting ecclesiastical persons to their seats, or for institutions of priests or burial of the dead, or benediction of them that marry, or for other sacraments, either conferring or collated. But if any man shall presume to do the contrary, let him know that he hath his portion with Gehazi, that is, that he standeth accursed, and, as the gloss interpreteth it, that he is a Symonist 2."

⁹ Spelm. ubi sup.; and in the Decree Caus. 13. Quæst. 2. Can. 14.

See Van Espen, pt. ii. sec. iv. tit. vii. § xix.
 Spelm. ubi sup. pp. 177, 178.

This is a most weighty and important authority. It is a decision, directly in point, of a great Council, and it proves that the rite of burial is to be administered on the same principles as other sacred rites, and even the Sacraments. It establishes the sacred character of the rite of Christian burial, and specifically declares, under the penalty of the curse inflicted on Gehazi, that it shall not be made a source of gain or profit. Let us see the next authority:—

"CANON VI .- The next General Council, a very great one in the same place, under Innocent the Third, continueth the same prohibition touching burial-fees; but, because the former bridled the clergy in taking that was not their due, this curbeth also the perverseness of the laity, in withholding their just duties: the words be these, Ad apostolicam, &c. It is come to the apostolic ear, by frequent relation, that some clerks, for the burial of the dead, and blessing the married couple, do exact and extort money; and if it chance that their covetous desire be not satisfied, they fraudulently allege some feigned impediment. On the other side, some laymen, leavened with heretical pravity, under the pretence of canonical piety, do endeavour to break a laudable custom, brought into the Church by the godly devotion of the faithful. Hereupon we forbid all exactions to be made, and command all godly customs to be observed; that ecclesiastical Sacraments be freely conferred; but that they which maliciously endeavour to change a laudable custom, may, upon knowledge of the matter, be suppressed by the bishop of the place. Note, that the customs protected by this canon must be godly and laudable."

This Canon draws the distinction between the good customs, whereby something is to be contributed by the laity to the support of the Church, on the occasion of the performance of sacred functions, and the abominable practice of making a trade and a profit of those functions. Thus the clergy are commanded not to exact anything, and the laity are at the same time enjoined not to grudge the payment of those dues which are part of the subsistence of the Church and her ministers. The clergy are not to say, "I will not preach to you—I will not administer to you such a sacrament—I will not bury a dead person, or perform this or that ecclesiastical function, unless I receive so much." This would be a simoniacal agreement, or a bargain, whether it be expressed in words or implied in facts. These are things, not only of too high a nature to be compared with any temporal standard of value, or connected with interested motives; but which must be performed at any rate, whether the remuneration accompanies them or not. They are not performed in consideration of the emolument, but the emolument is given in consequence of their performance. And thus, the requiring or receiving of even the most strictly lawful emolument becomes simoniacal, if the performance thereof be made a condition precedent to the performance of a spiritual or ecclesiastical function. And on this last point let us hear Spelman:—

"Canon VII.—As for the canon Abolendæ, which aimeth chiefly at those, who, like the monks of Mount Pessulan, will not suffer the ground to be broken before they be paid for the grave, I purposed to pass it over, supposing none that serveth in the house of God to be so covetous or cautelous, as not to stay for his money till he had delivered his ware: but, in the mean time, a complaint was brought unto us of a Churchman (since deceased) and his clerk, that came together to the house of one of their parish, who was then newly dead, and speaking with the executors, would not suffer the body to be brought out of the house till he had fourteen pounds paid to him, and the parish officers, according to a bill of particulars, then showed unto them. Nor could the executors compound with them for any abatement, more than ten shillings in the clerk's share, and paid them thereupon thirteen pounds ten shillings.

"Against such, amongst other, is this Canon under the Rubric, Terra coemeteriata pro sepulturâ vendi non debet, in these words,

Abolendæ consuetudinis perversitas, &c.

"There is grown up (as is reported) a perverse custom that must be abolished at Mount Pessulan, where they will not suffer the grave to be digged open for them that die, till there be a certain price for the ground, wherein they are to be buried, paid unto the Church. We command that you, being bishop of the place, do prohibit the clerks from exacting anything at all in this case. The complaint was for exacting of money before the grave was opened: but the Canon for-biddeth it before and after. Nota (saith the Gloss) quod pro terra in qua sepeliendi sunt defuncti, nihil est exigendum."—Decretal Gr. lib. 3. Id. 32. de Parochiis, cap. 13.

We shall see that in our times the iniquity of the monks of Mount Pessulan has been surpassed. But some of our readers may (according to the fashion of these days) be unwilling to hear a canon of Honorius III. They may say that they care more for laws than for canons, and that they want an English authority. Let them attend to Sir Henry Spelman, that most learned Englishman. He distinctly holds the canons above recited to be binding in England, as part of the canon law, not repugnant to the law of the land, and not repealed by the statutes of Henry VIII.³

"Let us, then, consider," continues the learned writer, "the councils and canons that we have recited, and see first what opinion they have

³ Spelm. ubi sup. p. 179. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 15. 35 Hen. VIII. c. 16. 3 Edw. VI. c. 11.

of money taken for burials; and, secondly, how they censure and

decree touching it.

"First, for their opinion, they declare it to be a vice, a vice of covetousness; a bad custom, that may be said, most irreligious; as a selling of the church, a cause of joy to the parson when men die, and a reaping of commodity out of the carkasses of the dead and sorrow of the living.

"Secondly, a discourtesy to the dead by him that must die; a selling of earth by him that is earth; a selling of what is none of his own; a selling of what was given freely to give freely; a denying of burial.

"Thirdly, a thing too horrible, that bringeth the portion of Gehazi upon the offender; that is, the brand of simony, as the Gloss. expoundeth it; a curse, an uncleanness, and a cause of separation from

common society.

"Lastly, as maladies are the most grievous and contagious that continue longest, so they conclude this to be so much the more grievous by how much longer it hath continued; and declare it to be 'abolendæ consuctudinis perversitas,' the perversity of a custom is to be abolished 4."

So strong is the opinion of the learned Spelman, that to make a gain out of the office of burial is simony,—that he even surpasses the canonists in severity. He will tolerate nothing but free gifts of piety, and seems to discountenance the lawful and just dues of the Church. But the authorities, cited above, clearly show that nothing can, without the guilt of simony, be received for any sepulture, unless it be received for the support of the Church, as an offering of piety, or an ordinary ecclesiastical due. It is indeed undeniable that such payments can be justified only on the ground that the Church must be supplied with the necessary and adequate means of support. Even when so appropriated,—they must be laudable dues. If they be covetous and excessive, they are not free from guilt. They must be received by the clergy so as to avoid any imputation of covetousness. Thus the great canonist, Van Espen, says, "Parochi aliique sacerdotes in horum jurium petitione omnis avaritiæ et aviditatis specimen sollicite cavere debent⁵."

We have now demonstrated that the burial of the dead is, jure gentium, a religious rite, and that it was so by the laws of the Pagan Romans. We have shown that the doctrines of Christianity impressed upon that rite a peculiarly sacred character, and that by the laws of the Church and of the Christian emperors it was essentially a matter of ecclesiastical cognizance. have also set forth the ecclesiastical law respecting simony in burials as it stands declared by the decrees of synods, expounded by the learned Spelman and the canonists. A painful duty remains to be performed. We have now to substantiate the heavy charges

⁴ Spelm. ubi sup. p. 179.

⁵ Van Esp. pt. ii. sec. iv. tit. vii. § liv.

which we have made against this country for violating the principles of Christianity and the laws of the Church, by infringing the religious character of the rite of burial, and allowing it to be made the subject of trading speculation; "a custom not heard of among barbarians, selling of graves, and the duty of burial."

It has already been explained how an outcry was lately raised against burials in churchyards within towns, and how public opinion has, consequently, very strongly favoured interment in public cemeteries, unconnected with the parish churches, and constituted after a fashion utterly unknown to the ancient constitution of this realm in Church and State.

Those cemeteries have been established, within the last twelve years, by virtue of divers acts of parliament, the general features of which are well described by the writer of an able statement, the title of which stands at the head of this article.

"We notice them to be altogether commercial in their foundation, general tone, and details of particular regulation; a common course, e. g., being the erection of a joint stock company, to hold shares, and be entitled to, and receive in proportionable parts, according to the sums by them respectively paid, the net profits and advantages which shall arise or accrue by the sale or disposal of graves, vaults, and the privilege of interment, &c.; each proprietor to obtain from the clerk of the company a certificate or ticket which shall be admitted as prima facie evidence in all courts, &c., of his true title to the share therein specified; additional sums, if wanted in the course of the undertaking, allowed to be raised by mortgaging the prospective net profits of the concern or speculation; and the mortgage transferable, like other property; reports to be periodically produced showing how far the speculation answers or fails as a profitable investment of money; votes at the general meeting allowed to be given by proxy, no one, however, being allowed to vote who is in arrears of account with the company; calls for further advance of money, if not met, allowed to be enforced by suit at law; or shares may be declared forfeited, and sold by public auction or other means, together or in lots; and in case of transferred proprietorship, the owner not being known or to be found, the notice of the call is to be published in the London Gazette, and so forth 6."

Anybody reading this would suppose that it related to a rail-way company, a gas company, or any other trading body. In fact, the whole arrangement is entirely commercial in all its details. Mr. Chadwick, indeed (no mean authority on such a a subject), repeatedly calls them trading cemetery companies. But let us examine somewhat in detail these singular institutions, these strange productions of the "commercial enterprize" of the

⁶ Oxford Parish Burial Grounds Statement, pp. 5, 6.

nineteenth century. Let us see them as they appear on the face of their own public documents, their prospectuses and reports. These instruments are prepared with a good deal of caution, but still they here and there disclose some remarkable facts.

We have before us the first prospectus of the "Cemetery for the City of London, the Tower Hamlets, and parts adjacent." commences thus: "The object of this company is to establish a general Cemetery within the boundary of the Tower Hamlets. The decided opinion which has of late been expressed by the public, on the subject of Cemeteries," &c .- Here follow the usual loci communes about interments "within the walls of a crowded city," "dense and increasing population," and so forth; but the concluding part of the paragraph contains a disclosure: -"these among other reasons have induced the directors to enter on this undertaking; and, upon careful perusal of the following statement, they feel assured it will be admitted, that in proposing to effect a public benefit, they have secured the shareholders considerable pecuniary advantage." Habemus reum con-Then the directors proceed to set forth divers statistical and topographical statements; after which, we come to the following remarkable paragraph:

"The directors consider that it would not be desirable to set forth any stated amount of per-centage as likely to be divided among the shareholders; nevertheless, from careful calculations they have caused to be made upon authentic returns, the crowded state of the burial-places in the several districts alluded to, the consideration of the highly advantageous situation of the ground, which is considerably nearer to a very dense population than any other cemetery, and the consequently diminished expense of conveyance, they entertain no doubt of realizing a very large return to the subscribers. The experience acquired from similar undertakings is very satisfactory, some of the older cemetery shares bearing a very high value in the market."

And, a little lower down, the directors state, that-

"In employing less capital than other cemeteries," they "are confident that quite as useful and ornamental an improvement will be accomplished, and that by this means, and for the reasons before detailed, the remuneration to the subscribers will be considerably increased."

The directors also furnish the public with a form of application for shares, similar to those of the railway companies,—the applicant binding himself to pay the deposit and future calls. We will not trouble our readers with the details of the prospectus. It is sufficient to state, that it contains the announcement of an application to parliament for an act, regulations as to votes of

shareholders, and the other matters incidental to trading companies. This is a specimen of a projected cemetery company. Let

us see those establishments in a state of maturity.

There is one very important provision to be found in all the prospectuses, with mere verbal variations, which demands most serious attention. It is, in substance, as follows: - "All orders must be given, and the dues paid at the office, before the ground can be opened or the vault built." Here we have the undoubted mark of simony,—the refusal to bury until the price is paid. We have seen that even the laudable dues of the Church become corrupt and simoniacal if exacted in this manner. Spelman proposed to pass it over, "supposing none that serveth in the house of God to be so covetous or cautelous as not to stay for his money till he had delivered his ware;"—and he mentions an instance of that kind as a prodigious enormity, which was indeed specifically condemned by the canon in the case of the monks of Mount Pessulan. Such a stipulation manifestly includes a bargain. It is, in substance, "I promise to bury the corpse in consideration of the sum of ———, to be paid to me in advance." What is this but a corrupt bargain,—selling of graves and the duty of burial? But the cemetery companies surpass the sacrilege of the monks of Mount Pessulan. The monks offended in exacting what ought to have been freely given as a pious offering for the support of the Church; but the cemetery companies obtrude themselves into the functions of the clergy,—they undertake the ecclesiastical office of burial for the purpose of lucre, and then they will not perform that office until they have received a price for it: "reaping a commodity out of the carcases of the dead and the sorrow of the living." They do not receive the remuneration in consequence of the performance of the office, but they undertake to perform the office for the sake of the emolument, exacting its payment as a condition precedent to the fulfilment of their This iniquity surpasses every thing that the canons have provided against, and it is unexampled even among heathens and

It must be borne in mind, that this provision, requiring payment by anticipation, refers to all the dues and fees specified in the prospectuses,—it casts on every one of them the foul taint of simony, which is a sacrilegious crime; and it would suffice alone to render them simoniacal, if they were otherwise just and laudable. This should be remembered, while we proceed to the further examination of the prospectuses of cemetery companies.

The prospectus of the Kensal Green Cemetery contains a complicated table of charges and fees, too long for insertion here. An analysis of its contents must suffice. And here the simoniacal blot stares us in the face,—"All dues to be paid at the Office, before the vault, ground, &c., be opened." But let us

proceed.

The charges and fees are arranged under five distinct heads: i. e. I. Catacombs. II. Open Ground. III. Removals from other places of Interment. IV. Future Interments, and V. Extra Fees. The first head contains twenty-six different prices. The second contains thirteen prices, with a reference to a column of eighteen distinct charges "for extra depth." Both these tables are so prepared that there is a distinct charge for interment, besides the charge for the tomb. This interment fee is as follows: - In Catacombs: Adult 51. 5s.; Child, under eight years, 3l. 10s. In Public Vault: Adult 4l. 4s.; Child, under eight years, 2l. 16s. In Open Ground: in Vault or Brick Graves, Adult 5l. 5s.; Child, ut sup. 3l. 10s. Private Grave, Adult 2l. 2s.; Child 11.8s. Common Interment in Grave: Adult 11.5s.: Child 16s. Thus we find, not only the selling of graves, but a distinct sale of the duty of burial. But there is, moreover, under the head of extra fees, a charge of five shillings for "Desk service, or use of Chapel, on common interment." What is this but setting a price on a religious rite? The five shillings, be it observed, must be paid in advance; and the "Desk service, or use of Chapel," is not granted unless the price be so given. This is a contract of do ut des! Thus there is a price for the tomb, a price for the interment, and a price for the desk service, or use of chapel!

But to proceed. Under the IIIrd head are four separate prices, "in addition to the price of purchase." The IVth head contains eighteen different prices. We come now to the Vth head; namely, Extra Fees. The first item is remarkable. It is as follows:—On common interments, at any other hour than three o'clock, and at all other interments before that hour, or after sunset, 7s. The object of this is not difficult to be perceived. All funerals of those whose estate cannot, or whose friends will not pay the seven shillings, in the case of common interments (i. e. not in vaults or catacombs), must take place at three o'clock. Of course a great many burials, taking place at the same hour, must save time, trouble, and expense to the company. Thus one minister and one service may be made to suffice for many or for all. But this wholesale method of interment must be painful to the friends of the deceased; and, as seven shillings is not much money, most people are, doubtless, willing to pay that sum, to avoid a three o'clock burial. All other interments, i. e. in catacombs and vaults, must be after three o'clock, and before sunset, unless the fee of seven shillings be paid. The more wealthy classes, who bury in catacombs and vaults, would not submit to three o'clock interments; but they must pay the extra fee, or bury between three o'clock and sunset, a period of time varying from four to two hours. They indeed, probably in most cases, wish to avoid the publicity of the hour between three and four o'clock. Thus they have a strong inducement to pay the seven shillings, and appoint their own time. This is an ingenious contrivance for getting an additional fee, or, at all events, saving the time and money of the company. Is not this "avaritiæ et aviditatis specimen?" Is not this "reaping of commodity out of the sorrow of the living?" But we will say no more, for the facts cry aloud.

The table of "extra fees" contains seventeen charges, varying from two shillings to ten pounds; most of which afford ground for comment: but we must be brief. At the foot of the prospectus are a series of regulations. By the third of these an extra fee is required, unless four clear days' notice be given at the Office. Another shrewd contrivance! The fourth regulation is

as follows:—

"In the unconsecrated part of the cemetery a dissenting minister, provided by the company, will attend funerals. Should any other minister, however, be preferred by the friends of the deceased, he may perform the ceremony."

How liberal! how tolerant! how kind! The company keep a dissenting minister; but any other minister may perform the ceremony. Does not this show the commercial character of the whole establishment? Quocunque modo rem! The dissenters must be admitted because they pay. There must be an unconsecrated part of the cemetery, and a dissenting minister, or any other minister, must be allowed to officiate, because otherwise the company would lose some of their dissenting customers!

One more regulation remains to be noticed. It runs thus:—

"All monuments, grave-stones, vaults, and places of burial, whether made by the company or by the purchaser, to be kept in repair by the owners, or the grant of the grave or vault will become forfeited under the act, sec. 49; but such repairs will be undertaken by the company if required."

Thus the company have a hypothec upon the tomb and the corpse, to compel the owner to keep it in repair, or to pay the company for doing so. This is a clever way of obtaining extra fees, or providing by forfeiture against the long continuance of grants.

The prospectus has been now fully analyzed, in order to show the character of the institution. That document is drawn up on a principle very well known in trade; that of varying prices so as to include all classes of customers, and make the most of each. There is something cheap for the customer from whom much cannot be got, and a gradation of more costly wares to tempt those who have the means of giving way to temptation. Thus in places of public entertainment accommodation is provided in a graduated scale of cost, that the man who can pay a shilling may not be sent away with his money; and that the one who can afford five guineas may be encouraged to pay that sum. This is the secret of the vast multitude of items and charges in the prospectuses of the cemetery companies.

It would be easy to produce additional facts from the documents published by the other cemetery companies near London; but that which has been described above is a fair example of their tenor and effect. They vary but little; and we believe the Kensal Green Company to be one of the most "respectable," and, therefore, a favourable specimen. We every where find the charges and fees arranged under the same heads, without any

variation in point of substance.

The London cemetery company was incorporated by act of Parliament to establish three cemeteries, each of fifty acres, for burials in consecrated and unconsecrated ground, and holds two, namely, the Highgate and the Nunhead cemeteries. In their prospectus the heads are nearly the same as in that of the Kensal Green establishment; but it is arranged under two general heads, namely, fees for ground and fees for interment. There is also a charge for the use of the chapel, and all the fees and dues are, as usual, required to be paid in advance. We are informed, that in the Highgate cemetery several persons of high rank have purchased catacombs for their families. This is strange and lamentable.

The prospectus of the Abney Park cemetery is prepared after the same model as that of the Kensal Green Company, and is similar in point of substance, and so is that of the South Metropolitan Cemetery at Norwood. It is unnecessary to set forth the particulars of these or any of the other cemeteries in the neighbourhood of London.

Perhaps this painful part of the subject has been dwelt upon somewhat tediously; but it will be highly instructive to examine a curious series of documents relating to the Bristol General Cemetery, and comprising a history of that establishment from its commencement in the year 1837 to the present time.

The first of these papers is intituled, "Prospectus of an intended Public Cemetery at Bristol." It as usual sets forth the crowded state of the churchyards, the danger of interments in cities; and then follow proposals concerning shares, directors,

meetings, an act of incorporation, &c. In the midst of this we find the following passage:—

"The cemeteries at Harrow, near the metropolis, at Liverpool, Sheffield, Manchester, Birmingham, Newcastle, and other towns, have all exceeded the expectations of the projectors, both in regard to public utility, and as sources of revenue."

Here is a distinct avowal that the burial of the dead has been undertaken as a source of revenue.

The next document is a report of the Provisional Committee, recommending an act of incorporation in preference to a deed of settlement, and written in a very plausible style. But, here again, simony shows itself thus:—

"Your Committee wish to conclude their report by stating, that although they are aware that the subscribers have not primarily regarded pecuniary advantage, yet, from the experience of other companies, it may be expected that in the present instance a public benefit will be combined with a liberal return for the capital employed."

"At Kensal Green, near London; at Manchester, and at Liverpool; these establishments regularly pay large dividends, and the great necessity of a similar one here, justifies the opinion that the same result will

follow.''

No doubt the high-minded and disinterested traders of Bristol did not "primarily require pecuniary advantage;" but they must, indeed, have rejoiced to find, that their public-spirited efforts would be rewarded by "a liberal return for the capital employed." Encouraged by the "large dividends" of Kensal Green, they readily undertook the pious work of providing for the burial of the dead. It did not occur to them that they desired "a reaping of commodity out of the carkasses of the dead, and the sorrow of the living."

We come now to the report of the directors to the first annual meeting of the proprietors, held under the Act of Incorporation, in July, 1838. The directors hold out "a fair prospect of the usual and proper pecuniary advantage to the proprietors," and then, after stating the usual fees paid in Bristol, they continue—

"Looking at the rate of charge adopted in other cemeteries, which yield a large return on a capital exceeding the sum which the directors think likely to be required by the Bristol General Cemetery Company, there is no doubt that charges considerably less on an average than those just stated, will yield to the company a very ample revenue.

"At the Low Hill cemetery at Liverpool, the capital for only ten acres of land is upwards of 8000l.; and a large proportion of the interments is in common graves at ten shillings each, with only an ordinary share of more expensive graves and monuments, and yet the

proprietors have for many years derived an income of twenty per cent. per annum."

They then proceed to state, that at the Kensal Green Cemetery, the receipts exceeded 6000*l*. in the year 1837, and that the shares were then worth double their original cost. This is tolerably well for people who "do not primarily regard pecuniary advantage."

auvantage.

The Report for the year 1839 contains an account of the receipts and payments since 1838, and a statement of the general position of the company. Among other things, the directors state the forward condition of "a chapel for the use of members of the Established Church, and another for all other religious denominations."

In the report for the following year, the directors state, among other things, that they have appointed a chaplain, with the approbation of the Bishop; and that they will provide a Dissenting minister, to officiate in the unconsecrated part of the cemetery, excepting when some other minister is named by the parties.

But as yet there had been no burials.

The year 1841 is more encouraging. The directors report, that the part of their land intended for burials, according to the form of the Established Church, had been consecrated by the Bishop, and that burials had commenced in both parts of the cemetery. They state, with some regret, that only eighteen funerals had taken place; but they comfort the subscribers with the information, that in the first year at Kensal Green there were only eighteen, and in the first year at Norwood only twenty-five interments; but that "now Kensal Green is almost becoming crowded, and the Norwood is very much used;" adding, "your directors trust, that similar results will follow the establishment of a cemetery here." Now the question naturally arises,—would this anxiety for an increased number of funerals have existed but for the hope of pecuniary advantage to be derived therefrom? We think not. We do not, indeed, suppose that the directors or the shareholders wished for an increase of deaths in Bristol; but there is something at least unseemly in their expressions. There is, moreover, something of an immoral tendency in this. So Gregory the Great says; "To exact any thing I utterly forbid, lest you seem glad of men's deaths, if you reap any commodity of their carcasses." It is indeed a snare to a man, to lay out money expecting the greater return in proportion to the greater number of deaths of his fellow-creatures. Suppose, for instance, that for a considerable length of time the deaths in Bristol are reduced to one-third of the usual number. Might not some of the shareholders of the cemetery be tempted

by Mammon to look in an unchristian spirit on that prosperous condition of their fellow-citizens? And may not a man's heart be hardened against the mourning of his neighbour, if the cause of that sorrow is to him a source of emolument? This is a very serious subject of reflection. It would be so even to a pagan philosopher, but it is awful to a Christian. No man ought to place himself in a position in which he may be tempted to desire the death of his fellow-creatures, -in which pestilence and misery bring him prosperity, and the welfare and long life of his neighbours diminish his means of subsistence or enjoyment. Such a position is repugnant to the nature of a refined and elevated mind, and to the principles of Christian charity. The very liability to be suspected of such mean thoughts must be insupportable! But the thing is in itself immoral. It is a snare against which the prelates of the Church ought to warn their clergy and people. No man knows whether he can resist the subtle influence of a desire for wealth. And in this instance he runs into that danger unsupported by innocence. He meets it stained with the sacrilegious guilt of simony.

We are glad to find that this speculation did not meet with much favour in Bristol. The directors, in 1842, report a debt of 3169l. 8s. 6d. due from the company, and 163 shares undisposed of. They, however, hope much from the report of the House of Commons, "on the health of large towns," and indulge in a little declamation about the "pernicious practice of burying in towns." They also state that they have "purchased one of Shillibeer's patent hearse carriages, by which a coffin and six mourners can

be conveyed at a very moderate charge."

In the year 1843, they report a considerable increase in the number of funerals, and add, "a corresponding increase of the revenue has of course accrued." But still the fear of typhus fever, the walks of Arno's Vale, and the accommodation of "Shillibeer's patent hearse carriage," did not suffice to make the people give up the old churchyards. The directors are reduced to saying that, "if the cemetery were used for only double the number of the present funerals, there would be a surplus revenue at their disposal." This sentence is expressed with decency, but it betrays a consciousness that the distinction may not always be clear between the hope for an increased number of funerals in the cemetery, and a wish for an increased number of deaths in Bristol. We impute no neglect of this distinction to the directors; but at the same time it is clear that they approach the house of mourning with some eagerness for a surplus revenue. It is painful to say this; but it is true.

We come now to the report for the year 1844. There we

find that the directors have read and appreciated Mr. Chadwick's report, for they speak of "the ancient mode of sepulture now in the course of revival among us," and then proceed to lavish praise upon the commissioner, expressing surprise that the Home Secretary was not prepared to "encounter the difficulties connected with the removal of evils so plainly proved by Mr. Chadwick's report." They report that,—

"For the year ending June 1843, the burials were fifty-six, and the money received for them 293l. 19s. 10d.; and that in the year ending 30th of June, 1844, the burials have been eighty-three, and the money received 420l. 13s.; thus showing a very considerable increase."

Mr. Chadwick's report evidently gave the directors considerable encouragement, and we accordingly find them proceeding in a somewhat high tone.

"The Directors regret that they cannot relieve Bristol from a large proportion of the interments most improper to be permitted there, on account of the heavy and unprecedented charge of ten shillings for each interment (according to the ritual of the Church of England), imposed by the Committee of the House of Lords, after the bill had been taken through the House of Commons, without any intimation that such a fee would be suggested. The poorer classes connected with the Church of England are thus precluded from burying at the cemetery; and to this extent the evils of interments in our already over-crowded church-yards are continued, as the poor will not pay a fee equal to the company's full charge for permission to remove the deceased to the cemetery."

The directors seem to forget that their "full charge" is applied towards producing the grand desideratum of a surplus revenue; whereas the "unprecedented" charge of ten shillings is devoted to the legitimate ecclesiastical purpose of maintaining the clergy and Divine worship. This is a sufficient answer to the complaint. The company wish to take the whole administration of the rite of burial in Bristol out of the hands of the Church. Would this be a revival of the ancient mode of sepulture? At what time in the history of the ancient Church was the burial of the dead ever placed in the hands of a body of laymen? At what time during the first ages of Christianity was it ever made a matter of trade, and a source of commercial speculation? The directors would find these to be very embarrassing questions.

We have now given a tolerably complete history of the rise and progress of a cemetery company. Let us comment on the facts contained in that history and in the analysis preceding it.

It will not be denied that the commercial, the trading character of those institutions has been demonstrated. They have

been convicted of a practice, "grown up amongst us Christians, not heard of among barbarians, selling of graves and the duty of burial, and a reaping of commodity out of the carkasses of the dead and the sorrow of the living." We pray judgment against them

for simony.

We charge them with selling the prayers of the Church in the burial of the dead, as well as the grave and duty of burial. Two instances have been shown where five shillings are distinctly charged for "desk service, or the use of the chapel." But even where sacrilege is not so openly set forth by public advertisement, the service of the Church is sold—thus. The company retain a chaplain, or employ a clergyman—they would not be able to carry on their trade without doing this: without the services of the clergy they would not have many funerals. It is clear, therefore, that they derive an emolument from the spiritual service of the clergyman officiating in their cemetery. That spiritual service is made a part of their stock-in-trade, from which they derive —— per cent upon the capital invested in their undertaking. It is the same as a railway company employing an engineer, and making a profit by his services.

So it has been shown by the canon law, supported by the case of Gehazi, that if A., a layman, derives emolument from the spiritual services of B., a spiritual person, A. commits simony.

"The Church Burial Service is to be performed by a clergyman, to be nominated and appointed by the directors of the said company, with such salary or stipend as they shall think fit, and in one case by the clergy of the town, according to a rotation which they are permitted to arrange for themselves; or, failing this, find prescribed to them by the Act."

In both cases it is evident that the directors employ the clergy with a view to emolument; and thus it has been shown that they are ready to allow any minister of any denomination to officiate. This circumstance is of itself conclusive: it shows that the object in view is gain. Indeed, if they are willing to employ either a clergyman or any minister of any denomination, it follows that they would employ no clergyman or minister at all if it were not requisite to do so for the success of their speculation.

We also charge them with selling the episcopal rite of consecration. They obtain that consecration for the purpose of making money by it; and they accordingly sell it as a part of

their stock-in-trade.

Suppose the bishop to refuse to consecrate a new cemetery. What would be the consequence? The shares would fall in the market.

Oxford Parish Burial Grounds, p. 8.

So we find these companies advertising the consecration of their ground in their prospectuses and in the newspapers. But they reserve a part unconsecrated for those who do not require consecration. If there were no people who object to be buried in unconsecrated ground, would any part of the cemeteries be consecrated? Certainly not. It follows, therefore, that the companies obtain consecration because their customers require it; because, if they had it not, they would fail in the speculation. They therefore obtain it in order to make money of it. They do not have the whole of their ground consecrated, because that would not pay; but they have so much consecrated as they think necessary to ensure gain, and no more. Moreover, it is the consecration that gives value to their land. If it were unconsecrated, they would be unable to sell graves to Churchmen. The demand for, and, consequently, the price of the land would, therefore, be greatly diminished. Now, if the consecration of the land raises its value, it follows that those who profit by that increased value derive lucre from the rite of consecration. They sell the consecrated ground for more than they could obtain for it if it were unconsecrated: they, therefore, sell the rite of consecration. The canon law says, "Qui res ecclesiasticas non ad hoc ad guod institutæ sunt sed ad propria lucra pecunia largitur vel adipiscitur, simoniacus est 8.77 But no authorities are necessary to show that whoever obtains a spiritual thing, such as a religious rite, for the purpose of making a gain, and who, in fact, does derive a pecuniary profit therefrom, commits simony.

Three distinct branches of simony have now been brought

home to the cemetery companies; namely,

I. Selling graves and the duty of Christian burial for the purpose of lucre.

II. Selling the prayers of the Church for the purpose of lucre.
III. Obtaining the rite of consecration in order to make it a
means of pecuniary gain, and then selling it for the purpose of
lucre.

It is proper here to remind the reader that simony involves contempt and profanation of sacred things, which is sacrilege. What says St. Gregory the Great? (Lib. vii. Epist. 114.) Quis veneretur quod venditur? Aut quis non vile putat quod emitur? And by the canon law, simony is stigmatized with the name of heresy. It holds omnia crimina ad Simoniacæ hæresis comparationem quasi pro nihilo esse reputanda? Such is the serious nature of the offences whereof these cemetery companies are

See the Decree of Gratian, Caus. 1. Quæst. 3. Can. 8.
 See the Decree, Caus. 1. Quæst. 6. Can. fin.

guilty. Such is the state of things to which we earnestly call the

attention of the bishops.

And what is the pretence under which these strange violations of the jus gentium, the law of the Church, and the principles of Christianity, are justified? It is simply this, the insufficiency and the crowded state of the churchyards in large towns. This appears incredible, but it is true. How much ingenuity is wasted on the invention and contrivance of evil, when things honourable and true are so easily seen and performed? What is the obvious and only good remedy for the insufficiency of the churchyards? If they are too small, enlarge them. If ground cannot be obtained near the churches, let cemeteries be provided elsewhere, and appropriated to the use of one or more parishes, precisely on the same footing as their own churchyards. Here is an example.

An attempt has lately been made to erect a public cemetery in Oxford, if not of a commercial, at least of a secular and unecclesiastical character. That attempt can only be attributed to error and insufficient information. It is impossible to suppose that some of the persons who joined in it would have done so, had they been fully aware of the real nature of their undertaking. And the means taken to prevent the erection in that venerable city of an institution so unworthy of the seat of a great university, clearly show how easy it is to provide in an honourable and Christianlike manner for the burial of the dead. A committee was appointed for the purpose of providing parish burial grounds.

We have before us the report of that committee to a meeting, at which the Venerable Archdeacon Clarke presided, on the 1st of February, 1844. The committee presented to the meeting a very able report from their sub-committee. With regard to the legal means of providing additional burial-grounds, the sub-com-

mittee report as follows:-

"Upon this point your sub-committee have little more to do than to remind the General Committee of the statute 59 Geo. III. c. 134. As far back as the year 1819, statutory means were provided by Parliament, for the protection of the public health by additional burial-grounds out of towns and cities, the church-building and burial-grounds commissioners being incorporated, with full powers, to forward undertakings like that now in hand. Under the advice and instruction which they have received from the kindness of a gentleman high in office, under the commission, your sub-committee are able to refer to three special facilities, which the act provides for the accomplishing of our present object. They are contained respectively in clauses.

" § 22. Which sets forth the power of the commissioners to effect the purchase of land for burial-ground, not lying within the bounds of

the parish for whose use it is bought.

"§ 37. Empowering bodies politic, corporate or collegiate corporations, aggregate or sole tenants for life, or entail trustees, feoffees, and all other persons, to grant, sell, and convey away any lands they may hold or possess for enlarging burial-grounds, or making new ones; and § 41, giving power to the commissioners (if in any case circumstances should exist or arise to make a particular Act of Parliament necessary) to pay or advance money for the payment of fees which may become due in either House of Parliament.

"Here then are the elements of all that we need desire 1."

Here is indeed more than sufficient to deprive the advocates of the proposed "Oxford General Cemetery" of every shade of an excuse. The statute enables the Church to provide for the insufficiency of the old parochial burying-grounds, by enlarging them or making new ones. If any further legal facilities are required in a particular case, the statute provides the means of

obtaining them.

It would be worth considering, whether in towns which have a cathedral or collegiate church, it might not be desirable, where the churchyards are insufficient, to place the whole management of the cemetery, or cemeteries, under the government of the clergy of that church, after the model of the 59th novel of Justinian, and the 12th of Leo the Wise. By that means, a very perfect and very respectable system would be brought into operation. The system of the Great Church of Constantinople would indeed be difficult to put in execution to its full extent, for want of the pecuniary means,—so abundantly furnished by the Emperors: but there is no reason to doubt that, to a great extent, it might be adopted in a cemetery governed by a cathedral or collegiate church. Thus an endowment or burial fund might be raised, and managed by the chapter, to diminish the expense of funerals to the poorer classes, and to prevent the shocking squalid misery of what are called "pauper funerals." The sacredness of the religious rite of burial would thus be very effectually preserved, and the poor would be comforted, by seeing their dead solemnly buried under the pious care of the Church; not in national cemeteries, nor in trading cemeteries, but according to the venerable usages of the Church, established in the first ages of Christianity.

That Mr. Chadwick's purely secular and administrative plan of "national burial," under the direction of officers of health, will ever find favour in the eyes of the people of this country, it is impossible to believe. The Church must oppose it, as a violation of the ancient usages of Christendom from the first ages, an

¹ Oxford Parish Burial Ground Committee Report, pp. 5. 7.

aggression against the exclusively religious character of Christian burial, and an encroachment of the civil power upon the undoubted province of the clergy. The Church cannot submit to give up the administration of that solemn duty and work of charity—the burial of the dead—to Mr. Chadwick's officers of health and the civil government, without abdicating a very sacred and important portion of her functions. The people of this realm will look upon this new plan as a violation of the old common law institutions of their forefathers, an interference with their habits and customs, and an unconstitutional dealing with their The nobility and principal gentry will look upon it not only with all the dislike which they must feel in common with the mass of the community, but also as an attempt to take from them their ancient privileges of sepulture. No; let it be removed from public notice altogether, and delivered to perpetual oblivion.

But it will not be sufficient to defeat this attack upon the Church and the honourable feelings of the people. The funeral office and the episcopal rite of consecration must no longer be thus profaned. The traffic in graves and Christian burial, the custom not heard of among barbarians, the miserable lucre from the death of Christians, the curse of simony, must be removed out of the land.

Then will the rite of Christian burial be restored to its ancient holiness, a reproach cast off from our times and institutions, and the venerable usages, which the Church derives from the great truths of the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body, will shine forth in all their sacred and consoling beauty.

ART. VII.—Anglican Church Architecture. By J. BARR. Oxford, 1842.

Remarks on English Churches. By J. H. Markland. Oxford, 1842.

Principles of Gothic Architecture. By M. H. Bloxam. London, 1843.

Church Architecture. By Rev. G. A. Poole. Leeds, 1842.

The Ecclesiologist. Cambridge, 1842.

Gothic Architecture in England. By T. RICKMAN. London, 1835.

Ancient Models. By G. Anderson. London, 1841.

Remarks on Church Architecture. By J. Medley. Exeter, 1841.

Hints on the Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities. Cambridge, 1842.

We are about to offer a few remarks on the philosophy of some details in the theory of Gothic Architecture, in the wish to contribute something to the efforts which are now in progress for the purpose of prosecuting deeply our inquiry into the mysteries of that wonderful creation of human art.

That some mystery, or, in less startling words, some deep and abstruse philosophy, lies hidden in the profuse variety of combinations into which Gothic architecture pours itself; that its movements have been regulated by some fundamental laws, which are not obvious on the surface, but must be traced out to their real and highest source, in the constitution of Nature and of the human mind, may now be assumed without risking the charge of a visionary and unpractical speculation. We have learned this by experience. We have entered on the same work with the architects of old, have grasped the same materials, have studded the country with new erections, and every day are attempting more; and have proceeded throughout with the boast of superior knowledge and mechanical skill; and yet, owing to some secret mistake, to the unconscious omission of some element, or to the failure in regulating some proportion, nearly all our greatest and most expensive works have been comparative failures. Undoubtedly the number of these failures is diminishing. And we may look forward to a new development of true beauty in our future structures. But it must depend on our examining and analysing, far more deeply than we have hitherto done, both the great compositions of antiquity, and the à priori laws of art, on which all creations of grandeur and true taste must be constructed. Without this, architecture, like any other art, can never be carried beyond a species of empiricism and quackery. Its successes must be happy chances, its failures innumerable. And, even in the most felicitous guesses, it will not escape from some incongruous admixture, which will betray the want of fundamental principles,

and mar the general effect.

There is one kind of architectural truth on which it is now proposed to speak in rather more detail. It consists in conforming each portion and member of the building to some one type and standard, and thus harmonising them all. For the very perception of truth is, in other words, a perception of such a correspond-When we have fixed in our mind some general law and principle, and upon comparing a great number of phenomena, however seemingly varied and opposed, we find in each the recurrence of the same axiom and law, we say that they are true; we understand them; we have the pleasure of tracing out resemblances in differences, and of differences in resemblances; and the greater the variety of the phenomena, the greater interest and satisfaction are felt in reducing them finally to consistency. And the whole nature and extent of this truth in Gothic architecture require to be thoroughly examined and traced. a full and accurate catalogue of the peculiar characteristics of that style, we can form no estimate of its richness and powers of development and expression. But until they are all linked together in their natural and essential evolution, as in a genealogical tree, each affiliated on the attribute or circumstance which generated it, each placed in its proper position in the chain, and all subordinated to one primary principle, and traced from one germ, Gothic architecture will not be reduced into a science, and our best combinations of it will be empirical guesses and happy accidents.

It may now be assumed as an acknowledged principle, that verticalism is the fundamental line or form of the Gothic style—that this, combined with the necessity of framing interior buildings for the reception of Christian congregations, led, it is not said to the invention, but to the recognition and adoption, when invented, of the pointed arch, and of the triangle based upon a parallelogram, which constitute the leading and most prominent idea, meeting the eye most commonly, and suggesting therefore the grand germ of all the other characteristics. The vertical

line is the seed of the style as yet buried in the ground, and the style scarcely becomes visible until it has germinated and spread itself out into the other more palpable forms and figures. But in these forms, namely, the pointed arch and the triangle based on the parallelogram, lay hid a number of peculiarities and features, which it was the subsequent business of the artist to evolve, and within which so long as he confined himself, however varied his work, it lapsed into no incongruities. All was true, as being in harmony with the original type, and repeating only its features. And some of these features are obvious, such as the union of the curve and the angle, the figure of the cross, and the ogee curve.

To these may be added another, of no little importance.

It is observable that the eye, in tracing a pointed arch, instead of arresting itself at the intersection of the curves, passes irresistibly beyond them, and thus in fact describes a cross, of which two limbs are drawn precisely to the eye, the other two are imagined by the mind: two are given, the other two are suggested. This indeed must be the case in every intersection of lines in any style, but it occurs peculiarly in tracing the pointed arch,—first, because, by the ascending tendency originally impressed on the eye, the eye is forcibly carried up beyond the point where the visible line terminates; and, secondly, because. in tracing a curve, the mind is naturally disposed to long for and attempt its completion. We are led in the imagination to describe, if not the whole circle, at least a much larger segment than is really supplied. Whereas, in the case of two straight lines meeting and crossing, there is no temptation for the eye to pass much farther than the point of intersection. It does pass indeed, but reverts immediately to fall into the given lines. this fact there can be little doubt. Its importance, as shaping and modifying the most distinguishing peculiarities of the Gothic, as a whole, it may be interesting to trace out.

In the first place, then, it at once distinguishes the Gothic from the Grecian in this point; that, in the Grecian, the figure which is intended to be presented to the mind is really and palpably exhibited; in the Gothic it is partially exhibited, and partially suggested. The Grecian frames its structures into perfect circles, perfect ellipses, perfect squares, perfect triangles, perfect parallelograms. Each member of the composition is definitely marked and measured out. The mind travels on a given plane and line, from which it must not depart; the moment it quits what it sees, it is lost and perplexed. It is recalled as wandering beyond its limits. The work set before the intellect in contemplating a Grecian building is to measure, to define, to balance part against part, to trace exact proportions. The limits there-

fore must be accurately fixed. There must be no loop-holes, no excrescences, nothing to tempt the eye beyond the given boundaries. In the Gothic it is just the reverse. And when this principle is once acknowledged and acted upon, we shall have seized the great law of combination, which gives to an old Gothic struc-

ture its singular interest and beauty.

Take an old cathedral, fix the spectator at the point or points where it is most natural that he should fix himself to contemplate it (and these must be most carefully marked and selected): let him then take the most prominent points of the building, marked out by some feature which attracts attention—a little turret, a projected buttress, a gable tossed up apparently by accident, a doorway niched into a corner, a fragment of a battlemented wall, or a solitary pinnacle—and from these let his eye pass in every direction, not along the lines of the building, but leaping across from point to point, and describing in his mind the figures thus suggested; and these figures will constitute the real forms intended by the architect: they are the real outlines of the building—just as in the painting of scenes for the theatre, or in the shade-painting or $\sigma \kappa \iota \alpha \gamma \rho \alpha \phi \iota \alpha$, of the ancients, the colours and forms on the tablet were shapeless daubs, and acted only as sug-

gestive of a totally different image to the creative mind.

There are two points in which this law of combination may be distinctly seen; one is the general grouping of the exterior, by which innumerable triangles, and triangles of the same character with some one form most obvious and prominent, are dotted out, as it were, and marked, by contriving leading points to catch the light and engage the eye; just as in Nature's most exquisite work of architecture, the human face, the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, and chin sketch out the general character; and as the beauty of feature will mainly depend on the harmony and agreement of the triangles which may be drawn from them, and across them. familiar to all physiognomists, that faces may be divided into a few leading classes, each marked by their peculiar characteristics; and those characteristics instinctively suggestive of moral and mental analogies. And it is no fanciful theory to assert, that they may be described by peculiar triangles, and that, in altering the proportions of the distances between the several points of the face, widening the space between the eyes, lowering the ears, elevating the chin, or destroying the horizontalism of the line which passes through the eyes or the ears,—that is, in affecting the imaginary triangles which connect them,—the whole character of the countenance is destroyed; and may be made, by a process familiar to expert caricaturists, expressive of an idiot instead of a philosopher, and of a coward instead of a hero.

But the other instance is still more deserving, to say the least, of inquiry. It has been partly suggested, among other writers, by Mr. Billings, in his interesting "Attempt to define the Geometric Proportions of Gothic Architecture, as illustrated by the Cathedrals of Carlisle and Worcester;" and still more conclusively by Mr. Wallen, of Huddersfield, in the "Proceedings of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire." And whatever may still be wanting to complete their theory, or to correct it in some of the generalizations, these gentlemen deserve gratitude and respect for having asserted boldly the great principle, that the works of Gothic art are not a chance or fanciful congeries, but are constructed in all their details upon some fixed and profound law. They have made a great step towards unravelling the mystery, by teaching that it is a mystery; and they will soon be able to imitate, now that they have learned

to reverence, the works of their ancestors in art.

It is especially in the principles which regulated the curves and positions of arches, whether upon pillars or in windows, that we may probably find the law exhibited in Gothic, of suggesting rather than of expressing the lines which the spectator is intended to trace: and any one who has attempted to frame for himself a Gothic combination, must have felt the difficulty in this point, of deciding among the innumerable varieties of curves which may be selected, and the equally innumerable degrees of interval and elevation in which the arches may be placed. hypothesis which is offered by Mr. Wallen, and which deserves careful trial and experiment, may be extended to the following formula — that segments of circles in Gothic architecture ought, if prolonged and completed, to fall in one with another as far as possible, and to pass through other lines of the building at some angle, or some regular point of intersection, dividing them into some equal or proportionate limbs. Thus the curve of a window on the exterior should sweep round, touching some leading line of the battlements, or some point marked by a prominent corbel, or cutting the buttress in one of its own leading divisions, or flowing down into the corresponding curve in the Thus the arch of a window in the gable, adjoining window. where this is not possible, if it would spread beyond the building, should cut the line of gable in some multiple portion. Thus the arches of the nave, if the circles were completed, should form intersecting colonnades; and the positions of niches, corbels, bosses, and other little projections—so many of which occur in Gothic buildings, seemingly without use or object, but probably having

reference in general to this law—should be such as to aid the eye, or rather the imagination, in lining out these perfect figures from the hints and suggestions thus offered. And when all are drawn out, there should be left no fragments, no odds and ends, bearing no definite relation to other portions; all should be connected.

To give, indeed, perfect unity and harmony to all the parts, it is still further requisite that these suggested imaginary figures should themselves all be constructed upon some one basis and common measure; but this will fall under another head. Only it must be remembered that, in trying the hypothesis (for as such only it is offered), it must not be expected to be realised in the later and deteriorated stages of Gothic—that changes and accidents may have dislocated, or rendered imperfect, the portions from which the figures were to be completed—and that we ought to look deeper than experiment to satisfy ourselves of the justice and correctness of a theory—its correctness, that is, as a law of taste,—without reference to the fact of its actual adoption by former architects.

And perhaps the following considerations may not be useless.

It is clear, then, that to satisfy the mind, any object presented to it ought to be infinite. It should stimulate the imagination; should give room for a play of thought and exercise of active reason; there should be scope for ranging into newly-discovered fields of invention—for achieving something ourselves, not merely for observing what has already been achieved by others. spectator should be made to take part in the work of creation. In Grecian architecture this is not possible. He may measure, and compare, and criticise the exact adjustment of distances, the accurate flow of curves, the perfect regularity of angles and proportions; but criticism and acquiescence is all which is left to him. He admires, but passively; and the work of measurement is soon exhausted, and nothing remains but to surrender himself to the general impression. It is thus that a perfect object of beauty, whether in a landscape or a work of art, lies upon the mind like a load. It oppresses with its very beauty. Its very exquisiteness and perfection, the absence of any blot, of anything to be completed or amended, fascinate us with a species of luxurious indolence, in acutely sensitive minds amounting, at times, almost to painfulness. Perhaps, if we could enter into and understand the mysteries of the great work of Divine Art, the physical Creation itself, this would account for the remarkable fact, that it is thus left for the most part imperfect. Its outlines are full of grace, its forms germinate into beauty; but everywhere there are spots and fractures—something which the human mind can fill up, or which the human hand may strive to amend.

Its vegetation spreads out into a thousand luxuriant curves, and yet we cull and pick the leaf or flower which defies improvement. Its colours are blended and softened in a tissue of unimaginable delicacy; and yet a painter can throw over them all a tint which mellows and improves them. Its sounds are soft and clear, and nothing in art can reach their depth and power of expression; but they are not harmonized into concerts or distinguished by rhyme. And hence the seeming problem, that, while Nature is more perfect than art, and possesses a touch, and imagination, and delicacy of perception, beyond what man can ever reach, still art is the improvement of Nature, working upon her grand sketches and masterly unfinished models, in order more com-

pletely to realize the grandeur and charm of her designs.

And this remark is not without use in exhibiting the high character of the Gothic style. For that must be the highest human art which bears the closest analogy to divine art, or nature; which is constructed on the same principles with it, and acts in the same manner to produce the same effects. will account also for the ease with which Gothic architecture falls in and blends itself with a natural landscape. The Parthenon may be erected on a rock with nothing but the bright clear sky to cast and project its sharp defined outline on the eye; and trees, and mosses, and ivy, even undulations of hills, and shadows of clouds, must be excluded from the scene, in order to bring out its form in a clear and rigid precision. But a Gothic building buries itself spontaneously amidst natural objects. Trees and mountains are its congenial accompaniments. In the square of a city unrelieved by foliage, it stands on a strange soil; and when nothing else is left, it strives still to bring within its grasp as it were, and to associate with itself, all that resembles nature, all that is most irregular, most picturesque in surrounding objects; chimneys, and gables, and porches, and ruined walls, and balconies, and grotesque carvings. Even the rough broken sheds and roofs with which too often modern neglect has permitted the noblest churches on the continent to be surrounded and disfigured, yet, when softened and melted down, are seized by it as with a hand like Prout's, and turned into a picture.

This will account also for the profuse employment of foliage in the ornamental details of Gothic buildings. It will explain the intense interest and activity of thought which is caused by a good specimen of Gothic art; the love of imitation which it engenders; the rapturous feeling with which an acute taste wanders over a good composition, the eye springing freely from buttress to window, and from window to pinnacle, and from pinnacle to spire or tower, penetrating in every direction, leaping up to

bury itself in some deep-shadowed nook, or to pass into some high-hung doorway; delighting to be lost in a labyrinth of intricate tracery, to catch within innumerable configurations every studded boss and lighted projection, and to discover, in the maze of objects tossed together, as it may seem, almost in a chaos of chances, the deep-hidden regularity and system of a mighty

mysterious wisdom.

It is in fact in this irregularity of outline, in this faculty of suggesting rather than of expressing figures of beauty, that the picturesque differs from the beautiful. And this difference is one of the essential contrasts between the Grecian and the Gothic style. Nor is it difficult to trace the characteristic to its germ in the original constitution, both of the pointed arch, which composes a figure of which by far the largest portion is suggested and not expressed; and of the vertical line, which also throws the eye up to an indefinite extent, urging it on by an impulse and momentum beyond the limit to which the expressed lines will carry it. The characteristic is in harmony with the original types; it formed a part of them, and its subsequent development in a variety of forms is therefore correspondent with Truth.

Under a similar head would fall another branch of the philosophy of Gothic architecture, which hitherto has been little studied, and still less applied to practice; and to an ignorance in which we may attribute most of the conspicuous failures of our modern buildings in the laws of geometrical proportions observed

by ancient architects.

To say that nothing has been done to elucidate this mystery, while the ingenious theories of Mr. Billings and Mr. Wallen are before us, would be to deny them the great honour which is due for their valuable suggestions. But much still remains to be examined; and still more remains to be reasoned out from à priori principles of reason and taste; from those immutable laws of the human mind, to which in the creation of beauty, and not to mere capricious arbitrary fancies, the great architects of old conformed; and without which we shall neither be able to reach the real laws of ancient art in their highest generalizations, nor to criticize its works by any fixed standard, nor to imitate without incongruities. That there is a law of proportion to be observed even in the most varied forms of the Gothic style, even in its seemingly most unfettered caprices, and to be observed as much as in the most formal conceptions of the Grecian school, cannot be denied without letting Gothic art loose from all restraints which make it rational and true. But it is a law felt rather than understood; and the suggestions made respecting it must be offered with diffidence.

Proportion, then, by its very nature, is the conformity of certain spaces and lengths to some one common measure, either multiplied, or repeated, or divided; but the mind never can become sensible of it except by referring admeasurements to some previously assumed standard, and by observing their conformity with it, or their discrepancy. The first thing, then, to find in a Gothic, or indeed in any building, is the line or lines which are taken as the base from which all other admeasurements are calculated. The second is, to discover the principles on which this line itself was constructed—that is, why it was made of a greater or less The third is, to investigate the laws which regulated the relations borne to it by all the other lines of the building. Thus the question respecting the geometrical proportions of Salisbury Cathedral would be, first, whether the length, or breadth, or heighth, or the width of the nave, or half the width of the whole building, or any other line, was taken as the original fundamental Secondly, why this line itself was made of a certain length; whether it was regulated, that is, by any symbolical allusion, or merely by the accidental circumstances of each build-And thirdly, whether any fixed proportions, and of what nature, were observed between this and the length of the choir and transept, the span of the arches, the radius of the circles which formed the segmental curves of the windows, the height of the spire and doorways, and indeed all the subordinate members of the fabric.

Before a thorough solution of these problems can be obtained, we must have examined far more minutely than we have done the geometrical constructions of our ecclesiastical buildings. But some hints may be obtained even from à priori reasoning. There are facts in the human mind, as well as facts in the external world—great, primary, fundamental, unchanging laws of Nature, as well as the actual phenomena, in which they develope themselves. And they must be studied, full as much as practical details, to which we often confine the name of facts, as if true theory was not fact likewise. Let a spectator, then, commencing a survey of a Gothic cathedral, think where he would place himself first in order to obtain a full view of it. Watch a number of individuals, of all classes of minds, and observe the point which they each fix on. It will be somewhere in the interior, for the interior is the essential part of such a building. It will be the entrance, and the grand entrance, for from this only the whole vista of the nave opens itself. And it will be the centre of the nave, that is, a point equidistant from each aisle or side wall; because they are seeking for some one view; and to preserve unity there must be symmetry, and to preserve symmetry the lines on

each side must sweep off at regular and equal distances. But at this central point the whole interior of the building will exhibit itself, painted as on a plane. Whatever the reason may infer, as to relative distances and real proportions, to the eye the perspective will project a different image. Three lines at once will present themselves as the dominant objects—the line of length, of height, and of breadth; and the question is, which of these will force itself first on the eye, impress itself most strongly on the imagination, and thus become the standard by which all the others are measured? We cannot but think that this will be the breadth; and that, not the whole breadth or width of the building-for to obtain a view of this will require two or more successive actions of the eyes—but half the width, and that half, calculated to the right. In other words, let the spectator observe the instinctive movement of his own eye, when first he begins to make a regular survey, and let him watch whether he does not first glance from the centre of the nave to the extremity of the aisle toward his right.

It is natural to suggest such an hypothesis, because the eye, in surveying a building, in reality draws a picture; it follows the lines, and constructs them just as a painter would do,—and for this purpose they must all be raised upon a base—all the perpendiculars must flow from some horizontal line to bind them together, and give them definiteness, unity, and stability. Place an obstruction before a colonnade, so that the eye can only see it beginning half way from the ground, and is unable to reach the bases of the pillars, and the mind will be dissatisfied and impatient until it has removed the veil, and having fixed them, as it were, on solid ground, and bound them together by some horizontal structure, it can then trace them shooting upwards as it were from one root, and divaricating into their several stems.

It is upon this principle that a solid substructure is so essential to the beauty of a Grecian colonnade; and that, in pillars where the movement of the eye is ascending, the bases are widened and ornamented with some propriety. In fact, a horizontal line must be drawn before the perpendicular lines are built on it. And upon the same principle also we may see the great importance of the arrangement of the lines of pavement in a Gothic interior, which should be such as not to interfere forcibly with the lateral passage of the eye along its plane, previous to commencing its vertical movement.

Now it is remarkable that the experimental inquiries of Mr. Wallen on the Cathedrals of York, of Lichfield, of Salisbury, on Romsey Church, on Tintern Abbey, and abroad on the Cathedrals

of Milan, Bayeaux, and L'Abbaye aux Hommes, at Caen, agree in giving this as their result:—

"The theory," says Mr. Wallen, "which I advocate is this (and I believe it is peculiar to myself), that the half width of a structure with aisles is to be considered as a normal or regulating scale, which, increased or decreased in geometrical progression, determines the principal points on the plan 2."

And he proceeds to illustrate it by admeasurements (singularly coinciding with it) of the different parts of several remarkable cathedrals ³.

That such a theory stated thus absolutely can scarcely hold good in all instances—that there may be cases of mal-formation that particular circumstances may have induced occasional departures from the rule—that where there are two side aisles to be measured, as at Milan, or, as in a few instances, where one aisle is wider than the other, or again, where there are no aisles at all, experiments may fail to bring out the same result, is highly probable. And whether it be possible or not to generalize still further, and to state the rule observed in these various exceptions, might be a subject of future discussion. It may be sufficient to suggest this broadly, that a horizontal lateral line of width calculated in all cases, but calculated differently under different circumstances, will be found probably to supply the normal scale to which all the rest of the building is subsequently adjusted. That the length also of this line cannot have been capricious or arbitrary—that it must at the least have been determined by regard to the intended size of the building, the power of producing or heightening it, and the general accommodation required—is obvious. But it is also obvious that, if the other minute subdivisions of the building are to be framed upon it, it must be a

² Proceedings, p. 301.

Transept, 3 117 0

3 Mr. Wallen gives the following tables of admeasurement to substantiate his theory:-

theory .					
York Cathedral.			Lichfield.		
	Ft.	In.		Ft.	In.
Width of nave	53	0	Half width	33	0
Tower	53	0	Nave, 3½ times	115	6
Choir, rather more than 4 times			Tower		0
53		0	Choir, 4 times		
Salisbury.			Tintern.		
Half width	39	0	Half width	39	0
Nave, 5 times	195	0	Tower	39	0
Tower		0	Choir, twice	78	0
One aisle, half	19	6	Nave, 3 times	117	0
Choir, 4 times	158	6			
Lady Chapel	- 39	0			

measure susceptible of certain powers of division and multiplication; one which contains within it adequate arithmetical properties and functions for all the purposes to which it was to be subsequently applied; and perhaps also may not be without a

symbolical meaning.

If it were safe to enter further at present into this inquiry, with so few data before us, we might perhaps conjecture that the next line traced by the eye was the line of length thrown up from this horizontal base, and ranging along the bases of the columns. It is evident that the eye as it moves up the plane of the picture will be caught by these points; and that it will pass along them, instead of drawing a more vague and imaginary line up the centre of the nave. This is suggested, because it may again explain the importance of properly adjusting the lines of the pavement, so as not to draw off the eye to it. Let a line be marked out running up the centre of the nave, as in the chapel of Magdalen College, Oxford, and it will disturb and destroy the picture, cutting the whole building in half, and distracting the natural operation of the eye. If this be true, the next step in proportioning a building will be to regulate the length of this perspective of the columns—not perhaps of the real line so much, as of the line which, by the laws of perspective, appears upon the plane of the picture; and to regulate it also from the central point of view, from which, with the lines of the base, it begins to germinate. To estimate this would require a more minute geometrical calculation than would be interesting. It is clear that the apparent length would be proportioned to the real length, and that in the best cathedrals the real length is a multiple of the half width. In York the nave is 212 feet, being 4 times 53, the half width of the nave; in Lichfield 115 feet 6 inches, being 3½ times the half width, or 33 feet; in Salisbury 195 feet, or 5 times 39.

Upon this perspective line of length the eye probably then constructs a third line, or the direct vertical height; and this perhaps is drawn to the centre of the arch of the roof, not merely to the point from which it springs. And in this again we may expect to find a proportion repeating the primary admeasurement. This also must be a multiple of the original horizontal base, or of certain integral portions of it, in order to harmonize with the idea or form now impressed upon the mind, and so to preserve that species of truth which, to distinguish it from other kinds, we may venture to call archetypal—or the accordance of later

phenomena with one original type or idea.

And before we pass further, let it be considered what is the combination of lines—of lines, it is said, not figures—most frequent in a Gothic building. Follow the slanting of the roofs,

the weathering of the buttresses, the champfering of the mouldings, the splaying of the walls, the mere outline of the arches and windows; the pitch of the spire and pinnacles, and still one singular group of lines occurs, so strange, so wholly destitute of internal order or beauty, so unnatural in itself, and yet so natural in a Gothic style, as to be singularly pleasing, and, if such a term may be used, piquant and interesting.

In some variation or another this is the leading cluster of lines presented in details of a Gothic building: and nothing can account for its appropriateness but the facts before suggested, that such is the combination formed by the eye on its first commencing to survey the interior of the structure: first, it draws the base, then moves up the perspective of the line

of columns, and then passes to the vertical line of wall.

We might perhaps proceed further. The height of the arch of the roof being determined, it would supply a pyramidal figure calculated from the ground; and this might supply not only the proportions for the height and width of the other arches, and for the character of the spire and pinnacles, but it might bear some relation to the pyramid formed by the perspective of the building, converging from the west end to the altar, and thus bring every part to play upon and interpret each other, so that none should be left without a correlative—no dimension be assigned without the understanding being able to assign a reason for it, and to refer it to a general principle.

That these hypotheses will appear far-fetched and visionary to some persons is obvious; but the proper answer to be given to them is to suggest that they would themselves undertake the construction of a Gothic cathedral, determining the proportions of each minutest part—that they would then observe the effect upon their own eye of determining these dimensions by accident, and thus mixing together incongruous figures and ideas—that they would also compare the effect produced upon the mind by old buildings, such as York and Salisbury cathedrals, where some such laws of arrangement have evidently been observed, with that of modern buildings, where they have evidently been neglected that they would then ask themselves how it is possible to put together a number of parts, and to diffuse over them harmony and repose, except by taking some common measure and idea, and working upon this throughout; or to satisfy the intellect when it examines a structure, except by providing some general law, to which all its combinations may be reduced. When the answer has been given to these questions, and the necessity of adopting some deep theory of construction has been allowed, the value of the present hypothesis may be a fair matter for doubt 410

and inquiry. Perhaps the easiest mode of trying it would be in the examination of the many specimens of gables which form such a peculiar feature in Gothic buildings, and which, simple as they are, yet present some of the most exquisite instances of proportion and beauty to be found in the whole range of architecture. In them is a regular vertical plane, such as the interior of the building depicts to the eye. And in constructing them try the hypothesis. Take a base of any length, and assuming half as the common measure, erect gables in proportions according with it, taking multiples of it in height to the apex from one and a half to four times, and reducing the sides of the triangle of the roof to the same measure. From these combinations will spring especially four forms, which will be recognized at once as peculiarly appropriate to the Gothic—the most beautiful of these exhibiting a height to the apex of three measures, and the gable an equilateral triangle; another of two measures to the apex and one and a half to the base of the triangle, exhibiting the low depressed pediments which occur frequently in later perpendicular buildings: another of three measures to the apex and two to the base of the triangle, making the triangle itself equilateral; and another which accounts for the introduction into Gothic of those steep, high, sharp, slanting roofs, which are almost confined to the ancient architecture of Ireland, and which will present four measures in height and three in the sides of the triangle. And perhaps still closer analogies might be traced between the construction of gables and the geometrical proportion of the interior; especially, it may be noted again, that, just as the pavement of the interior should offer no central line running through and cutting the superficies into half, so the gable should be so managed, that the eye may not be attracted down the centre by points of windows ranged perpendicularly over each other, but may be permitted to glance off and climb up, as it were, by steps and lateral projections to the apex—the object in this arrangement being to prevent the mind from wandering off into the observation of any other proportions than those intended in the plan. It is obvious also that the principle, if true, must be capable of innumerable applications, and might be drawn out à priori into a whole theory of Gothic grouping and combination. Here it has been only suggested as an experiment. Even experiments and guesses are valuable, where scientific architects are still so much in the dark as in the mystery of Gothic proportions. And on this point we will only observe in conclusion, that the practical observations of Mr. Wallen, so far as they have been carried, accord with the à priori anticipations of that philosophy of taste, which makes harmony and beauty of proportion to consist in the repetition and

adjustment of multiple and integral portions of some one common measure; which common measure must be the first line which prominently occupies the eye and impresses itself on the mind; and which line in architectural groupings is the line drawn to the right hand from the centre of the building to the extreme verge of it.

Let us follow the general principle a little further: the principle, we mean, that unity, and harmony, and truth of style are produced by developing and repeating all the ideas contained in the primary type or standard, and by rigidly adhering to these, to the exclusion of all others. Let us apply it to the subject of Gothic mouldings, a part of the style which, by the confession of the greatest architects, constitutes the very grammar of the art, but which also presents at present an almost unfathomable mystery. That there is a wide difference between Grecian and Gothic mouldings the eye detects at once. It feels without being able to explain it. If the classes are transposed, so that Grecian mouldings are applied to Gothic pillars, and Gothic pillars to Grecian mouldings, the incongruity is glaring. But whence the incongruity itself? What analogy is there between a moulding and a pointed arch, or a vertical line? What is the hidden connexion between parts seemingly so dissimilar,—a connexion so close that they cannot be transposed without betraying a violation of great laws of affinity, which, in the combination of geometrical figures, as of living beings, Nature herself has laid down and rigidly guarded, in order to prevent confusion.

By moulding, in its most general sense, is meant all that artificial modelling and configuration, which converts a plain, flat surface into varieties of lights and shadows, lines and figures. It is the especial field, in which ornament delights to luxuriate, almost without regard to utility. Let loose from the rigid laws of mechanical construction, it seizes on the first vacant surface, and throws itself over it in all the wild profusion of a fancy just loosed

from fetters.

'Se lætus ad auras Palmes agit, laxis per purum immissus habenis.'

And yet, even here, in the very playground of art, there are laws from which it cannot be emancipated. Its very licence must be a licence of truth and reason. And truth and reason will be found even in the most unfettered evolutions of ornament, in all pure styles, whether Grecian or Gothic. Neither of these forgot the great law under which they were bound to act, even in their amusement. Dissatisfied with the plain, uninteresting surface of the mass of stone which supported the roof, and wishing to

give play and occupation for the eye amidst a great complexity of lines and shadows, both styles scooped and moulded their column: both seized the lines of building on which the eye was intended principally to rest, and there—to fill and amuse it, to provide occupation for it as for a traveller detained at some resting-place, and to arrest attention on the spot, from which some peculiar lesson was to be learned, or the cipher of the building was to be studied and read,—both arts poured themselves forth in creations of peculiar pictures; both, when utility could be converted into beauty by some little touch of life, would take the wand of a magician, and turn dead stones into breathing forms, till the corbel looked forth from the bare wall in animated features, and the boss effloresced into foliage; both, when a robe was necessary to give dignity to more venerable portions, would desire to embroider and to paint it, not only to please the eye, but to symbolize grandeur. But each adopted different forms, and acted on separate theories of ornament as well as of use. For ornament and use are not distinct plants, but as suckers from one root. They also have their deep analogies, and their one law of truth; and art, which is founded on reason, must discover and abide by them.

Of the differences between the two classes of moulding, some may be detected by a superficial view. For instance, the Grecian delights in convex lines, the Gothic in concave; the Grecian in broad lights, the Gothic in narrow. The Grecian throws out projections to catch the eye; the Gothic endeavours to bury it in deep recesses. The Grecian leads it gently along sweeping, unbroken undulations; the Gothic fractures its lines, and combines them in angles and curves. The lights and shadows of the Grecian melt and slide insensibly into each other; those of the Gothic are planted together in strong and bold contrast. The foliage of the Grecian is laid on and creeps along the surface, avowedly as an adventitious ornament; that of the Gothic is incorporated with the structure, and takes a part in the general drama, in which every member of the fabric is made to bring out one grand result. In the purest Grecian buildings vertical mouldings are rare. Horizontal mouldings form the leading lines; and it is by these, even in later and degenerated specimens, that the vertical mouldings are regulated. In the Gothic, vertical mouldings are most frequent, and they overrule and determine those which are horizontal. And Grecian mouldings are simple, and easily divisible into parts; Gothic are entangled in labyrinths, and perplexed with innumerable intricacies. What law has regulated these contrasts? What principle of nature and reason, prior and superior to the mere caprices of fancy, or

to the accident of association, can be laid down, on which to frame our own future combinations in this branch of architecture,

as well as to judge the works of our ancestors?

Let it be assumed, then, once more, (for the sake of trying experimentally a key to the cipher,) that the horizontal line of the architrave constitutes the leading feature of the Grecian, and the vertical line of the column the leading feature of the Gothic; that Grecian engages the eye in measuring exact distances; that Gothic lifts it up, and carries it on in a plane of continued elevation, without obstacle or limit; that the presence of limits to bound and define must therefore be as essential in Grecian as the absence of them is in Gothic; that strict order and regularity in Grecian would preclude all sudden breaks and strong opposition, whereas in Gothic the vertical line in the interior of the building has necessarily engendered the pointed arch, and the pointed arch has brought together and inseparably stamped upon the style the character of contrast. Upon these principles, and the corollaries deducible from them, it may not be impossible to collect a theory of moulding, which would explain the different elements of both styles, and the assemblage of peculiar characteristics under each.

For instance, the vertical tendency, which carries up the eye without boundary into open space, and with this, the mixed character of expression and suggestion impressed upon the style,—this, when applied to horizontal surfaces, requires a power of penetrating in every direction beyond the visible limits of the building, and passing into unexplored recesses. There must be no confinement, or obstacle; or rather, when an obstacle is presented, there must be loop-holes, as it were, for evading it. Infinity must be the character of the system. Accordingly, intricacy and infinity are impressed on every part of the Gothic. It throws forward bold projections, between which a deep shadow invites to enter. It buries its doors and windows under sunken arches. It tosses up, as it were, its pinnacles, turrets, and spires, for the purpose of fixing points, round which the eye may circle freely, with the consciousness of surmounting a check, and thus enjoying the freedom of its own motions. It pours its sea of pavement into aisles and cells, spreading it round islands of columns, embaying it in deep oratories and unexplored transepts; sweeping uninterruptedly round the central choir, and delighting in those reticulations of stone, which diverge on either side into unmeasured and unmeasurable depths of retiring recesses. Upon the same principle, it excavates its very walls into passages and archways, fills up its windows with mullions, scoops out niches, throws into high relief and almost perforated lace-work its

delicate lines of foliage; screens chapel behind chapel, hangs over the roof a network of tracery, through which, in ancient buildings, the eye might seem to pass into the blue sky itself, studded with golden stars, and fixes the attention especially on every opening of doorway or window, and on them therefore lavishes its ornament, as on the points most attractive to the mind engaged in thus seeking escape from confinement into infinity. And on the same principle, when a flat and naked pillar is to be diversified with imagery, it commences by champfering away the square sides, as so many impediments to a free passage of the eye. It then excavates and cuts them out into deep-sunk hollows. To give these greater depth and mystery, it plants before them slender cylindrical shafts, which effectually prevent the eye from piercing to the bottom of them. To conceal the bottom also it brings out sharp clear outlines breaking directly upon dark shadows. It avoids convex surfaces, reducing them where they are necessary, as in the shafts of columns, to slender lines of light, and even then overlaying them with flat angular ribbings.

Where the Grecian delighted in broad level surfaces, catching the light in masses, or in projecting curves on which it dies away by degrees into shadow, the Gothic roughened and encrusted them with carving. And thus in general we measure, or, if the expression may be used, we read and peruse a Grecian moulding by its lights, and the Gothic by its shadows. And if it is asked how the horizontal line of the Grecian led to such characteristics in its mouldings, the answer is, that the eye is to be made to rest on the parts which form the most prominent feature, which make the key-note of the whole combination; and breadth either of light or of shadow is the mode by which attention is attracted to them: and the original object of the Grecian building being to support the architrave, it was necessary to give to this architrave prominence and boldness by insulating and projecting it to catch the light; this could only be done by lines of shadow beneath it: this line of shadow was to be formed by courses of stone overlapping each other; and when they were to be eaten away and reduced into a graceful outline, the convex was chosen in preference to the concave, because it provided more naturally for

the support of the superincumbent weight.

That the Grecian should mould its outlines into regular undulating curves, and only introduce rectangles where the solidity of the building requires them, is natural, from the principle of symmetry and regularity on which the style is constructed. That the Gothic should intentionally and universally mix the acute angle with the curve, is equally natural, from the form of one of its leading

types, the pointed arch. That in Grecian the vertical moulding should be made subservient to the horizontal; for instance, that the jambs of a door should be regulated by the cornice, or that the cornice should be hung without them, is conformable to the axiom, that the horizontal line is the leading object. That in Gothic the vertical mouldings predominate and overrule all the rest, follows alike from the original verticalism. Thus in Grecian a barrel arch may be thrown across the walls without any vertical line whatever; in pure Gothic a roof can only be hung properly on pillars, or rods, or corbels at least appended to the walls.

These are mere hints for professed architects, to follow out and realize: but the whole theory of Gothic moulding requires deep investigation, and must be studied carefully and long, and by the aid not only of empirical admeasurements, but of an à priori philosophy, before we can appreciate or understand the whole of

the mysteries contained in them.

One more remark may be made on them—that, however multiplied their limbs and undulations, the whole composition ought easily and obviously to be reduced into three compartments, and no more; of which the central should present a broad deep shadow; whereas in Grecian there should be also the same principle of triple grouping, but the middle compartment should exhibit a broad band of light. The theory is suggested for the

following reasons:

First, because the moulding being for the most part purely ornamental, it should not occupy too large a space. Its object indeed is to produce plurality, that is to diversify a flat uniform surface with a variety of lights and shadows; but the moment this affectation of plurality becomes excessive and ostentatious, it destroys that simplicity and repose which are essential to the grandeur of a style. Now the lowest number in which plurality can exist is three—three compartments therefore it must have; more will become obtrusive, and will indeed destroy the unity of the composition; since no combination of parts can ever be harmonized or reduced to unity, till they are framed into some triplet, as in grouping no beauty can be obtained except by a pyramidal outline. But there is also for the most part a relative use in Gothic mouldings, which is to act as a framework to a picture; to establish lines and borders to which the eye may be attracted, and from which and within which it may pass on to some object more calculated to arrest the attention. of this border also requires three compartments; that is, it requires a space included between two boundary-lines. The extreme verge of a surface is not sufficient to draw and confine the eye within it; there must be a broad band to surround it: two

lines at least must be drawn, and the breadth of them must bear some proportion to the space enclosed by them. It would be a needless and wearying examination at present to enter minutely into the reason of this necessity, to inquire how the eye is not forced back sufficiently by one line, but must meet with a second before it succumbs to the obstacle thus thrown in its way; how, if it is to traverse and describe an external boundary, that boundary must possess breadth. To those who have studied the action of the mind metaphysically, it will be enough to suggest, that the natural tendency of the eye being always to pass beyond and cut through any line which it meets, there is not sufficient resistance in one boundary to check and overrule it; the momentum is not overcome till it meets a second, and thus receives, as it were, another warning. And, secondly, when the eye is traversing a line, it never rigidly adheres to it, but oscillates backwards and forwards from side to side, and therefore requires a certain breadth of space, two lines at least, to confine it, as a more easy and natural mode of preserving it in its course than a single narrow ledge.

There is only one more point in Gothic architecture on which we will venture to offer any suggestions at present; and they are offered, not in the assumption that they contain an infallible key to the problems with which it abounds, but in a deep sense that there are problems in it not yet solved; and that any attempt, however humble, to restore the dignity and excellence of art, by penetrating its mysteries with the light of philosophy, may not be without its value, if it only invite others to pursue the enquiry

more successfully.

We have spoken hitherto of one truth of art, as exhibited in the Gothic style. But there is another kind of truth, the truth of unity, which is peculiarly exemplified in the tracery of Gothic windows. And the history of the progress by which this branch of the style developed itself, from the simple perforation of the wall to the rich and glorious embroidery and network which later art suspended almost in the air, at once to catch and to exclude

the light, is full of instruction.

Windows are in themselves a peculiar feature in Gothic or Christian architecture. A religion which worships in caves or porticos, which refuses to gather its worshippers under one common roof, or assembles them only on rare occasions, scarcely requires windows; but a daily worship, a temple accessible to all, a home for the whole vast family of a Christian congregation, demands light to be poured into an interior. And to those who delight to connect together the whole chain of the divine economy, the least links with the greatest, the discovery and common use of

glass, like that of paper, are among the most singular contrivances subservient to the great end of revelation. And Gothic art, as if with a deep sense of the great truths at least suggested by the need of windows, has lavished on them its most exquisite graces. No part of its structures are touched with such a careful and delicate hand. Here may be traced the full evolution of its greatest principles. On these it has exhausted that bold but luxuriant fancy, which delights in entangling the eye in a labyrinth of sweeps and undulations. And in these it has poured out its gorgeous colouring, passing even the light of day, through a 'dim religious prism,' that it may fall mellowed and harmonized

upon the solemnities of a glad yet awful worship.

And their history may be reduced to one great struggle, the struggle for unity; to the effort which the mind makes, when discordant or unconnected materials are placed before it, to reduce them into one system, to stamp upon them one type, to impregnate them with one spirit, and to include them under one form. This struggle may indeed be traced in a singularly interesting manner in many of our greatest ecclesiastical structures—in St. Albans, in Winchester, in Malmesbury, wherever the vertical principle penetrated into the heavy, barbarous, but grand and gigantic congeries of Norman architecture; and, like an organic filament dropped in a chaos of matter, began to shoot out, and disturb, and remodel the whole structure upon a new fundamental law. In these buildings and in many others the operation has been arrested in midway; and the imperfect embryos of the new creation, half-struggling into life, have been left to tell at once of the energy of imagination, which refused to rest satisfied without overpowering and bringing under its dominion the enormous piles of building which had been raised in an opposite spirit; and of the gigantic power with which a single idea, founded on truth and animated by religion, could uproot and displace a whole vast organized system of architecture, just as in some mechanical engines a glass of water can tear up an oak.

But in the history of Gothic windows the progress of this principle may be traced in completeness. It commenced operation the moment that the single, round-headed light, simply perforated in the wall, had expanded, either for ornament or use, into a double-headed window, divided by a pillar, of which there are many specimens in our Norman buildings, and even in the early English. Plurality was thus introduced in perfect accordance with the essential character of Gothic. Two parts were formed—and the mind, which cannot rest satisfied with plurality, endeavoured immediately to reduce them into one. How was this to be effected? One mode strongly suggested itself. The artist

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threw over both the twin arches of the window one larger arch embracing them both. He thus presented, to catch the eye, one grand external figure, within which the others were sunk and lost, and so far attained his purpose by effecting what may be termed the unity of inclusion, as one ring fence gives unity to the fields of an estate, and a common boundary-wall makes many families

and houses parts of one city.

But this was not sufficient. Between the great arch and the two smaller ones was included a space lying, as it were, shapeless, and bare, and uncultivated—a sort of waste, which seemed to have no connexion with the other portions of the figure, and which required to be filled up with some corresponding details. The window still wanted another kind of unity, which may be termed the unity of completeness. The included surface was not filled up. It presented a blank, on which the eye rested with disappointment, and longed to occupy it. And how was this attempt to be made?—By recurring first to a third kind of unity, which has been mentioned before, the unity of repetition, by which, in a body composed of many members, the whole number are preserved from discordance or incongruity by repeating in each portion one and the same type or figure. Upon this principle the artist took the form of the original single light, and introduced it into the vacant space. A specimen of this stage of the transition may be seen in the tower of St. Giles's church, Oxford, and is a remarkable illustration of the fact. Still this third window failed to occupy the whole space: corners were left, and blanks, irregular and unconnected; and, for a time, the artist endeavoured to fill them up with other apertures, some circular, some irregularly curved, some elliptical: and when even these could not be fitted accurately into the space, sculptures of heads and leaves were introduced, as if in despair, and with a want of ingenuity which later art repudiated, when, in its perfection of skill and purity, it refused to employ any ornament which was not intrinsically and fundamentally useful. Beautiful as the specimens are of this description in the early English, as in the windows of the Chapter-house of Christ Church, Oxford 4, we must not lose sight of the grand principle of Gothic and of all true art, and admire them in themselves. Ornament merely for the sake of ornament, for which no reason can be assigned but that of pleasing the eye, is not worthy of a grand design.

⁴ A lover of architecture cannot see this glorious apartment, glorious even in its present state, without longing to see it restored to its primitive beauty, whenever the repairs of the Cathedral, and other essential objects, on which we believe that very large sums have been expended, permit the Dean and Chapter to undertake this work.

To effect more perfectly the occupation of the whole space of the window with an uniform framework, the artist next introduced a regular tracery in the whole of this upper compartment. He drew geometrical figures, circles, and triangles, and ellipses; and adjusted their ribbings and outlines till no bare surface was left uncovered: and this is the first stage of the decorated English; beautiful in itself, as compared with former tracery, but still deficient in another species of art, which may be termed the unity of The upper geometrical tracery was connected continuousness. with the lower mullions only by juxtaposition: they touched, but did not flow into each other. There were still two distinct compartments, though each was filled with tracery: and the next effort made was to meet and fuse these into one. From the central germ of the upper portion filaments were therefore thrown out, curling down into the lower arches; and at the same time the lower arches shot themselves up to meet the descending lines. But the attempt was vain: no perfect unity of organization can be developed from two centres. And until the upper centre was abandoned, and the whole process of crystallization was carried on continuously from the lower limbs, the nisus or struggle for unity was baffled, and only produced beautiful abortions. But with this abandonment the effort took effect. All the trunks of the mullions, springing out of one base, rose up to a certain height and then shot themselves out into ramifications of the most intricate and delicate network, exhibiting a variety of combinations which baffles enumeration—the branches climbing and twisting one into the other in a maze full of entanglement, yet without confusion; and the whole composition, in its utmost licence and seeming extravagance of fancy, capable of being subjected to strict and inviolable laws of primary truth. What these laws are, we may now briefly suggest. As the spirit of Christian munificence for Christian purposes extends, the comparative poverty and simplicity of the early English Gothic, in which most of our recent churches have been built, will probably be abandoned for a more decorated style. And in this it will be necessary to prepare ourselves with some general principles for the purpose both of criticism, and imitation, and invention.

- I. First, then, the whole width of the window should be divided by mullions into compartments, regulated in their width and height by the one common measure and proportion which pervades the whole building.
- II. They should not be so numerous as to fritter away the grandeur of design in a number of small and narrow perforations. Too much plurality produces pettiness and confusion.

- III. It is desirable, for the most part, that they should be grouped, like so many other compositions of art, in uneven numbers—three, five, or seven—rather than in two, four, six, or eight. Specimens, indeed, of such numbers are not unfrequent. But the uneven numbers, as supplying more centres, offer greater unity, combined with greater variety; and this combination is the chief secret of beauty in art, as in higher operations.
- IV. From these compartments the mullions should spring up in one direction, and when they diverge, the tendency should still be upwards, bending round to the extremities first, but finally returning back, as if with an elastic spring, towards one common centre—at the apex. It is by thus raising them from one base, carrying them in one direction, and gathering them at last into one point, that the unity will be preserved.
- V. The flow of the lines should be regulated in tolerably equal curves. It should contain no lax straggling undulations, disproportioned to the size of the windows, or of the generality of compartments—none which should forcibly break the unity of the whole contexture, like a seam in a piece of embroidery.
- VI. For the same reason the size of the compartments should be regulated upon one scale, and none should be so magnified as to arrest the eye to the exclusion of the others; so as in fact to fix before it an image of different figure and proportion from that which is intended to occupy it as a whole, namely, the general outline of the whole window. The tracery, in one word, must always be sunk in and subordinated to the exterior shape of the whole perforation.
- VII. Whatever licence and almost extravagance may seem to be permitted in entwining and interlacing the tracery, the principles of mechanical structure must never be forgotten. All the points of pressure must be well guarded. The curve must not be made to depart from the direction once taken without a sufficient cause being obvious in the resistance of some counteracting tendency, or in a compromise with some antagonist force.
- VIII. All the curves must be cusped and pointed, in order to preserve and repeat the image of the grand original type, the pointed arch.
- IX. No figures must be formed by them, but such as can be legitimately and closely affiliated with the parent ideas of the Gothic style. Such, indeed, is the depth and fecundity of those ideas, that none perhaps can be described which may not ultimately trace their genealogy to them. Thus the vertical line, when combined with the notion of an interior, generated the triangle;

and the curve of the Norman arch, which it still retained, generated the union of the angle and the curve. And from the curve flow the circle and the ellipse, and all the infinite variety of segmental forms. And from the angle and triangle flowed every other geometrical figure. But in this inexhaustible store, those must be selected which harmonize most closely with the leading character of the window as a whole, which leading character must be fixed by the original proportions of the whole building.

X. The lines should all be made to flow round and round, not only into each other, but into the great boundary-line which encloses all. The first, that the eye may wander freely and without obstacle or break from curve to curve, entangling and amusing itself with an inexhaustible labyrinth; and the second, that it may not be tempted or forced beyond the boundary of the figure which it is intended to contemplate. In particular, the boundary-line itself should not seem to generate any of the others. The others should all spring from below, and terminate in it; otherwise there will be two or more opposite centres, from which the eye will be compelled to proceed, and unity will be destroyed.

XI. The mouldings of the tracery should be deep, and present to the eye a sharp rim, to catch a slender filament of light, by which the eye may trace the pattern. Flat surfaces, which reflect broad bands of light, give heaviness; and this in proportion to the richness of the stonework.

XII. No unnecessary stonework, such as niches and canopies, should be introduced. They block up light, while the object of the window is to admit it; and are therefore unreasonable.

It might be easy to multiply axioms of this kind: but these perhaps may be sufficient to supply some principles of criticism, which are indeed required by the infinite complexity of specimens which the decorated Gothic exhibits; and which specimens, if we attempt to imitate, without some general laws of truth, we shall

only produce a tawdry and vulgar luxuriance.

Beyond the decorated style, the perfection of which was accomplished when it had learnt the art of thus giving, in its elaborate combinations, the highest degree of unity to the greatest degree of multiplicity, the history of the Gothic window is a declension, rapid and melancholy. The perpendicular style, still rich and complex in its tracery, abandoned the delicate elastic flow of the curves, as if wearied and impatient at the labour of entwining them into some one grand network. It multiplied its compartments, but scrupled not to carry them up perpendicularly, so as to cut the boundary-line of the window in every part, and fritter away its totality. It

reduced the depths and shadows of its mouldings, till nothing was left but thin meagre linings, which fretted the eye rather than engaged and interested the imagination. It bowed down and flattened the curves of its arches, as if the very feeling of elevation was extinct in the senses as well as in the heart of a corrupted church. Again; it filled and loaded every vacant space with panelling and ornament, as if the eve could no longer understand or enjoy a grave and masculine simplicity. It amused itself with tricks and toys of architecture, suspending weights from roofs without any apparent support. And all the little details which gave to the Gothic style so much of richness and delicacy, combined with so much harmony of effect, it perverted, until they presented only an elaborate fretwork hung over the stonework, and detached from it, neither assisting the eye to embrace the general plan, nor telling of any truth of structure, or truth of principle. No instance of this is more remarkable than the corruption of the crockets on the flying buttresses of Henry VIIth's Chapel, which, instead of representing foliage, bursting out and climbing up the ridge of the building, thus carrying the eye onward on its natural course of elevation, are converted into

unmeaning animals creeping downwards.

With the still further corruption of style which followed in the architecture of Elizabeth and James, we are not concerned. Even in what has been said already, much will probably appear fanciful; and will require extensive experiment and observation to confirm. But it cannot be repeated too often, that Gothic architecture is a system; and, as a system, is composed of parts, and those parts linked together by some deep analogies and laws. As a religious architecture, it behoves us to study it in a religious spirit, and to recognize and preserve the harmony which ought to exist between the outward form and inward spirit of any human work, between man's body and his soul. And if it be, as assuredly it is in its perfection, a work of exquisite beauty, not merely catching a wandering eye, or exciting a temporary applause, but riveting the attention, elevating the feelings, according with the tone, and satisfying the understanding of the most cultivated mind, the laws on which it is based cannot be accidents or guesses, but must be laws of truth, coeval and coextensive with the innate principles of the human heart. It must be like the works of the Almighty hand in nature, a mystery, to be approached with reverence, and searched into with thoughtfulness and care. For Nature also has her architecture; and an architecture constructed on principles of no dissimilar kind. Her high-ridged mountains, her pinnacles of rocks, the headlands and buttress-like projections of her hills, the shadowy softness and clearness, and

yet solemnity, of her colouring, the stillness and calm which she breathes on all her scenes, the depth of her valleys and lawns into which she draws the eye; her vault of heaven, overspread with a tracery of clouds, through which the stars pierce down; and the living forms with which she studs and fills every part of her creation, touching and finishing every leaf and every feather with a most exquisite delicacy, which in the utmost richness never loses simplicity, because all its luxuriance of ornament is framed into a fabric of utility, and is stamped on one primary type—and that type, like the type of the Gothic, the union of the angle and the curve—all this, to an eye which sees deeper than the outward rough forms of things, will recal the first principles and features of the Gothic style, by more than an accidental assimilation. These were the points which Homer selected, when he painted the most exquisite landscape ever touched by the hand of a poet; and with it, as embodying or suggesting all the chief beauties of the Gothic style, we are willing to conclude:-

'Ως δ' ὅτ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄστρα φαεινὴν ἀμφὶ σελήνην
Φαίνετ' ἀριπρεπέα, ὅτε τ' ἔπλετο νήνεμος αἰθὴρ,
"Εκ τ' ἔφανεν πᾶσαι σκοπιαὶ, καὶ πρώονες ἄκροι,
Καὶ νάπαι' οὐρανόθεν δ' ἄρ' ὑπερράγη ἄσπετος αἰθὴρ,
Πάντα δέ τ' εἴδεται ἄστρα' γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα ποιμήν.
Iliad, viii. 551.

- ART. VIII.—1. The Monastic and Manufacturing Systems. By Anglo-Catholicus. London, 1843.
- The Life of St. Stephen, Abbot, Founder of the Cistertian Order. London, 1844.
- 3. Truths and Fictions of the Middle Ages. The Merchant and the Friar. By Sir Francis Palgrave, K.H. (Second Edition.) London, 1844.

IF certain old-fashioned notions, or (as some call them) prejudices on the subject of monasticism, should continue for a few years longer in as rapid a process of decay as they have been in for some years past, we shall not be in the least surprised to meet barefooted friars, and portly monks with their shaven crowns, and cords, and scapularies, in the streets of London, and to find the ample stalls of Westminster re-occupied by the disciples of St. Benedict. It may be our lot to witness the erection of many a lordly pile for the reception of the votaries of Citeaux, the Chartreuse, or la Trappe. Abbots and priors may again rear their mitred heads in high places, and vie with princes and prelates in opulence and in power. Many circumstances have combined to bring about this change of feeling—the tendency of the age to shake off principles and prejudices alike—the reaction against narrow and unjust views of the monastic system—the thirst for something beyond the self-indulgent religion of the day —the natural tendency of the human heart towards modes of religion which are not prescribed in the word of God, but which exceed its requirements—the attractiveness to the imagination of systems surrounded with the solemn associations of sanctity, and lofty endurance, and silence, and mystery, and hoar antiquity the romance which breathes throughout the monastic system-its æstheticism—the very remains more beautiful in decay than in their perfection, which tell of sacred and holy things brought down to the dust without compunction or mercy—these, and other causes which we need not specify, have wrought gradually on certain minds, until it seems that, in some quarters, there would be no difficulty whatever in restoring the monastic system in the exact form which it had assumed at the period of its suppression amongst us, or in which it still exists in the Church of

It is doubtless true, that the class of thinkers just alluded to is far from being widely extended. We believe that very few indeed of those who are favourable to the revival of monasticism, are in any degree inclined to its introduction, except in a very modified shape, and with various adjuncts and conditions, which would, in fact, divest it of all or most of what is essential to its constitution. Their inclination is to the institution of reformed monasteries, the members of which shall not be bound by vows of celibacy, or of perpetual continuance in the monastic state. They would gladly place such institutions under the control of episcopal authority; and so far from withdrawing them from the haunts of men, and permitting their inmates to pass a life of mere contemplation, they would plant them in our manufacturing districts, for the purpose of evangelizing the dense masses of heathenism and vice which the Church is unable, by the application of her exist-

ing means, to penetrate and to purify.

In illustration of those views, we cannot do better than refer at once to the first publication on our list, entitled, "The Monastic and Manufacturing Systems. By Anglo-Catholicus." The name of its noble author must always enlist the sympathies of every true-hearted churchman, even where it may not be possible to express entire and unreserved concurrence in views which may be advanced by one in every way so deserving of respect. The author of the pamphlet in question states his apprehension, that the parochial system alone cannot, as at present constituted, fully provide for the spiritual wants of our manufacturing districts. "Nothing is further from his thoughts than any attempt to depreciate that most beautiful feature in our Church—its parochial system;" but to it "in large overgrown towns, he would add a monastic institute." The necessity of such an institute is argued in the first instance from facts detailed in Messrs. Gresley's and Palmer's pamphlets on Church extension, with reference to the amount of spiritual destitution in London, on which the author remarks as follows:-

"Let us take these two minus results of one thousand four hundred clergy in the metropolis, according to Mr. Palmer, and of sixty in Bethnal-green, according to Mr. Gresley. Does not the very sound of the figures alone suggest the necessity of some sort of monastic institutions? Does any one in his senses really believe that Bethnal-green can support sixty clergy, living independently of one another; or that, if it could, such an arrangement would be desirable? In a district like that, now for long years the prey of dissent and infidelity, what is wanted and imperatively called for is the concentration, so to speak, of the Church's forces. No minute, no mite, ought to be allowed to pass away unemployed, or to be expended uselessly; the strictest discipline and subordination should prevail among those who are to bring under the Church's rule a community so disorganized and undis-

ciplined. Every thought, every impulse of these Christian warriors, should be weaned from the petty cares and pecuniary troubles of the world, and soul and body, the energies of the mind and strength of the limbs, all, all and alike, should be devoted to their one great work. But how can this self-devotion be obtained or expected from men—weighed down with the difficulties of daily life, oppressed with the hundred petty cares and duties of a week-day humanity, and perhaps doomed, after all their self-denial and pains-taking, to find, at the end of the year, their expenses exceeding their income, and themselves subjected to the scornful eye, the hasty word, the importunate demand of worldly trade?"—pp. 7, 8.

The ministers of such districts, it is argued, require, in these days, a storehouse of *learning*, from whence they may, as occasions arise, draw forth weapons suited to the emergency:—

"Would it be a slight advantage to a man so situated, to have ever access to a library in the very house he inhabits, consisting, not of the few books which his own straitened means have allowed him to obtain, but of carefully selected tomes, which public liberality or private munificence enable the society from time to time to purchase? But perhaps more important still would be the gain in almsgiving and charity—virtues and privileged duties of the Church. We look to the revival of the offertory for the best and safest remedy of the evils of modern poorlaw legislation; but in overgrown neglected town populations, something more than the alms-dispensing of an unaided clergyman is required, and this is to be found in the co-operation of a religious society."—pp. 9, 10.

The author is of opinion that the want of monastic institutions in large towns is sufficiently proved by these arguments; and that we are justified, therefore, in urging the subject on the attention of the heads of the Church, "provided there be found no really weighty religious objection."

In reply to the charge of "Popery," which may be made against any such proposal, reference is made to the expressions

and opinions of sound members of the English Church.

"Latimer, it is well known, never hesitated to express his sorrow at the wholesale ruin of those buildings, but with 'honest earnestness' (says Southey, Book of the Church, vol. ii. p. 71) entreated that two or three of every shire might be continued, 'not in monkery,' he said, 'but as establishments for learned men, and such as would go about preaching and giving religious instruction to the people, and for the sake of hospitality.'"—p. 13.

The opinions of Sir William Dugdale, of Bishop Tanner, of

Camden, and Sir J. Markham, are cited in favour of the ancient monastic system. Southey's words are very remarkable:—

"Cranmer advised the dissolution of the monasteries, as a measure indispensable to the stability of the Reformation; and that out of their revenues more bishoprics should be founded, so that dioceses, being reduced into less compass, every bishop might be able to fulfil the duties of his office. And to every cathedral he would have annexed a college of students in divinity, and clergymen, from whom the diocese should be supplied. More than this might justly have been desired. After a certain number of monasteries had been thus disposed of, others should have been preserved for those purposes of real and undeniable utility connected with their original institution; some as establishments for single women, which public opinion had sanctified, and which the progress of society was rendering in every generation more and more needful; others as seats of learning and religious retirement. Reformed convents, in which the members were bound by no yow, and burdened with no superstitious observances, would have been a blessing to the country."-p. 16.

Archbishop Leighton was of the same opinion, as Bishop Burnet states:—

"He also thought the great and fatal error of the Reformation was, that none of those houses, and of that course of life, free from the entanglements of vows and other mixtures, was preserved, so that the Protestant Churches had neither places of education, nor retreat for men of mortified temper."—p. 18.

The opinion of Archbishop Leighton has been advanced in somewhat a different shape, by one of our most deservedly popular writers in the present day:—

"If," says Mr. Paget, "the monasteries, instead of being swept away, had been reformed—had been reserved for persons not tied by monastic vows, but who, satisfied to endure hardness, and content with poverty, were ready, from the pure love of God, to devote themselves to preaching, study, and prayer, our large towns would have been supplied, not as now, with three or four over-burdened clergymen, but with a numerous body of men, ready, under episcopal guidance, to do the work of Apostles and Evangelists."—p. 23.

This view, which was, we believe, advanced originally by the accomplished author of "The Church of the Fathers," has been extensively circulated and adopted; and many very excellent

^{1 &}quot;Let it be considered, too, whether there is any other way of evangelizing large towns, but that of posting bodies of a monastic character, for the purpose of preaching and visiting, among the dense and ignorant population." Church of the Fathers, chap. xiv. p. 252.

men are of opinion accordingly, that the institution of monasteries, under some modified system, would be the most effectual remedy for our spiritual destitution, and would in every way contribute to the well-being of the English Church. To some, they present themselves as retreats from the cares and anxieties of life,—to others, as affording opportunities for penitence and mortification, -to others, as the habitations of learning and intellectual enjoyment,—to others, as the pathway to heroic and saintly acts of piety and devotion,—to others, as the most effectual mode of evangelizing the heathen, gathering the outcasts into the fold of the Church, instructing the young in the truths of religion, and distributing to the necessities of those who are in sickness and affliction. And there is reason in all this: such benefits have been certainly so far connected in some way with the monastic system, that it is very natural to conclude that its revival would lead to them again. We are of opinion, that the subject is one which amply deserves examination; and we are desirous of entering on its discussion, without any feeling of prejudice either on one side or the other, and of contributing our aid towards the settlement of a great and important practical question. Already, indeed, we have had definite plans for the revival of monasteries, which it has been proposed to place under episcopal superintendence (if it can be obtained, we suppose); and we have even heard occasional reports of negotiations or arrangements for the purchase of sites for the intended institutions.

Such being the present aspect of affairs, as regards the subject before us, we may fairly be permitted to ask, What is monasticism; and how far is its revival desirable in the present day?

Now, in the first place, it is evident that monasticism consists in something else besides celibacy, or that its appellation is not founded merely on solitude in this sense; for celibacy was observed by many of the ancient clergy and ascetics, who were certainly not considered as monks². As to voluntary poverty and obedience, which, together with celibacy, form the subject of monastic vows, it is not easy to see in what respects they are peculiar to the monastic state. They may assuredly be found elsewhere. An ascetic or a priest may have relinquished his worldly goods (and ecclesiastical history furnishes us with innumerable instances of such things); and yet he did not, by so doing,

² It is indeed a question, whether marriage is not compatible with the monastic state. Thomassinus speaks without hesitation on this point: "Saltem inficiabitur nemo, qui ecclesiæ Annales vel à limine salutarit, quin militares complusculi ordines et monastici verè fuerint, et à continentiæ fræno soluti, permissique honestis et legitimis illigari nuptiis." Several decrees of Pope Innocent III., Honorius III., Urban IV., Gregory IV., Alexander VI., are cited in proof. Thomassinus, De Veteri et Nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina, pars i. lib. ii. c. 75. § 7.

become a monk. We have spoken of the ancient ascetics. Bingham supplies us with the following explanation of the term:—

"There were always," he says, "ascetics in the Church, but not always monks, retiring to the deserts and mountains, or living in monasteries and cells, as in after-ages. Such were all those that inured themselves to greater degrees of abstinence and fasting than other men. In like manner, they who were more than ordinarily intent upon the exercise of prayer, and spent their time in devotion, were justly thought to deserve the name of ascetics. The exercise of charity, and contempt for the world, in any extraordinary degree, as when men gave up their whole estate to the service of God or use of the poor, was another thing that gave men the denomination and title of ascetics. The widows and virgins of the Church, and all such as confined themselves to a single life, were reckoned among the number of ascetics, though there was neither cloister nor vow to keep them under this obligation. . . Lastly, all such as exercised themselves with uncommon hardships or austerities, for the greater promotion of piety and religion, as in frequent watchings, humicubations, and the like, had the name ascetics also 3."

If then Monasticism was not distinguished from other states by its celibacy, its poverty, or its obedience to superiors—in what did it really consist?

St. Jerome has fully and repeatedly answered this question. According to him, Monasticism is, in its essence, solitude—retirement from the world and its temptations. "If," he says to Paulinus, "you wish to take the office of a presbyter, if you take pleasure in the labour or the honour of the episcopate, live in cities and towns, and make the salvation of others the gain of your own soul. But if you are desirous of being what you are called, a monk, that is, a solitary (solus), what hast thou to do in cities, which are not the dwellings of solitaries, but of multitudes '?" To Heliodorus, another monk, he thus writes: "What hast thou to do, brother, in the world,—thou, who art greater than the world? . . . Does the infinite waste of the desert terrify thee? Then, in thy mind, walk in Paradise '."

There cannot be the slightest doubt, that this was the real characteristic of the Monastic Institute. For nearly a century after its origin, it was only practised in the desert. A monk residing in a city, or amidst the habitations of men, was an

³ Bingham, Antiquities, b. ii. ch. vii.

^{4 &}quot;Si officium vis exercere presbyteri; si episcopatus te vel opus vel honor forte delectat, vive in urbibus et castellis, et aliorum salutem fac lucrum animæ tuæ. Sin autem cupis esse, quod diceris monachus, id est solus; quid facis in urbibus, quæ utique non sunt solorum habitacula, sed multorum?" Hieron. Epistola xlix. ad Paulinum, Oper. tom. iv. pars ii. p. 565.

⁵ Ibid. p. 11.

absurdity,—an inconsistency of the most glaring description. Paul and Antony, Macarius, Hilarion, Basil, Gregory, Martin, and all the eminent founders of this state, fixed their residence in the desert, far from human habitations. The very same rule was followed in after-ages by all who understood, and wished to practise, the real system of Monasticism. Benedict retired to Monte Casino, Bruno to the Chartreuse, Stephen to Cistertium, and Bernard to Clairvaux. In the foundation of almost every great monastery, the object was to find some secluded situation. far from the haunts of men. Nay, the spirit of solitude pervaded the system, after it had become conventual rather than monastic. The Oriental Laura consisted of numerous houses, each occupied by its solitary tenant; who in retirement pursued his manual labour, while he repeated the psalter, or meditated on Divine things; conversation was to a great degree interdicted; meetings were only for the purpose of worship, or of instruction, or of discipline. Even in many of the western convents, the life of the monk was spent in the solitude of his cell, or in Divine worship; and he was cut off as much as possible from intercourse with his fellow-creatures. Thus solitude was an essential and invariable characteristic of true Monasticism. Where it exists not at all. there is no Monasticism; where it exists in the highest and most perfect degree (and hermits are always acknowledged to have attained the perfection of this state), it amounts to a total seclusion from the world, and almost from the privileges of the Church. Antony remained for twenty years within a castle; and we infer, from the narrative of his life, that he remained for much of this time without even receiving the eucharist 6; at least, there is not a hint of his having any opportunity of receiving it. In fact, there can be no doubt that multitudes of the early hermits had scarcely any opportunities of receiving the eucharist, or joining in the prayers of the Church. Priests and churches did not exist at first in the deserts to which they fled; and the desire for solitude thus induced the sacrifice, to a great degree, of Christian privileges. Doubtless, this evil was remedied in time by the ordination of some monks, and by the reception of some of the clergy who came to embrace the monastic life; but still Monasticism in its origin was a retirement, not only from association with the clergy and other members of the Church, but from the ordinary spiritual privileges of Christian communion.

And to what end was this? Unquestionably nothing but a

⁶ The reservation of the eucharist in those ages doubtless furnished opportunities to the solitaries, of which they availed themselves; but it is clear that there must have been many difficulties in receiving the eucharist in the depths of the desert, and when all intercourse with men was studiously avoided.

feeling of *necessity* could have justified such a mode of proceeding. If men felt that their salvation depended on renouncing intercourse with their fellow-men, and in abridging or depriving themselves, for a time, of the ordinary privileges of the Church, we can quite understand and make allowance for their acting thus, even though we may not be convinced of its fitness or propriety, considered in itself. We can perfectly understand, and sympathize with the religious earnestness which, in pursuit of salvation, and feeling itself hampered and harassed by worldly business, or chilled by low and earthly companionships, and groaning beneath the weight of innumerable temptations, arising from the habits of ordinary life, may in its distraction seek, by one great impulse, to throw off the overwhelming load of care and suffering, and to fly from the habitations of men, in hopes of leaving behind the temptations of the world and the flesh. And, if we are to believe St. Jerome, himself a monk,—and deeply versed in all the knowledge which could render him a competent judge,—such were really the kind of motives which led to the adoption of Monasticism. It was an attempt to fly from temptation. "A monk," —he says to Vigilantius, who had assailed the Monastic system, -"a monk holds the office, not of a teacher, but of a mourner . . . who, knowing his own weakness, and the frail vessel which he bears, fears to stumble, lest it fall and be broken. Wherefore he avoids the aspect of women, and particularly those who are young. . . . Why dost thou go unto the desert? you will say.— In order that I may not hear thee, or behold thee—that I be not disturbed by thy anger, or suffer thy warfare—that the eyes of the harlot may not allure me. . . . Thou wilt answer: This is not to fight, but to fly. Stand fast in the battle: resist thine adversaries in arms; that when thou hast conquered, thou mayest receive a crown. I acknowledge my weakness. I am unwilling to fight in hope of victory, lest I lose the victory . . . I fly, lest I be conquered I," &c.

According to St. Jerome, then, the solitary, or monk, entered on his state to avoid the temptations arising from intercourse with his fellow-men. It was the salvation of his own soul which he sought, rather than the edification of others. Indeed, he seemed to have no thought of the latter object: his whole care was concentrated on escaping from temptation by retirement and

^{7 &}quot;Cur, inquies, pergis ad eremum? Videlicet ut te non audiam, non videam: ut tuo furore non movear: ut tua bella non patiar: ne nec capiat oculus meretricis, etc. Respondebis: Hoc non est pugnare, sed fugere. Sta in acie, adversariis armatus obsiste; ut postquam viceris, coroneris. Fateor imbecillitatem meam. Nolo spe pugnare victoriæ, ne perdam aliquando victoriam, ideo fugio, ne vincar." Hieron. adv. Vigilant. Oper. tom. iv. pars ii. p. 288.

solitude. The learned Van Espen has very justly remarked, that "The secession of monks had reference, not to the public and common welfare of the Church (except in so far as the virtues of individuals and sanctity of life adorn and assist the Church), but principally to the private advantage of those who seceded, or adopted that rule of living, for their own salvation; and that it was adopted by the first monks for that end; which is manifest from what the fathers every where say of the monks and their institute "."

From what has been already said, it is pretty evident, we think, that Monasticism, in its genuine spirit, is not consistent with the offices which it is wished to impose on it. It is a system of retirement, and even solitude; and it is therefore inconsistent with its very nature to bring it into the midst of populous cities, amidst the temptations of society and the bustle of every-day life. If it be in itself right, and wise, and good, let it at least remain possessed of its essential features, or let not its name be applied to some system which has no just claim to it. If retirement from human society is beneficial, or necessary, let it remain retirement; but do not imagine that solitude can exist in the midst of the world, or that the temptations of that world can be escaped from, while we remain within their reach. If zealous and devoted men apply themselves to the instruction of the poor in the midst of populous cities, and to other cares and duties of the pastoral office, they will doubtless have their reward; but they will not be acting on the principle of Monasticism, however ascetic may be their discipline.

We shall not dwell on the question which may arise, as to the lawfulness of the original design of Monasticism, though we think that it is really a point which is quite open to discussion. Notwithstanding the admiration which we are bound to feel for the zeal, and the self-denial, and the devotion, of many of the early solitaries, which received the well-merited approbation of such men as Athanasius, and Basil, and Chrysostom, and Augustine; still, after all, it is a matter of very serious inquiry, whether Christianity recommends, or even permits, a voluntary separation from intercourse with the members of "the Body of Christ," which is His Church; whether it is consistent with His true religion to withdraw ourselves from the ordinary temptations which are essential to the condition of man in that state of social spiritual being in which Divine Providence has placed him; whether it is right to retire from opportunities of usefulness, from the claims of charity, from the responsibility of "letting our light so

⁸ Van Espen, Opera, tom. ii. p. 213.

shine before men, that they may glorify our Father which is in heaven?" Was it, we ask, calculated to impress the world with a sense of Christian unity, when so many zealous men were seen forsaking their brethren and avoiding all intercourse with them? The prayer of our Saviour, that his disciples might be "one," seemed to have been imperfectly attended to in this system of religious isolation. But, passing over these and similar questions, as to the strict lawfulness of Monasticism in its theory and design, one point at least seems clear, that, however great may have been the virtues of particular solitaries, their state of seclusion was in itself a less perfect state than that which is conversant with the ministry of God's word, and which exists in the midst of the Church. St. John the Baptist indeed abode in the desert; but our Lord Himself, the model of all saintly perfection, did not dwell in the desert, or withdraw Himself from the society of men. His life was spent amidst men, in the occupations of humble life, in works of benevolence, in instruction, and amidst temptations. Such, too, was the life of the Apostles: such was the life of the first disciples, who "had all things common." If, then, retirement from fellowship with men in pursuit of salvation, or even of greater sanctity, be excusable, it is at least a far less perfect and holy condition than that which the Son of God Himself exemplified. It is less holy than the office of the sacred ministry; less holy than the condition of those who ministered to the necessities of the saints. Frequent retirement from the world, for purposes of devotion, is one thing; perpetual and total retirement from human society, is another. The one was practised by our Saviour; and it is even essential to the very existence of religion, inasmuch as, without some spirit and practice of private and retired devotion and self-examination, there can be no true religion at all; but the other was entirely inconsistent with the whole life and example of our Lord.

And, in truth, it was so ordered, that the intention of Monasticism was speedily frustrated, and rendered unavailing to a great degree. The novelty of this mode of life, and the reputation for sanctity enjoyed by its founders, ere long attracted multitudes of disciples and imitators. The Church and the world soon followed the Solitaries into the deserts, and it is computed that within a century from Antony's retirement, the desert was peopled by a hundred thousand monks. Monasticism was extinguished except in name: Antony became no longer a solitary but an abbot; and to carry out the original intention of his state, he was obliged to leave the desert, and retire to a distance amongst the Saracens, where for a time, and only for a time, he obtained solitude. Many similar instances might be pointed out; and hence it seems

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evident that Providence forbad the design of Monasticism from being carried out; and surrounded the ancient solitaries with society in spite of themselves; and made them subject accordingly to all the temptations which are connected with human society. They found, too, that it was impossible to escape temptations even in solitude. The life of Antony, and generally those of the ancient solitaries, preserved by Athanasius, and Jerome, and Cassian, and Sulpicius Severus, are records of temptations of a far more frightful character than are encountered in the social life of Christians. Whether we are to attribute these terrific legends of demoniacal assaults to enthusiasm, or to consider them as in any degree real, it is plain, that an amount of temptation was continually exercised on the solitaries, which rather looked like a penalty for their mistake, than a reward of their self-devotion.

Thus, then, Monasticism was self-destructive: it ceased to be Monastic: it became conventual; and with this vital change in the system, came new theories of its origin and design. Jerome has supplied us with the rationale of genuine Monasticism: Cassian furnishes us with that of the comobitism which assumed its name. According to this writer, the monastic discipline of the Comobites took its rise in the time when the brethren had all things common; but afterwards, when the multitude of the faithful became lukewarm, and the Church became contaminated by the freedom allowed to the Gentiles by the Apostles, and men judged it lawful to follow the religion of Christ, and vet retain their worldly possessions; then those who sought for Apostolical perfection departed from their homes, and from intercourse with all those who believed themselves entitled to live a more negligent or careless life, and practised the Apostolical discipline in private places, apart9. And this, doubtless, was the motive which led for ages to the adoption of this mode of life. It was an effort to attain a higher measure of Christian holiness than was actually prevalent in the Church: it was the desire to withdraw from the society of those who were not sufficiently in earnest in their religion, and to associate with those whose

^{9 &}quot;Itaque Comobitarum disciplina a tempore prædicationis Apostolice sumpsit exordium. Nam talis extitit in Hierosolymis omnis illa credentium multitudo, quæ in Actibus Apostolorum ita scribitur: multitudinis credentium erat unum cor et anima una, etc. Sed cum post Apostolorum excessum tepescere coepisset credentium multitudo . . . atque ista libertas quæ gentibus propter infirmitatem primæ credulitatis indulta est, etiam illius ecclesiæ quæ Hierosolymis consistebat perfectionem paulatim contaminare coepisset, etc. . . Hi autem quibus adhuc Apostolicus inerat fervor, memores illius pristinæ perfectionis, discedentes a civitatibus suis, illorumque consortio qui sibi vel ecclesiæ Dei remissioris vitæ negligentiam licitam esse credebant, in locis suburbanis ac secretioribus commanere, etc. Cassian. Collatio xviii. cap. v. Oper.

leading object was to practise Christian obedience, and to live under such ascetic rules as were conceived to lead to the most exalted holiness. It is on a principle not very unlike this, that dissenters profess to act in their separation from the Church. They are of opinion that the mass of believers are fallen from Apostolic purity, and in the pursuit of a higher degree of holiness than they find around them, they form communities apart, and practise the "Apostolic discipline." In both cases, it is the pursuit of individual edification which is the object; though, of course, the ancient comobites did not profess or intend to separate from the communion of the Church, however "lukewarm" or "contaminated" she had become.

Assuredly the dissenters have not realized in fact, the design on which they held it necessary to separate from the Church. There is no such very great and surpassing holiness amongst them, as to prove that they have gained much by their secession. And in the same way, history would seem to prove, that the conventual system has not been quite successful in promoting the higher class of religious attainments—that the spirit of the world has been perpetually invading its territories; and that from age to age it has exhibited a continual tendency to decay and corruption. Greatly as we must honour many of those who were associated with that system as founders, or as members of it; deep as the obligations of literature and of religion are to those who preserved the one and propagated the other in ages when barbarism and corruption widely prevailed—still it is impossible to forget, that each founder of new monastic congregations was compelled to begin de novo, having learnt from experience, that discipline had become universally relaxed.

There is something extremely beautiful and simple in the accounts which are preserved of the ancient coenobites, or conventual monks. According to Fleury, the deserts to which they retired were full of arid sands, sterile mountains, and rocks. Here they dwelt, wherever water was to be found, and built their cells of some light materials. They laboured, for manual labour was considered essential to their condition. They remembered that man was doomed to eat bread "in the sweat of his brow," and that our Lord himself had for many years toiled in the trade of his reputed father. The following description applies chiefly

to the Egyptian monk,—

"The labour of these primitive monks was for two ends, to avoid the idleness and weariness inseparable from solitude, and to obtain the means of living without being a burden to others. For they understood literally the words of St. Paul, 'If any man will not work, neither let him eat.' They sought no gloss or explanation here.

They chose however such labours as were easy, and compatible with tranquillity of spirit, such, for instance, as the manufacture of mats and baskets, which were the works of the Egyptian monks. The Syrians, according to St. Ephrem, made cord, paper, and cloth. Some did not even disdain to turn the mill, like the most despicable slaves. Those who had some land, cultivated it themselves.... They fasted throughout the year, and all their nourishment was bread and water. The difference on days which were not fast-days, consisted in advancing the

first repast (there were two) to noon.

"This was the whole of their austerity: they did not wear sackcloth or iron chains like some of the Syrian monks. Their prayer was regulated with the same wisdom. They assembled to pray in common but twice in the twenty-four hours, in the evening and at night. Twelve brethren in turn chanted each a psalm standing in the midst, the rest sitting by in silence. A cow's horn was used instead of a bell, and was sufficient in the silence of their vast deserts; and the stars, always visible in Egypt, were their clock: all was in conformity with their poverty. The rest of the day they prayed in their cells, while they were engaged in labour, feeling that nothing is more proper for fixing the thoughts and preventing distractions, than continual occupation. Their devotion was like the pyramids and other works of the ancient Egyptians, grand, simple, and solid."

These ancient monks were laymen, generally of the lower classes of society, and illiterate. Learning was not amongst the objects of their institute, which was simply and singly destined to the cultivation of practical piety and the ascetic virtues. The most eminent monk was he who existed on the smallest amount of provision, and of the coarsest kind; who relied the most on Providence for the supply of that provision; who inhabited the most miserable dwelling; and lay on the most rough and painful bed. One of his most exalted virtues consisted in implicit and total submission to his abbot, who was permitted to strike and revile him in the presence of others, for the purpose of trying his patience and exhibiting his humility. In the vivid and enthusiastic pages of Sulpicius Severus, where such traits are continually occurring, and which were read with devouring eagerness in every part of the Church, the ascetic and contemplative virtues are almost exclusively dwelt on, and the monks, whether solitaries or comobites, are never supposed to be engaged in works of charity for the benefit of others. Their whole care is concentrated on their own salvation—their own advance in spiritual perfection. Their object is to edify themselves, not to edify their brethren. Isolated as much as possible, even in the midst of religious society, they do not seem

¹ Fleury, Discours viii. sur l'Histoire Ecclésiastique.

to have lived at all for the practice of the more active virtues. True it is that they did not refuse to converse with those strangers who came to visit their cells; and even willingly administered to their necessities; but these were apparently their principal acts of charity. Of course, it is also true that conventual institutions were dignified by those illustrious men, who, in the course of ages, issued from their retreats to proclaim the Gospel in heathen lands. Augustine, and Boniface, and Columba, and many other famous evangelists, went forth from monastic seclusion and asceticism to their great work—but it was not the monastic or solitary principle, or the spirit of conventualism, which prepared them for this work. It was not monasticism—it was the asceticism which it involved, that endued them with their high qualities of zeal and self-devotion, and singleness of heart. In devoting themselves to the conversion of the heathen they rose above the monastic system: they adopted the system of the Church—they became followers of Jesus Christ and his Apostles. The want of education amongst many of the early monks, and their seclusion, disposed them to enthusiasm of every kind. If it be supposed that monasticism is any security against error in doctrine, we would merely refer to the histories of Socrates and Sozomen, and the accounts which they give of the violence and the unanimity with which the Egyptian monks (the very patterns of monasticism) insisted against Theophilus of Alexandria, that the Deity is corporeal, or possesses a body like that of man; and we would again observe, that the monks of Egypt adopted the monophysite heresy, condemned by the fourth œcumenical synod.

But, to pass into the conventual system in later times, as exhibited in the rule of St. Benedict, and in the institutions of his successors in after-ages—was it on the whole successful? Or did it perpetually and rapidly decay? In answer to this we shall avail ourselves of the Life of St. Stephen, mentioned at the head of this article; and, in the first place, we shall adduce some passages illustrative of the real character and essential features of the old conventual system.

"St. Benedict seems not to have contemplated the case of a monk's ever leaving his monastery, except when despatched on the business of the convent. Each religious house was to be perfect in itself, and to contain, if possible, all the necessary arts of life, so that its inmates need very rarely go beyond its walls. Least of all does he seem to have thought that a monk could quit the cloister for the acquisition of learning; the end of a monastic life was to follow Christ in perfect poverty and obedience; monks tilled the ground with their own hands, and wrought their food out of the hard soil by the sweat of their brow; they were therefore in very many cases what we should call rude and

ignorant men, unskilled in worldly learning, though well versed in the science of divine contemplation."-p. 5.

The sacrifices which Bernard was called on to make in entering the religious state, are thus described:—

"Yes, so it was; all was to be sacrificed—beauty of form, noble birth, quickness and depth of thought; brilliant eloquence; all were to be nailed to the cross; and he was to become a common labourer, planter, reaper, ploughman, and, if so be, hedger and ditcher, wrapped in a coarse cowl, with low-born men for his fellows."—p. 107.

The following description of the customs of the Cistercian order will furnish a tolerable notion of the conventual system in general, except where it was extremely relaxed. It commences with the nocturnal arrangement of the dormitory; for in those ages a common dormitory had become as essential a feature in monasteries as a common place of worship:—

"Suppose the monks all lying on their beds of straw, ranged in order along the dormitory, the abbot in the midst. Each of them lay full dressed, with his cowl drawn over his head, with his cuculla and tunic, and even with stockings on his feet. His scapular alone was dispensed with. Doubtless no one complained of heat, for the bed-clothes were scanty, consisting of a rough woollen cloth between their limbs and the straw, and a sort of woollen rug over them. The long dormitory had no fire, and currents of air had full room to play under the unceiled roof, left in the native rudeness of its beams. The sacristan, as soon as he was up, trimmed the church lamp, and that of the dormitory, and rang the great bell; and in a moment the whole of this little world Matins (which followed) lasted for two hours, during was alive. which they chanted psalms interspersed with anthems. After matins, those of the brethren who were not in the church, were all together in the cloister. In one part was the cantor, marking out the lessons, and hearing some brother repeat them in a low suppressed tone; or else a novice would be learning to recite the psalter by heart. In another part, ranged on seats, the brethren would sit in unbroken silence, reading, (i. e. when they could read,) with their cowls so disposed about their heads, that it might be seen that they were not asleep. Lauds, as has been said before, followed matins very soon in summer, after which an interval was allowed, during which the brethren might go to the dormitory to wash themselves, and change portions of the dress in which they slept. As soon as the day had fully dawned, prime was sung, and then they went into chapter. There each brother, who had in the slightest way transgressed the rule, came forward and confessed it aloud before the whole convent; and after receiving a penance, if it were necessary, he went back to his seat at the bidding of his superior. But what shall we say to the punishments for greater offences against

the rule. The monk who had grievously offended stripped himself to his waist, and on his knees received the discipline (scourging) at the hands of a brother, in the face of the convent.

"After the chapter was over, the brethren went out to manual labour; this was one of the peculiarities which distinguished Citeaux from Cluny. Their labour was good hard work, by which they gained their livelihood, and with the help of their lay brethren, supported themselves, and gave abundant alms to the poor. Few things are more remarkable than this mixture of all the details of spades and forks, ploughing, hay-making, and reaping, with the meditation and constant prayer of the Cistercians. During the harvest-time, the daily mass was, if the abbot so willed, attended only by the sick and all who were too weak to work, for the whole convent were in the fields. Field-work was not, however, it may be said by the way, the only labour of the Cistercian; he took his turn to be cook, which office went the round of the convent, and was changed weekly. Again, he might be cellerer, infirmarian, master of the novices, or porter, with a variety of other offices which would give him employment enough. The cellarer especially was an officer of considerable dignity in the community; he had the whole of the victualling department under his care; cooks and lay brethren especially referred to him in all matters which came under his jurisdiction; and he had to weigh out the proper quantity of food for each of the monks."

The Cistercians worked for a shorter time than the early Benedictines, who continued working till near ten o'clock, thus giving two hours and a half to manual labour:—

"At about half-past eleven the bell rung for sext, after which the convent assembled in the refectory, for the first and principal meal of the day. It consisted of a pound of the coarsest bread, (one-third of which was reserved for supper if there was one,) and two dishes of different sorts of vegetables boiled with grease. Their drink was the sour wine of the country, well diluted with water, or else thin beer, or a decoction of herbs called sapa, which seems to have been more like vegetable soup than any other beverage. Every action was sanctified to the monks; even at their meals a strict silence was observed, and one of the brethren read some religious book during the time that they were in the refectory. Nones were said at half-past two, after which they were allowed a draught of water in the refectory before they returned to manual labour, which lasted till half-past five.

"On Christmas night a fire burned merrily in the calefactory, and all with glad hearts might cluster around it; but at other times no fire is mentioned during the night hours, and it was in cold and hunger that they waited for the nativity of the Lord. In winter, when nothing was permitted after their one meal but a draught of water, nothing broke the silence of the monks after vespers were said. The most breathless silence reigned in the convent. The brethren sat reading in the cloister, and even signs were forbidden except on special occasions.

From scattered hints it appears that the monks had sometimes a certain time allowed them for conversing together, though that is not mentioned at all in St. Benedict's rule. The fact is, that silence was the general order of the day, but the abbot might allow those whom he judged fit to converse together."—pp. 120—140.

This is a very fair representation of the monastic system of the middle ages—in theory at least. Its attributes were poverty—hard fare—manual labour—the practice of menial offices as exercises of humility—silence—isolation as far as was practicable—strict adherence to the conventual rule, and severe penalties for transgressions of it—entire subjection to the superior. Monks were forbidden to leave their convents, or go forth into the world; their business was within the little world of monastic life, with all its unvarying routine, and not beyond it. Of course, notwithstanding the design of monasticism to afford a refuge from the world and its temptations, they found their way every where, in some shape or other.

"A Convent," as the writer cited above, remarks, "is a little world in itself, and has its mixed characters and tempers, just like the world; the mass of the community in such a convent as Molesme, probably consisted of men who followed the leading of others, and contented themselves with arriving at a certain standard of holiness, without rising much above or falling much below it. Let no one suppose that all is smooth in a convent life; it has temptations of its own, temptations to rising only just in time for matins, to a love of such ease as the cloister will allow, to talking vain words at recreation time, to a low standard of devotion, &c."—p. 32.

Were it thought desirable to establish a monastery in the present day, on the system prescribed in the rule of St. Benedict, and of his strictest followers, there would be, at all events, very little expense in the establishment. Some earthen or wooden huts, of the smallest size, would suffice for the dwellings and offices of the monks—their fare and clothing being considerably inferior to that of any labourer in the present day, would be more than provided for by their manual labour, which would, in addition, enable them to pay the rent of the land on which that labour was to be exerted. A body of twenty or thirty monks should, according to the genuine principles of monasticism, support itself, and distribute alms be-There seems to be no need of repealing the mortmain acts for this purpose. If there be a real wish to revive monasticism, there is absolutely nothing whatever in the way. Let individuals sell their goods and give them to the poor; and let them retire to uncultivated mountains, where proprietors will gladly permit them to settle; and let them there depend on their daily labour for daily bread, and erect for themselves dwellings of clay or of wood. The more humble and poverty-stricken their raiment, or their food, or their dwellings may be, the nearer will they approach to the examples and the principles of the great founders and reformers of monasticism. Houses and lands, splendid churches, and stately abbeys, the lofty carved roof, and the gorgeous window, ritual pomp and grandeur, all are alien from the spirit of poverty, and humility, and unworldliness, which distinguishes the *genuine* system of conventual monasticism. Their introduction proved its ruin: they were the emblems of a relaxed asceticism—of a disposition to find renewed gratification for the senses.

It may seem strange to speak of a monastery engaged in manufactures. Doubtless nothing can seem, at first sight, more incongruous than the association of spinning-jennies and steam-engines with the cowled and bearded forms of monks and friars; and yet there is positively nothing whatever in the theory of monasticism which would militate against such an association. Manual labour was indeed prescribed to the monk, but there is no sort of obligation to practise merely one kind of labour. Agricultural labour is not the only work which was practised in ancient times. monks were manufacturers in their day. They made baskets, cloth, shoes, and garments. In short, the object was to comprise within each monastery all the necessary trades. This being so, we really see no reason whatever why a body of monks should not undertake the labour of a Factory in the present day; or why steamengines and looms should be less suited to their management than spades and shovels. Indeed, we have little doubt that were St. Antony or St. Bernard to revisit the earth, they would lose no time in establishing factories of this kind, in which labour would not be disproportioned to strength, childhood would be instructed, and the means of extensive almsgiving be supplied. We fear that the suggestion may not be very palatable, and therefore we shall not press it too strongly; but pass on to another and a very important branch of this subject.

We allude to the phenomenon which must strike every candid observer of monasticism, that it never seems to exist for more than one generation in purity, and then becomes hopelessly relaxed and corrupt. All the various monastic orders which have risen in different ages, were so many protests against prevailing corruptions; and all, in their time, fell into the same disorders which their founders protested against. Let us take a few examples

from the Life of St. Stephen, and from Fleury.

"So entirely had the rule of St. Benedict, at one time, disappeared from France, that its very existence before the time of St. Odo, of Cluny, has been questioned. In some monasteries lay abbots might be found quietly established, with their wives and children; and the tramp of

soldiers, the neighing of horses, and baying of hounds, made the cloister seem rather like a knight's castle than a place dedicated to God's service. A specimen of the way in which bishops were treated when they undertook to reform abbeys, may be found in the conduct of the monks of Fleury. in the Loire, when St. Odo was introduced into the Abbey to tame them. Two bishops and two counts accompanied the abbot, but the monks minded them, says the story, no more than pagans or barbarians; they fairly buckled on the sword, posted themselves at the gates, got a plentiful supply of stones and missiles on the roof, and declared that they would rather die than receive an abbot of another order within their Two general reformations of monastic institutions were effected before Stephen's time. . . . St. Benedict, of Aniane, by his personal influence, united all the abbeys of the Carlovingian empire into one congregation: but after his death, they relapsed into their former state. The other reform was much more permanent: it was effected by the celebrated congregation of Cluny. When monasteries were in a state of the lowest degradation, still there was vitality enough in this mass of corruption to give birth to a line of saints, such as that of the first abbots of Cluny." —pp. 155, 156.

"[Robert] was compelled to leave St. Michael by the incorrigibly

bad lives of the monks."-p. 14.

"The community of Molesme seemed now to be in a fair way of becoming the head of a new and flourishing congregation of the Benedictine order,—the various steps by which the change was effected in the convent are not marked in the scanty annals of the time. The brethren appear at first in the story as saints in perfection, and a little further on are represented as degenerate. The change, however, took place on an increase of numbers and of wealth in the community.... Again, it must be remarked, that strong expressions may be used, and rightly, about the corruptions of monks, without implying the existence of gross impurity. A convent may degenerate into a lax and formal way of performing its duties, or it may be ruined by internal dissensions, without falling into vicious excesses. The most common commencement of corruption was a violation of the rule of poverty, and this seems to have been the case at Molesme. The wealth which had accrued to them from the bounty of the faithful, had done away with the necessity of manual labour, and they refused to obey their abbot, who wished to keep it up as a portion of the discipline enjoined by the rule. Again, they insisted on keeping possession of parochial tithes. and they assumed habits of a richer and warmer sort than the rule They grounded their arguments on the general practice of monasteries about them."--pp. 19, 20.

"Many were the innovations introduced under the name of dispensations, till hardly a vestige of the monastic character remained. Simony, again, brought with it intercourse with princes, pride and

luxury."—p. 27.

The Cluniac reform under Odo produced a great effect for a

time, but it speedily degenerated. Fleury attributes this to two causes—wealth, and the multiplication of vocal prayers. The monks partook of the best fare that they could en maigre, and were dressed in the most valuable stuffs: the abbots travelled in pomp, with quantities of horses and equipages: the churches and monasteries were magnificently built and adorned. The vast multiplication of vocal prayers prevented them from manual labour. The Cistercian reform introduced the distinction between monks and lay-brethren, on the latter of whom manual labour was soon devolved, while the monks in general treated them as inferiors, and thus lost their humility. Having abandoned manual labour, they engaged in studies—not merely in the study of Scripture, but in that of the canon law. They became learned in medicine, and in philosophy. They became advocates in the courts of law. The councils of Rheims, Lateran, and Tours, held in the twelfth century, were obliged to interfere, and to forbid monks to practise medicine and law.

"At the beginning of the next century," says Fleury, "the religious were still allowed to practise as advocates for the regulars, as may be seen in the Council of Paris, held by the legate Robert de Corçon, in 1212, and this council marks a great relaxation amongst religious communities of both sexes. The same may be observed in the great Council of Lateran, held three years afterwards, which as a remedy ordered general chapters to be held triennially. But this remedy had little effect, and from this time the monks and canons regular continued to become more and more lax, until the late reforms."—Disc. 8.

The religious mendicant orders of the thirteenth century revived for a while much of the ancient ascetic system. They were conspicuous for their love of poverty, for their humility, and for the austerity of their lives. But they deviated from the principles of Monasticism, in abstaining from manual labour, and living on alms, and also in undertaking to preach, and administer the sacraments to the faithful generally. "They were not monks," as Fleury justly remarks, "but were destined to be in the world, to labour for the conversion of sinners." St. Francis himself had so far understood the principles of Monasticism as to enjoin on his disciples manual labour; but Pope Gregory IX. exempted them from this observance, and thus "manual labour, so much recommended in Scripture, and so much esteemed by the ancient monks, became odious; whilst mendicity, formerly odious, became honourable."

The Dominicans were equally strict and zealous at first; but in the course of a few years both of these celebrated orders had become relaxed. St. Bonaventure complained of the multitude of objects for which they asked for money, the laziness of some, their vagabond lives, their importunity in begging, the grandeur of their buildings, their avidity for profits from burials and from wills. Much incidental information as to the state of the monastic orders at this time, may be gleaned from the graphic and amusing pages of Sir Francis Palgrave's "Merchant and Friar." We there find the abbots and friars of the fourteenth century discoursing and acting like other men, hospitably entertaining travellers, engaged in studious pursuits, or entering into all the scenes of ordinary life. Let us hear also the statement of Fleury.

"The monks and other ancient religious orders fell into great contempt after the introduction of the mendicants. They were no longer venerable for their love of retirement, their frugality, their disinterestedness: the greater part abandoned themselves to idleness and luxury; even the studies, which they pretended to have substituted for manual labour, languished amongst them; in a word, they did not appear to be very useful to the Church. . . As it was imagined that studies could not be well pursued, except in the universities, the monks were sent there, which was a new cause of laxity, by the dissipation of travelling, the unavoidable intercourse with secular students, generally of ill-regulated morals, the vanity of degrees, and the distinctions thereby introduced in monasteries. But the monks in general, not merely of the great rule, but even of Cluny and Citeaux, had already fallen into great laxity. It appears from the Council of Cognac, in 1238, that the monks and canons received, in money, their food and clothing, so that their places became little benefices. They went out without permission, dined with laymen in the town, and concealed themselves there. They had their own private funds, borrowed money, went security for others, ate meat, wore linen, slept in private apartments," &c.-Disc. 8.

In short, monasticism became a mere name: all its principles were violated: the monks lived just like all the rest of the world, only that their engagement to celibacy, under such circumstances, of course led to innumerable scandals. Such a state of things involved a perpetual contradiction. A monk of this description, as Fleury justly remarks, is in perpetual self-contradiction. He has promised to live in retirement and silence, and he seeks for company and conversation. He has promised a strict poverty, and he is glad to have some property of his own. He assists at religious offices, but he rejoices in opportunities for dispensing with it. In short, he takes every possible means of re-entering the world which he has relinquished.

Now, on all this we have one or two remarks to offer. If monasticism so rapidly and uniformly degenerates, does it not

seem exceedingly questionable, whether more evil than good was not the result of its establishment? Supposing it conceded, that the institution of monasteries by such men as Bernard or Stephen was in itself beneficial to the age in which they lived, as exhibiting striking examples of earnestness in religion, devotion, elevation above the things of this life, contempt of the world; still the reaction must have been terrible, when these very men or their disciples evinced, by their whole conversation, that the high standard of perfection at which they professed to aim, was wholly neglected; that those whose very profession implied total abnegation of the world, were only living in the continual effort to enjoy as much of it as they legally could contrive; that these stern and lofty ascetics, who looked on the world as sunk in sin, and who claimed exclusively for themselves the title of "religious," were more devoted to luxury and to sensual gratifications of every sort than the world itself. And be it remembered, that this evil went on from age to age. New orders sprang into existence, and derived their glory and their popularity from contrast with the corruptions of those already existing; but the latter still remained an inert mass of corruption and decay. Once established, formed, and endowed, they became the permanent scandal of Christianity. It may be true indeed that the moral corruptions of monasticism during the middle ages have been exaggerated by sectarian hostility and ignorance. It may be true, that literature had (inconsistently enough with the genuine principles of the system) several ornaments amongst the regular orders. But still there can be no question whatever, that, as a general rule, the monasteries were in practice most widely remote from the theory of their system, and that their influence and example was rather prejudicial than favourable to religion of a high order.

And if this be so, we really think that the suppression of monasteries, however unworthy may have been the motives of many who were engaged in it, is not to be regarded as any very serious injury to the Church. In fact, the passiveness which the Church exhibited throughout the transaction, arose from a consciousness that these institutions had, as a general rule, degenerated beyond all hopes of recovery. It was a degeneration which had continued for ages, and which had defied all the efforts of monastic reformers. The monasteries fell, because the nation had ceased to respect them; because the uses of their institution had become lost in its abuses. Could our cathedral endowments have been curtailed as they have recently been, if their application had been regulated as it ought to have been? Assuredly not. If the Church had felt distinct and tangible benefits from

those endowments, in the encouragement afforded thereby to learning and to professional diligence, no calls for the supply of spiritual destitution would have been listened to. And it was the same with monasteries. Henry VIII., with all his power, would have failed in his attempt, if the monasteries of England had retained the discipline, the poverty, and the ascetic virtues which existed under the sway of an Antony, or a Bernard. Nay, had the true monastic spirit existed at all at that time, the suppression of monasteries would have been the greatest benefit which could have been bestowed. For the effect of this measure was merely to withdraw those endowments which had proved the ruin of a religious life. It left those who were really disposed to revive its practice, to subsist on labour, as they were bound to do; to hold no possessions, as they were forbidden by principle to do; to retire into deserts, as their profession required; to dwell in hovels, as its perfection exacted. In what respect, then, was real monasticism injured by the suppression of monasteries? In none whatever. The accumulation of possessions, splendid churches, power, and state, and learning, were amongst its enemies, not its friends. We cannot enter into the views of those who, like Mr. Neale, seem to regard the application of monastic endowments to purposes different from those for which they were originally given, as an act of sacrilege. We should rather look on those endowments as the curse and plague of monasticism; and when the Church so quietly permitted the transfer, (indeed the Roman see allowed the suppression of a considerable number of monasteries, in the time of Henry VIII., and afterwards sanctioned the possession of confiscated monastic property by the English laity,) we are of opinion that individuals may, with a perfectly safe and sound conscience, enjoy the lands and possessions which formerly belonged to monasteries. This property had been originally given to support religion in all the fervour of ascetic strictness. It had for ages been consumed in luxury and idleness. The monasteries had violated the intentions of founders and benefactors; and they could not expect that a temporal sovereign should be more scrupulous.

We have attempted in the foregoing pages to present some outline of the real character and principles of the monastic institute, both in its original discipline of solitude, and in the conventual character which it afterwards assumed. It now remains to

examine its applicability to our present circumstances.

In the first place, we may probably dismiss from consideration the more *genuine* monasticism,—the *total solitude* of the ancient eremites. No one seems to contemplate its revival as expedient or possible. We shall, therefore, pass at once to the *conventual* system of monasticism. It has been shown, then, that monasticism, in this sense, consists essentially in the pursuit of a high standard of religion, by retirement from the society of Christians in general, and by associating only with persons of similar aims, and with them as little as may be. Its attributes are silence, retirement, manual labour, total poverty. Its invariable result is failure and corruption. Does not this render it more than doubtful whether monasticism, under any modification, ought to be revived amongst us? Its object is not the welfare of the community, but of the individuals who embrace the monastic rule. It loses its essential character when brought into the midst of society, and commissioned to aid in the work of the Christian ministry, or in deeds of active charity and benevolence. It has no mission to visit the sick, to educate the young, to clothe the naked, or to preach the Gospel. Its only appropriate sphere is the cloister or the desert; its preaching is to consist in the force of its example; its learning, in experimental religion. It is, therefore, altogether unsuited to the office of evangelizing our great cities. It cannot appropriately become the handmaid of the Church, or the support of literature and learning. Its aim is simpler, deeper, more inward. If its singleness of purpose be destroyed, if it violates the law which concentrates its whole energies on personal advancement in religion, it perishes at once. Such is monasticism, and, being such, we think that it is most unfitted for our present exigencies; and when we remember that it ever degenerates most rapidly, we think that nothing more need be added to show the inexpediency of endowing institutions merely that the intentions of their founders may be frustrated.

But, while we must in candour express this opinion in reference to monasticism, under any conceivable modification, still there are many kindred considerations which are amply deserving of our attention, and whence it may be possible to derive some practical suggestions, which may possibly go some way towards meeting the real objects of those who are favourable to the

revival of monasteries.

In approaching this subject, we may lay down the following

principles, which will scarcely be disputed by any one.

In the first place, the Church can never do otherwise than approve of the design of those who may propose to devote themselves wholly and unreservedly to the pursuit of salvation, the worship of God, the attainment of a greater degree of holiness, the welfare of their fellow-creatures, supposing that no ties of positive duty are violated, such as the relation between husband and wife, parent and child. If God shall give any persons the will and power to remain in a state of single life, with the especial object

of bestowing more undividedly their care on such things, it would be impossible to feel any thing but rejoicing in their privilege,

and approval of their intention.

It is also perfectly allowable, and even laudable, to abstain from the luxuries and enjoyments of life, and to practise self-denial, and all acts of humbleness, with a view to bring the tempers and passions into subjection.

It is perfectly and undeniably right to abstain from familiar and continual association with worldly men, except with a view to their edification or conversion; and it is equally allowable to select our immediate associates from amongst those who are really

in earnest in religion.

There can be no sort of impropriety in forming Collegiate institutions for charitable or religious purposes. *Religion* as much as learning is the object of our existing colleges in the Universities. There seems to be no reason whatever against the association of religiously disposed individuals, whether clergy or laity, for laudable objects of a permanent kind, such as the visitation of the sick, the relief of the poor, the education of children, &c.

It would be impossible to offer any reasonable objections to such institutions being managed by particular rules, and placed under some authority competent to enforce order and obedience.

If these principles be conceded, we think there would be little difficulty in framing a design for collegiate institutions, which, without any monastic element, would have all the advantages proposed by the revival of monasteries. It is, of course, very easy to suggest such plans, but we are not so certain that persons would be found who would be disposed to carry them into effect. Poverty, and self-denial, and a strict rule of life, and obedience, and ministrations to the poor, are fair in theory; but many a person who advocates their adoption and practice by others, would be reluctant to set an example of them in his own person. apprehend that much of what is said in praise of monasticism, does not arise from any very deeply seated sentiment. Did this feeling possess more of reality, it would lead to the actual exercise of the monastic life, to which there is, at this moment, absolutely no impediment whatever, except the want of inclination on the part of individuals. We mean, of course, that there is no legal impediment, and no actual prohibition by the canons of the Church.

Let us then see what are the objects contemplated in the proposed revival of monasteries. They are such as these—the education of the poor—the management and distribution of alms—the conversion of our paganized millions—the offering of asylums to learning, and religion, and widowhood, and virginity,

and affliction. These are unexceptionable objects; but they have nothing to do with monasticism. They may be attained

in other ways.

For instance, the apostolical orders of deacons and deaconesses were conversant, to a great degree, with the very objects which are now before us. The care and education of the poor, the succour of the afflicted, in all its branches, were their appropriate duties. There is no reason why deacons and deaconesses should not undertake the management of schools and catechizings, visit from house to house, attend on infirmaries and hospitals. There would be no impropriety in their applying themselves each to some particular branch of charity. Thus, then, one portion of the objects would be very easily attainable without the institution of monasteries; and the remainder, we think, might be fully met by bringing the restored orders of deacons and deaconesses into a Collegiate shape, and placing them, as they must necessarily be

placed, under episcopal authority.

A college of deacons might apply itself in part to instruction, in part to other charitable offices. A college of deaconesses might include a hospital or a school amongst its adjuncts. should thus have institutions with objects as practically useful as those of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, or the Sisters of Charity, without any of the suspicion and other inconveniences attendant on such institutions. Supposing such colleges to be instituted, there can be no reason why they should not be governed by rules borrowed from all the best models of ascetic life in ancient times, tempered with such judgment as might be necessary to adapt them to existing circumstances. Without any pretence to a poverty which is repulsive and unnecessary, the strictest moderation in living and in dress might be enjoined. The offices of religion might be unceasing: the refectory and the cloister might emulate the monastic silence, only interrupted by prayer, and psalmody, and religious reading. Age, and grief, and learning might find rest or support for a season, or for life, within these religious houses. The widow and the orphan might receive in them a temporary asylum; or, after due trial, a permanent abode, and a sacred and most beneficent ministry. such institutions we might hope for that combination of the active and the contemplative virtues which Christianity inculcates, and of which our Lord himself was the great exemplar. Association with those of like minds, and continual labours for the welfare of the Church, and perpetual prayer and worship, form a whole which we must think superior in every way to the monastic system. Nor would endowments for such purposes be in any degree unfitting. The labourer is worthy of his hire.

The ministers of the altar should live by it. They have never been required to practise manual labour for their own support. The offices they perform deserve support, while they render it impossible to attain it except from the bounty of the faithful. Colleges of deacons might receive endowments with as much propriety as colleges of presbyters or canons, or as bishops themselves. They are not in any degree bound to forsake the world: on the contrary, their business is in the world, though with objects and aims above it. And hence it seems evident that the ancient clerical orders of the Church are just as much suited for our present wants as the monastic orders are unsuited for them. We know not whether these suggestions will be considered as deserving of consideration; but we offer them under the conviction, that our safest course would be to act, as far as possible, on the system of the Church herself—to develope her resources, and apply them to existing exigencies; and not to seek for other methods before we have found that the apostolical institutions which are still within reach are insufficient to meet the in-

creasing demands of the age.

We are far from sanguine as to the feasibility of any such plan, for this reason—that we do not see the materials from which the system is to be constructed. We apprehend that, in the present day, it might not be very easy to find men who would in singleness of heart give themselves for life to the duties of deacons, without any wish or prospect of rising to the priesthood. That there are such individuals, we doubt not; but at present we have no reason to think that they are numerous. It might perhaps be less difficult to find deaconesses. This institution has (we believe, with great success) been revived recently among the French Protestants, and applied to the service of hospitals. There are also deaconesses in Bayaria and other parts of Germany, whose duties seem to approximate to those of the Sisters of Charity. We do not anticipate any difficulty on the part of the heads of the Church, if the objects of such institutions were in themselves unexceptionable, and if their regulations were, as they assuredly may be, freed from every thing inconsistent with the principles of the English Church. We feel assured that there would be no sort of disposition any where in the Church to discourage earnestness of religion, self-denial, active charity. It is only when piety degenerates into a servile imitation of Romish institutions, or when it is mingled with superstition in practice, and unsoundness in doctrine, that the heads of the Church, and all its sincere members, feel themselves obliged to look with distrust and dissatisfaction on much which would otherwise have received their cordial support.

Far—very far—be from us the intention of imputing any such unsoundness to those who are desirous of reviving monastic institutions. We have no doubt of their sincere desire to benefit the Church of Christ, and to avoid the evils which perpetual vows, and exemptions from episcopal authority, and compulsory profession at an early age, have produced. In short, we believe that their real *intention* is to establish institutions much like those which have been suggested above; but we cannot help being of opinion, that *monasticism* is somewhat different from what they have supposed, and that, were they fully aware of its principles,

they would not be so anxious for its revival.

One of our principal purposes in offering the preceding suggestions, has been to lend our aid towards the great object of developing the actual resources of the Church; of calling into play some of those functions which have been suffered to remain inactive. We have therefore proposed the institution of deacons and deaconesses regular, with a view to meet not only the general desire for increased clerical aid, but for collegiate institutions possessing the advantages of monasteries without their disadvantages. But we are persuaded that such institutions are not in any degree likely to supersede the necessity for a more general revival of the diaconate as a distinct office in the Church. The theory of the Church in the ordination of deacons does not invest this order with the pastoral office, which in practice it is sometimes permitted to assume. The duties of deacons are in principle distinct from those of priests; and we should rejoice to see this distinction more fully carried out than it actually is. The assistant to the parish priest is merely "a curate," whether he be in priest's or in deacon's orders. We cannot but hope that the circumstances of the times will ere long lead to the effective revival of the diaconate. We believe it is in the power of our spiritual rulers to contribute largely to this. We have been informed, that one of our most justly respected bishops has recently licensed a deacon as such, and not as a curate; and there seems to be no reason why this example should not be extensively followed elsewhere. Besides this, a recent act of parliament, introduced under the high sanction of the Bishop of London, empowers the appointment of persons in holy orders to the office of parish-clerk; and were those appointments limited to deacons, and were the form of appointment to the combined office of "deacon and parish-clerk," a new class of benefices for deacons would be created, and thus the order would be given a means of permanent support which it does not at present enjoy.

We are glad to observe, that the American Church, in the Convention which has just closed, has been taking measures for

increasing the number of deacons not empowered to preach; and an address to the Archbishop of Canterbury, from the laity, is, we perceive, in circulation, having reference to the same object. On this latter proposal, however, we have to observe, that if, according to its suggestion, a society for the support of the third order is to be set on foot, it would be essentially necessary to place it under the undivided control of the heads of the Church; and that the appointment of minor orders, such as readers, catechists, &c., who might, according to the rules of the Church, exercise secular callings, ought to be made with the strictest care, and under such regulations as should preserve the authority of the parochial priests. The institution of readers by episcopal authority, would, in fact, constitute them clergymen, though not in holy orders; and they would, as such, be entitled to wear the surplice in church, and to read the psalms and lessons. This would doubtless be a great relief to many of the We should think too, that very many young men who are preparing for holy orders, would thankfully receive ordination as readers in the first instance. Many other persons also, who are engaged to a certain degree in secular occupations, might be found willing to undertake the duties of readers under formal episcopal authority; and those duties might, we think, comprise not only the reading of Scripture in Church, but the visitation of the sick, the circulation of the Scriptures, and other offices of Christian charity. But in any arrangements of this kind, the most important question is, the character of the agents employed. We are satisfied, that in the appointment of any such coadjutors of the parochial clergy, there ought not to be less care and caution than in the ordination of priests and deacons. The same attainments indeed ought not to be expected; but the strictest evidence of orthodoxy of doctrine, soundness of moral conduct, and attachment to the English Church, should be required. If this should not be the case, the institution of Readers, or other minor orders, might prove a cause of division in the Church, and of perpetual uneasiness to its ministers.

- ART. IX.—1. A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and People of his Spiritual Charge. From the Right Reverend BISHOP LUSCOMBE. Paris, 1844.
- 2. L'Eglise Romaine comparée avec la Bible, les Pères de l'Eglise et l'Eglise Anglicane, en Six Sermons préchés par l'Evêque Luscombe. Traduits de l'Anglais. Paris, 1839.
- 3. Letter to the Right Hon. and Rev. the Lord Bishop of London, on the State of the Anglican Congregations in Germany. By the Rev. John Hamilton Gray, M.A., of Magdalene College, Oxford, Vicar of Bolsover and Scarcliff. London: Rivington. 1843.

It is a remark frequently made by Churchmen, when returning from a visit to the continent, that while abroad they felt almost ashamed of their own Church. There are many circumstances which contribute to produce this most painful impression; some of them so completely on the surface as to obtrude themselves at once upon every body's notice; others lying deeper and out of sight, so as to fall under the observation of those only, who take the trouble of inquiring into the real state of things. Of the former kind, are such as the objectionable character of the locality where Divine service is performed; the unsuitableness of its appearance; the offensive pecuniary arrangements for the admission of worshippers; and even instances of irregularity and irreverence in the administration of the offices of religion; -- under the latter head, we have to deplore evils arising from the want of regular and efficient ecclesiastical authority 2; the personal contests and party heats by which congregations are divided; the painful oppositions of ministers canvassing against each other, or ministering in open rivalry 3; the total want in many of the conti-

¹ Ex. gr. An assembly-room in some hotel, too plainly indicating by its whole aspect, to what uses it has been formerly applied, and is likely after a season again to revert.

² Out of twenty-seven clergymen stationed in different parts of France and Belgium, we have ascertained that fourteen recognize, by a voluntary submission, which they may at any time repudiate, the authority of Bishop Luscombe, at Paris; six of them hold a licence from the Bishop of London, by way of testimonial, enabling them to receive the government allowance attached to their chaplaincies; and of the remaining seven, some are not under episcopal authority, or have, in consideration of certain grants, subjected themselves to the "Continental Church Society."

³ Mr. Hamilton Gray's pamphlet contains the history of one of these transactions, which resulted in the exhibition, on every Lord's day, of "the melancholy spectacle

nental congregations of all episcopal ministrations, and especially of the rite of confirmation; while the few who are visited by a bishop, are dependent on his private liberality for incurring the expenses contingent upon his visitation and confirmation journies.

That all this must have a highly prejudicial effect, is sufficiently obvious. And it would, therefore, be a subject well deserving the notice of all Churchmen, and especially of those who may have it in their power to assist in applying a remedy, even if no higher interests were at stake than the edification of the numberless English travellers who every summer inundate France, Belgium, Germany, and Switzerland, and that of a few casual residents in the principal towns of the continent. But there are far greater claims upon our Church for a proper regulation of the English worship abroad; and that both with reference to her own members and with reference to Christendom generally. Commercial enterprise, the necessity of subsisting on a small income, and the scarcity of labour, induce numbers of our countrymen to settle abroad. Ever since the pacification of Europe, by which the continent, so long shut up against us, was thrown open, there has been a constant though insensible stream of emigration directed towards it from England; and the facility of railroadcommunication, which is daily on the increase, will continue to draw thither men of capital, who find a more profitable employment for it abroad than at home, and, in their train, multitudes of their countrymen of the labouring classes. An English population is thus growing up gradually all over the continent, and especially in the countries before-named, towards whom the Church has a distinct and positive duty to perform. So far from being discharged of her responsibility for the souls of these emigrants, by their often involuntary expatriation, she is called upon to watch with increased solicitude over those of her members who are in so peculiar a sense "scattered abroad in this miserable and naughty world." This duty is the more imperative, as it is to be feared that a very large majority of them do not set a very high value upon the spiritual privileges of their native land, but are precisely the sort of persons who, in the active pursuit of business, or amidst the gaieties and temptations of a foreign residence, would easily lose sight of their religious obligations,

of two rival congregations, who crossed each other's path, instead of proceeding to the house of God as friends." This was at Carlsbad in 1842; and last summer a fracas took place at Boulogne. These things are of not unfrequent occurrence.

⁴ The income arising from the British chaplaincy in Paris, which is held, fortuitously, as it were, and irrespectively of his episcopal character, by Bishop Luscombe, is wholly inadequate to indemnify him even for his travelling expenses.

and sink either into a state of total irreligion, or else fall in with any system of religious profession which circumstances might put in their way. This last is indeed a consideration which every day becomes more weighty. The apostasies from our communion in Roman Catholic countries are becoming frequent; and very considerable dangers to the cause of true religion are connected with the residence of so many of our higher classes in Italy and France. An increasing system of proselytism is going on; and we do not hesitate to say, that the most essential interests of the Church at home, are involved in its efficiency abroad. Such places of English resort as Rome, Naples, Florence, Paris, and Tours, demand, for the adequate discharge of the ministry, the very

highest abilities, learning, and judgment.

But, besides this, the religious condition of the continent seems to indicate plainly what a thoughtful Christian would, even without such indications, acknowledge as a matter of hope, that the diffusion of our English population over the central countries of Europe is destined, in the order of God's providence, to restore in them the Christian Church to a state of purity and efficiency. Both the Romanist and the Protestant communions are in those countries in a state of ferment; the former unable to resist the progress of more enlightened views of Christianity even within its own pale; the latter equally unable to avert the licentious rationalism which has been bred in its bosom. To both, nothing could be more salutary than the example of a Church, preserving all the characteristics of a truly Catholic and Apostolic branch of the Church of Christ, and carrying forth the Gospel in unadulterated purity, and in unbending adherence to the ancient That it is the duty of our Church to set this example, and to let her light shine before the nations of Europe, can scarcely admit of a doubt. However strong may be the national egotism which our insular position has engendered, and by which it is to be feared our views as Churchmen are somewhat swayed, it can assuredly not go so far as to lead us to imagine that there is no Christianity beyond the bounds of our communion. The Christian communions of the continent, however much they may be defiled by Romish errors, or however "imperfectly constituted" in the absence of an apostolically derived ministry, are not to be held by us as beyond the pale of the Christian world. On the contrary, we are to recognize in them the disjecta membra of the one universal body of Christ's Church, towards whom in that capacity we have certain specific duties to perform. We are not justified in merely abhorring the corruptions of Romanism; we owe it to our brethren of the Romish communion to convince them, by exhibiting to them our Church in all the consistency as well as simplicity of her Apostolic constitution, that opposition to the

usurpation of the Roman Patriarch, and extirpation of the corrupt traditions enforced by him, does not involve the surrender of a single truly Catholic doctrine or principle. Neither are we justified in simply contemning the unecclesiastic condition of the Lutheran and Reformed communions; we owe it to them to prove to them again, by the exhibition of our Church in the integrity of her system, that the maintenance of the Apostolic order of the Church and of Catholic principles, does not involve the adoption of any erroneous doctrines or superstitious prac-The more firmly and deeply we are convinced that, by the blessing of God, our Church approaches more nearly than any other to the primitive pattern of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and the more clearly we discern in other communions the sin and the mischief of their departure from that pattern, the more incumbent is it on us to show forth that more excellent way in which, by the grace of God, we have been taught to walk.

Upon all these considerations, there does not appear to be any room for doubting that it is an imperative duty to endeavour to make the necessary provision for the order and efficiency of our Church abroad; putting a stop to all the inconsistencies and irregularities, by which she is at present an object of reproach to

gainsayers, and of some shame to her own members.

On examining into the origin of this deplorable state of things, we shall find that it is attributable to two main causes. The first of them is the want of efficient episcopal superintendence and control over the continental clergy and their congregations; the second the nature of the arrangements under which our clergy officiate on foreign stations. It is only on those stations where our government maintains a political agent, a minister, or a consul, that the chaplains can be said to be regularly appointed. The clerical gown has its place among the state-liveries of the Foreign office; and the official staff of its representatives ordinarily includes a chaplain. This is creditable in a national point of view; though we have never heard it suggested, that the Secretary for Foreign Affairs makes his selection of chaplains according to their fitness to represent the English Church In all other cases, no adequate provision exists for the appointment of proper ministers. In some instances, the residents themselves make some temporary arrangement in order to procure the services of a clergyman: in watering-places it sometimes happens that the principal innkeeper provides both a chapel and a minister, as an appurtenance to his hotel: at other times, some clergyman whom his health or other circumstances have induced to relinquish his professional duties and prospects at home, collects a congregation and conducts its affairs as best he can. In one or other of these ways it comes to pass, that in most places on the continent where there is a little knot of English residents, or a great influx during the season of temporary sojourners and travellers, an "English Church" is to be met with.

But what is the constitution and the government of this generally fluctuating body? Whatever may seem most fit to the minister himself, if he keeps the whole management in his own hands, or to those who pay his salary, if the affairs of the congregation are administered by delegates in the form of a board of trustees or a church committee. In the case of those chaplains only who are appointed by the Foreign office, an episcopal licence is required, which, however, to use the Bishop of London's words, amounts to "nothing more than a certificate of his belief that the clergyman to whom it is given, is a respectable person." By granting it the Bishop exercises no episcopal jurisdiction in the proper sense of the word. He cannot, we believe, enforce the dismissal of an offending chaplain without the concurrence of the Foreign office, nor protect against unjust dismissal an upright and faithful minister. Little more authority attaches to the licence of the missionary bishop resident at Paris⁵, under which a considerable number of our clergy in France officiate. It procures for them, it is true, while it continues to be held, the blessing of episcopal visitation, and confirmation for their flocks: but the arrangement is of a very precarious character; any clergyman so situated may, we believe, at any time, if his congregation make no objection, return the licence and continue to officiate independently of all episcopal control.

Need we say more to convince our readers, that under such circumstances very great evils must prevail among our continental congregations? And be it remembered, that if laymen and clergymen of our Church choose to go abroad, we cannot restrict them from going; neither can we prevent their making such provision as they best may, for their continued enjoyment of the means of grace ministered by our Church; still less can we avoid their being taken by the Christian communities of the continent for examples and representatives of our Church.

⁵ The appointment of a missionary bishop for the superintendence of such of the English clergy and congregations, in France, Belgium, and Holland, as were willing to acknowledge his episcopate, took place near twenty years ago, when the English prelates did not possess the same freedom of supplying the wants of the Church abroad as they have since exercised in the creation of the bishopric of Gibraltar. But whatever credit may be due to the Scottish bishops of that period for the part they took in making a provision, which even then was loudly called for by the necessity of the case, it may well be questioned, whether they acted altogether wisely in consecrating a bishop who was to take the oversight of clergymen chiefly from the English and Irish Churches, without requiring something more than a mere passive acquiescence in their proceedings on the part of the heads of those Churches.

In all this we have no option: the only option which is left us, is, either by our neglect to suffer our Church to become a by-word and a cause of scandal among continental Christians, both Papists and Protestants, or else to make her among the European nations as a city set upon a hill. That the Christian communions abroad have their eyes fixed upon us, that they are watching and scrutinizing our movements, is a well-known fact. It is attested among others by the two publications of Bishop Luscombe, cited at the head of this article. The sermons (No. 2) were preached some years ago, in consequence of the public announcement, that a course of controversial lectures, directed chiefly against the Anglo-Catholic Church, was to be delivered in one of the principal Romish churches in Paris. To counteract their possible effect upon the English residents, the bishop felt himself called upon to recapitulate the chief points of the controversy with Rome; which he has done in a forcible, though plain and simple manner, without, as he informs his readers in the preface, any attempt at novelty or originality, taking his materials from the writings of the standard divines of the English Church. In the pastoral letter (No. 1) recently published, Bishop Luscombe is vindicating the Catholic principles of the Church against the prejudices of the French Protestants. On account of the wholesome principles advocated in it, and especially of the doctrine of the Apostolic succession, this letter has been fiercely assailed by these Protestant writers; and the sneer with which the bishop is asked in the Archives du Christianisme to point out, who are his clergy and people, and what the limits of his diocese, shows that they are well aware of the weak point in his position. The occasions for such conflicts and collisions will become more and more frequent; and it is for our Church to consider, whether she will suffer matters to continue in such a condition as to expose her to such attacks.

If this be, as we trust it is in the eyes of most Churchmen, greatly to be deprecated, a remedy ought to be applied. But wherein should that remedy consist? We cannot on this point quite agree with Mr. Hamilton Gray, who, in his most highly interesting pamphlet, decides after much hesitation in favour of a commissary, to be sent abroad from time to time, with the title of archdeacon, and with powers delegated from the Bishop of London. Such an appointment would, we fear, scarcely meet the difficulties of the case. What is required, both for the spiritual interests of our congregations, and for the due representation of our Church system among surrounding communions, is the full episcopal ministry and government of our Church. There might be a bishop for the English congregations in France, Belgium,

and the western part of Switzerland, as far as the French tongue is spoken; and another bishop for the English congregations in Holland, the German States, and the eastern portion of Switzerland, that is to say, for the whole territory where the German language, and its dialect the Dutch, prevail. There need be no difficulty about the names of their sees; St. Helier's would furnish a title for the French, and Heligoland for the German missionary bishop, in every respect as appropriate as the title of Bishop of Gibraltar is for a missionary jurisdiction comprehending the whole of our Mediterranean settlements. If it were impracticable to have two bishops at once, one might undertake the whole charge in the first instance; but all the arrangements might be made so as to facilitate the subsequent separation of the two missionary dioceses.

If, after this, notice were given to the different foreign governments, that no one could legitimately exercise the functions of an English priest, except with the licence and under the superintendence of a duly accredited English missionary bishop, it would become extremely difficult, if not impossible, for unlicensed individuals to impose their ministrations upon English residents any where within the reach of his missionary jurisdiction. Besides, the clergy officiating abroad might be made amenable, as to contentious causes, to the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, or to that of the Bishop of London, whose suffragans these missionary bishops might be; contumacy against the orders of the missionary bishop might be made an offence cognizable in those courts, whose sentence published abroad would no doubt suffice to prevent English residents from receiving the ministrations of a clergyman whose licence had been revoked, even if the co-operation of the foreign governments in withdrawing the local licence could not be obtained.

We trust that such an arrangement would go far to realize the pious wish expressed by Bishop Luscombe in his pastoral letter, with which we shall conclude our remarks:—

"Our Church must be brought forward in her true character, which, when known, will, with God's blessing, work conviction on every unprejudiced mind. She must be seen in all her beauty, set as a beacon on a hill, to give light to the nations around her: pre-eminent above all her fellows that keep her company, she must prove that she is all-glorious within; pure in doctrine and in all manner of conversation, and distinguished by apostolical observances and ordinances; holding forth the Bible and her scriptural liturgy, and ministered unto by an authorized ministry."

ART. X.—An Enquiry into the Means of Grace, their mutual connection, and combined use, with especial reference to the Church of England, in eight Sermons, before the University of Oxford, at the Bampton Lecture for the year 1844. By RICHARD WILLIAM JELF, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, and Principal of King's College, London. Oxford, J. H. Parker. London: Rivingtons.

THE Via Media, of which Dr. Jelf is a firm and consistent advocate, has of late become almost a term of contempt and reproach in some quarters; and yet it is not so very long since Mr. Newman himself was an avowed supporter of that middle course which the Church of England maintains between Romanism and Ultra-Protestantism. The "Lectures on the prophetical office of the Church" professed to trace and to justify this via media. But there is a broadly marked distinction between the views of that able production, and those of the work now before us—the former seeks to persuade us that the catholic principles inculcated therein, have never existed except in mere theory in the English Church; while the latter supposes and shows, that they are in all essential points influencing its practical system. The former draws our sympathy towards catholicism in the abstract; the latter towards its living and acting representative amongst us. This is the principal reason which renders Anglocatholic principles distasteful in some quarters: the offence of attachment to the English Church, and consequently, of opposition to the pretensions of the See of Rome, is, apparently, sufficient to counterbalance all other claims which may be possessed to respect. Were it not for this unpardonable sin, we might have hoped, that the Bampton Lectures for this year would have commanded almost general assent from those to whom they were addressed. Indeed, so satisfied are we of the high catholicity of their doctrine, though guarded with a care and a judgment very rarely witnessed in the present day, that we are satisfied that, a few years ago, they would have been heralded forth as a very remarkable testimony on behalf of Catholic truth. But we shall proceed to give some outline of the design and object of the work.

There are two extreme tendencies and principles struggling for the mastery amongst us in this age, as they have been in ages past: the tendency to sacramentalism—a religion conversant only about certain channels and media of Divine grace; -and the tendency to sacramentarianism, which divests those media of all efficacy, and recognizes only a subjective religion. With the former, the sacraments alone are regarded as the means of grace, or, at least, other means are too much overlooked, and esteemed to be comparatively valueless¹; with the latter, faith is the only consecrating principle, and the ordinance of preaching, which most directly and apparently appeals to faith, and confirms it, becomes the chief, if not the only, external ordinance of religion. The love of system, and the continuance of controversies, have generated and perpetuated these extreme views, which have actually narrowed the Christian system, and presented partial and defective views of it to the minds of many sincere believers. Dr. Jelf has done much towards breaking down these straitened conventionalities, and enlarging the mind to the apprehension of Christianity in its actual extent. "The means of grace" is a copious theme: it includes the whole range of Christian life, from the cradle to the grave, with all its varying relations. It includes not only the sacraments, but all the institutions and adjuncts, whether of Divine, or apostolical, or ecclesiastical institution, which directly or indirectly minister grace to the heirs of salvation. We hold that such an enlarged view is as much calculated to promote a healthy tone of theological investigation, as to strengthen the cause of moral and spiritual improvement; and while we can neither wish nor expect to find new doctrines or positions in the execution of such a design, we cannot but feel, that the design itself is not only highly important, but, to a considerable extent, novel. this Dr. Jelf is himself fully aware, while he enters on his task with a diffidence which ought to disarm criticism.

"Though fully aware of the difficulty and delicacy of the task, and of the inadequacy of his own powers, he was induced to undertake it by the consideration that, so far as he is aware, no systematic work upon the 'means of grace,' as a whole, is to be found in our language, and that, as even in the best of undevotional books, the full consistent use of these divinely-appointed instruments has not been sufficiently enforced, many popular errors have become current in consequence. And now that his task is concluded, he is comforted by the hope that what has thus been imperfectly attempted towards supplying the deficiency, may be one day followed up by some one more competent to the vastness of the design."—Pref. p. vii.

¹ Thus the Romanist, when Ordination is denied to be a sacrament of the Gospel, immediately infers that it is not considered to be a means of grace (i. e. of the spiritual power and commission conferred on the ministers of Jesus Christ). This arises from a confusion between sacraments and means of grace—the latter being supposed to be essentially identical with the former.

It appears to us, that the comprehensive nature of this volume renders it especially adapted to the use of those who are engaged in *catechetical* instruction. It will furnish an excellent model, as regards its arrangement, and its principles in general; while many of the details will be found exceedingly valuable and instructive for this purpose.

The general outline of the work cannot, perhaps, be stated

better than in the author's own words.

"The object, therefore, which, in humble reliance upon Him 'whose strength is made perfect in weakness,' I shall propose in the ensuing Lectures, will be a connected inquiry into the means of grace. And in the execution of this design, it will, first, be necessary to consider shortly what we are to understand by the term 'means of grace,' what is their nature and extent, and for whom the privilege of enjoying them is designed. Secondly, I shall have to show more in detail, that the means of grace taken separately are for the sake of Jesus Christ, actually and specifically made conducive, through the Eternal Spirit, to the salvation of the Christian man, and that in accordance with God's express promise in holy writ; that each has, by Divine appointment or sanction, its peculiar province in the work of our sanctification-has it, I mean, even according to our finite views of Divine things; and that each may be enjoyed within the bosom of our own Church in as full a measure, to say the least, as in any other christian community. consideration of these particulars will occupy several of the succeeding Lectures. Lastly, and as the conclusion of the whole, it will be my purpose to establish the momentous truth, that as each taken separately has its peculiar use, and as no single one, 'where it may be had,' can be safely neglected, so our true duty and privilege lies in the employment of them all, in connexion one with another."—pp. 5, 6.

At the commencement, we find the following definition of the subject-matter of these Lectures:—

"In their highest and proper sense, 'the means of grace' may be defined to be 'instruments, channels, or media,' by the use of which, in inseparable dependence upon our blessed Lord's merits, the sanctifying presence and influences of the Holy Ghost are ordinarily procured to the elect people of God, being by the means of faith received; and which are made efficacious, and known to be so, by virtue of God's own appointment and promise to that effect."—p. 19.

This definition refers to "ordinances of primary origination and authority;" amongst which Dr. Jelf includes baptism, as the instrument of regeneration, by which the spiritual life is commenced; communion with the true Church of Christ, derived by continual and unbroken descent from the Apostles; the sacred ministry possessing legitimate apostolical succession, and invested

with the power of absolution and excommunication; prayer, both in private and in the public service of the Church; fasting; the holy Scripture; preaching and catechizing; the holy eucharist, in which the body and blood of Christ are truly received, and a sacrifice is offered. Such are the principal means of grace examined in this work; while amongst subordinate means are mentioned, confirmation, the Christian Sabbath, the observance of saints' days and holy days, and, generally, the observances of the Church. In any such attempt to classify the means of grace, with reference to their comparative importance, difference of opinion must of course be expected, even from readers who may concur generally in the correctness of the distinctions laid down. For ourselves, we confess that we should not have been quite disposed to reckon confirmation as amongst the secondary means of grace, as Dr. Jelf does, though his language, in regard to that holy ordinance (pp. 241.268), evinces a strong sense of its importance, and amounts to its full recognition as a means of grace. We also desiderate a somewhat more full and prominent mention of repentance, as amongst the means of grace; though possibly Dr. Jelf may not have considered this, or alms-giving, as coming properly within his definition. We are, however, very grateful for what has been done.

The definition which we have cited above, is followed by a distinction between "sacraments" and "means of grace," in general.

"Let the above definition be compared with the definition of a sacrament, as laid down in the Church Catechism; and the difference between the two, baptism and the Lord's supper, and all other means of grace whatever, will be at once perceived. Both classes of ordinances, indeed, are means, divinely appointed and revealed means; but the water of baptism, and the bread and wine, are means in a higher and more direct sense, and directly and federally instrumental to a higher and more heavenly end, to a more vital grace; the one to our regeneration and all its consequences, the other to the true reception of the body and blood of Christ. They are signs also of the awful mysteries which are wrought, by their intervention, in the worthy receiver; signs at once indicative and operative of a certain definite relation of resemblance between the means and the end. They are pledges that we are verily and indeed partakers of the thing signified. The rest of the principal means of grace, on the other hand, are neither signs nor pledges."pp. 21, 22.

Dr. Jelf is too well acquainted with the doctrines of the Church, to restrict absolutely the use of the term Sacrament to baptism and the eucharist.

[&]quot;Although, in her regular definition, she (the Church) refuses to

lower the high dignity of the two sacraments of the Gospel, by giving the same name in the same sense to other ordinances, she has no where abandoned their use, so far as they may be proved to be conducive to grace; nay, in her less formal statements, she has used the name of sacrament in the same indefinite general sense as the early fathers did."—p. 266.

The following passage evinces a high and just sense of the nature and privileges of communion with the Church of Christ:—

"The Church of the Holy Scripture is not, as some would persuade us, an association between pious persons for the promotion of a religious life by example and encouragement; an association voluntarily assembled, and as easily divisible into its several component parts; not a mere body corporate and ecclesiastical, considered in its collective capacity only for the purpose of classification and government; not a mere congregational assemblage of units; but a real though spiritual body (the type of which is one individual man); one united body, made up of souls mystically knit together under and with Christ, in a true mutual dependence, unanimity, and coherence with each other; feeling, rejoicing, suffering, growing together; 'and whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it.' The Church is herself a witness and a keeper of holy writ; she is the authorized channel of the two holy sacraments of the Gospel; she furnishes a body of men, whom the Holy Ghost calls from within her to be the appointed ordinary stewards and dispensers of those sacraments, and of God's holy word; to whom also the direction of public worship is entrusted, together with the power of the keys," &c.—pp. 60—63.

To many persons it seems scarcely short of profanation to admit, that the unreformed churches of the East and West are to be considered as in any sense portions of the universal Christian Church. Such extreme opinions are rejected by the author of these Lectures. He laments the divisions of the universal Church.

"Surely the want of this communion is a loss to the whole Christian world. Every particular Church is thereby crippled and paralyzed. The Roman branch of the Church is as much weakened by her schismatical visible separation from the Greek branch and the English branch, as this last is by her involuntary though necessary severance from Rome. So long as we are not, each and all of us, as Christians and as Churches, living together in 'the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God,' so far are we from coming 'to a perfect man.'—pp. 69, 70.

The doctrine of the Apostolical succession of a divinely constituted ministry is very ably maintained in the third Lecture.

In reference to our Saviour's commission to His Apostles, Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, we have the following remarks:

"This command, in the very nature of things, involved the principle of delegation, as applicable in two distinct points of view; delegation contemporary, and delegation by succession. The words 'all nations' made delegation necessary for that time: the words 'I am with you alway (all the days)' implied its necessity during the continuance of the visible Church, inasmuch as, although the Apostles were in due time 'to depart and to be with Christ,' His perpetual presence, in His kingdom on earth, in regard to the individual mortal men whom He was addressing, could not be personal, but only virtual: He promised to be with them in the persons of others, identified with them as heirs of their office 'all the days,' that is, till the last day of the Church's trials should be swallowed up in eternity, in the final consummation of all things."—p. 95.

Having discriminated the doctrine of the English Church on the eucharist from the Socinian and Zuinglian heresies on one side, and from the error of transubstantiation on the other, Dr. Jelf proceeds thus:—

"Following the ancient Churches, therefore, the Church of England, not daring to explain away what is expressly written, or to substitute human glosses for a mystery literally contained in God's word, considers what is signified and imparted by the medium of the bread broken to be (what our Saviour stated to the letter, in the words of institution) the Body of Christ; and, again, what is signified and imparted by the 'cup of blessing' to be 'His blood.' Christ Himself, the Word of life and truth, when He had said, 'Take, eat,' 'Drink ye all of this,' said thus, 'this is my body,' 'this is my blood of the New Testament;' and our Church dares not add to, or take from, the words which impart

so great a mystery."-p. 203.

"Surely there are certain truths which carry in their simple enunciation a body of adorable mystery, which all attempts at explaining them rather diminish than increase. . . . What, for instance, can be more ineffable than the expression, 'the communion of the body and blood of Christ?' Who can add to it, without presumption? Who can take from it, without peril? What explanation can make it clear? paraphrase can embrace all its Divine meaning? What human eloquence is there, which is not struck dumb before it? What reason, which does not veil its face? The use, then, of metaphorical imagery, however innocently and devotionally intended, however consistent with perfect orthodoxy, seems altogether misplaced, when applied to this transcendental doctrine; nay, it disturbs the feelings of awe and reverence with which the whole mystery, stated but unexplained, fills many a pious heart. The very attempt at amplification, in regard to such a mystery, is in reality its depreciation; spiritual things are actually carnalized in this endeavour to detect their essence: whether it be VOL. II.—NO. IV.—DEC. 1844.

Arnoldus, so late as the twelfth century, who, under the honoured name of St. Cyprian, indulges in this metaphorical language, or whether it be some genuine early father, in an age when the doctrine and name of transubstantiation had not as yet been invented; the pious mind may well shrink from a manner of treating of the mystery of the glorified Body of our crucified and ascended Saviour, which, however well and piously intended, does, in fact, appear to border upon familiarity, not to say a want of reverential awe."—pp. 206—208.

Such sound and judicious doctrine is more than ever valuable in the present day, when the sobriety of scriptural truth is so much forgotten, and the sublime simplicity of the Gospel is subverted amidst the irreverent, prying, rationalizing spirit which abounds on every side. In truth, our dissensions prove most plainly, that Christian mysteries and privileges are not to be forced on irreverent hearers, "lest they turn again and rend you." The high sacredness of these questions, and the fearful profanation involved in their treatment by men of carnal minds, renders it more than a matter of prudence to avoid whatever can tend to so dreadful a result. Every sincere Christian must feel deeply pained and shocked at much of the controversy which is daily and almost hourly disturbing his attention. The violent prejudices of party spirit; the misinterpretation of every act and expression, however innocent; the indisposition to make any concessions for the sake of peace; the want of considerateness for the prejudices of opponents; the determination to carry out favourite objects without regard to the advice of those most fitted by learning and station to afford it; the mixture of low and earthly passions throughout; anger, obstinacy, pride, contempt of superiors, the love of money, ambition, and thirst for notoriety; form a whole, which, in connexion with the serious and sacred objects on which it is engaged, is most deeply painful, and even revolting to every right-minded man.

We would not overstate the influence of the press; and we know, of course, that it is, to a considerable extent, merely an exponent of the principles and feelings of the nation; but we really cannot, without very serious uneasiness, contemplate the prospects of the Church, if the press shall continue its present course of agitation on ecclesiastical matters. Discussions have already proceeded to extremes in various parts of the country. Secessions from the Church have taken place; and considering the excited state of the laity in several dioceses, brought about and fomented by the press, there seems reason to fear that many persons of imperfect information and strong prejudices may be tempted to separate from the Church. It is not easy to say to what extent such defections may proceed, or what violent and

even illegal measures of resistance may be resorted to in the intemperance of party spirit. We trust that we are not alarmists; but we think that much of what has recently occurred affords matter for most serious and anxious deliberation on the part of the friends of the Church. It is doubtless true, that the opposition offered in many cases to the introduction of rites prescribed in the rubric, and sanctioned or required by episcopal authority, has been exceedingly wrong, and even absurd in various ways. It is true, that those who may threaten to separate from the Church, or who may actually separate from it, in consequence of the introduction of greater conformity to that Church's own directions, on pretence that such a conformity is a mark of party, are wholly inexcusable. It is true, that such men cannot be considered as sound or faithful members of the Church; and it may be very easy to convict them of the grossest ignorance, or prejudice, or deficiency in the powers of reasoning. But still the fact remains to be dealt with; that there is danger of such men becoming separatists from the Church, or turbulent agitators within it.

We are very far, indeed, from recommending concessions to agitation and attempts at intimidation, arising from party feeling, and directed to the promotion of party objects. Where regularity has been introduced, and where it has continued without any strong opposition from the body of the parishioners, it would be quite inexcusable to revert to irregular practices. But the case would seem to be very different as regards parishes in which strict ritual conformity has yet to be introduced. In the present state of the public mind, it appears inexpedient to urge such conformity in particular points which are exceedingly unpopular, and which, if pressed, may even lead ignorant and weak brethren to separate from the Church. For instance, desirable as it may be in every way to restore the practice of Sunday collections of alms in our churches, yet, as even those eminent prelates who have expressed their approbation of this most Christian custom, have refrained from requiring its adoption, except with the consent of the parishioners; and as there is a very general and violent prejudice against it, we cannot but think that the time has not yet come in which it can be generally introduced; indeed we have long been persuaded, that no authority less than that of Parliament would suffice to cause the general adoption of the offertory. If the offertory be not *voluntary* in the fullest sense of the word if it be not introduced with the hearty consent of the parishioners —if it is to be regarded as a tax instead of a privilege—then it should not be instituted: it cannot tend to the sanctification of the Church, or the welfare of individuals, if this exercise of

charity is to be a stumbling-block, and a cause of dissension. Where there is such reluctance and ill-will, the Church's intentions would be more truly followed out by adhering to the spirit rather than the letter of her directions. There are other ways in which alms may be collected. Societies and associations may be instituted for Church purposes; boxes for the reception of alms may be placed in the churches; collections may be made at church in such a way as not to give any offence. Alms offered in this way may be presented on the altar during the celebration of the holy eucharist. We are earnest advocates for the general adoption of weekly collections in churches where it can be done; but we should certainly regret to see the attempt made, except under such circumstances as should afford a reasonable prospect of success. A young clergyman, just appointed to a parish, cannot have such personal influence with his parishioners as to enable him to introduce this practice; and it must be remembered, that however desirable it is to obey the ritual directions of the Church in this and other respects, there are more weighty concerns which require the earliest attention of a pastor. When a congregation has been led to estimate the privileges of monthly or weekly communions, and of daily prayers; when they have witnessed their pastor's zeal for the salvation of souls, the conversion of sinners, the preparation of the dying, the catechizing of the young; when they have learnt to know their privileges as members of the body of Christ, and to confide in their minister, he will be able to lead them to obedience in minor matters. But it is only in this order, we think, that ritual conformity can now be safely introduced in parishes where it does not already exist. It would seem that even episcopal recommendations and authority, however moderate, just, and forbearing, are inadequate to ensure general obedience. The reception which the Bishop of Exeter's recent directions have met with in various places, furnishes a sufficient evidence of the difficulty of the case; and we would add. that it goes far to answer the objections which some of our contemporaries have made to the advice and the conduct of another respected Prelate, who has been blamed for not enforcing his suggestions and recommendations. The issue has shown that any attempt to enforce obedience in matters of ritual observance, would have been met by clamour and resistance. On the whole, we feel satisfied, that persuasion, and taking things in their right order, are the only ways in which conformity can be safely introduced at present. Some tares must be left in the field; and we must content ourselves, in submission to the Divine will, by doing what it is possible to do without rending the Church asunder.

Events of importance are indeed succeeding each other with a rapidity which scarce leaves time for reflection on their bearings. The proceedings at Oxford on the case of Mr. Ward will doubtless lead to much acute argument and much angry discussion between parties. Our own opinion has been so unequivocally expressed on the subject of "The Ideal of the Christian Church," that we cannot do otherwise than avow our concurrence in the propriety of a censure of that work; nor does it seem to us that the University would in any degree exceed its constitutional powers, (exercised in the condemnation of books, doctrines, and persons, from the thirteenth century down to its latest act—the censure of Dr. Hampden in 1836,) in condemning Mr. Ward's book in the manner proposed; and in requiring him to retract the passages cited, on pain of expulsion. The University, entrusted as it has been by the Church with the power of teaching theology, and of exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, is morally responsible to that Church for the religious views inculcated within its precincts; and if any member of the University should teach doctrines repugnant to the Articles, or in opposition to their evident meaning; subversive of the reformation of the Church; favourable to errors which have been repudiated in her formularies; calculated to bring her into disrepute with her members, and to induce them to separate from her communion; in such a case, we think that the University is imperatively called on to interpose her authority, and to check so great an evil. In the present case we think that there cannot be the slightest claim on sound Anglo-Catholics to interfere on behalf of the accused. They have been denounced in his work in the most offensive way. They have been represented in it as the least consistent and least religious members of the Church. And on the other hand, the Hebdomadal Board have—and we commend their judgment and discretion for so doing—refrained from including in their proposed censure any points which sound Churchmen might have felt reluctant to condemn. In the passages selected for censure, either the character of the English Church is assailed. Romanism is recommended, or improper interpretations of the Articles are These passages are, however, merely specimens; and even if, by strained and ingenious interpretations, any of them could be made to appear plausible to individuals, still the question remains whether the whole book is not deserving of censure, which we fully believe it to be. This is the real question after all, which should be borne in mind, and from which our attention ought not to be distracted by any arguments or difficulties on subordinate points, which will be doubtless supplied, ere long, in every possible shape. It may perhaps be alleged,

that it is unfair to censure Mr. Ward's book, while errors at least as great in another direction remain uncensured. If such errors have been taught in the University, they certainly ought to be condemned; but the University should not be held responsible for false doctrines which may be taught beyond her precincts, and which have no influence over her members. She is not to supersede the office of the Church; and the censure of Dr. Hampden is sufficient to prove, that her decisions are not in favour of rationalism. But after all, if others deserve censure, this cannot furnish any objection to the condemnation of a book which deserves to be condemned.

Another measure has been proposed, which is to authorize the Vice-Chancellor to require suspected persons to subscribe the Articles anew, with a certain declaration of adherence to them in what the subscriber believes to be the sense "in which they were originally published," and "in which they are proposed by the University." This seems a very moderate and harmless measure, but we should doubt whether it will have much effect. If dishonest men are disposed to evade it, they will allege, we suppose, that the meaning of the Church and of the University is, that subscriptions are allowable in a Roman sense. may be, that the preamble of the proposed statute, in which the declaration is stated to be imposed in consequence of the Romish interpretations of some persons, may suffice to determine the meaning of the Declaration itself, and so may act as a real check in some cases; but we apprehend that generally there would be as little difficulty in subscribing the Declaration, as there is now in subscribing the Articles. We certainly do not see any objection to the Declaration in itself, and considering its design, we think that it ought to be supported. It is a very mild and lenient measure, and it deserves a fair trial. We cannot conceive that any right-minded member of the Church would feel the least difficulty in subscribing the proposed Declaration. The pledge which is required in it is, to subscribe the Articles in the sense in which the subscriber believes "ex animo" that they were published by the Church of England, and in which they are proposed by the University; these senses being considered identical. Nothing is here said of the sense of the composers of the Articles, or of the Vice-Chancellor, or the Heads of the University. Nor is the subscriber even required to subscribe in the real sense of the Articles, which might cause difficulties; but in what he himself Honestly Believes to be their real sense as originally published. Surely there is no hardship in making such a declaration. The object appears to be, to secure a boná fide subscription to the Articles, without any evasion of their plain, evident,

grammatical meaning. It is, we think, very clear, that interpretations have been suggested, which render such a measure necessary; and we would observe in addition, that the Statute does not specify the particular interpretation which it censures, and thus, that the feelings of individuals have been spared as far as

possible.

Since the foregoing remarks have been written, we have seen a letter published by Dr. Pusey, in which a very different view of the proposed statute is put forth. We regret that Dr. Pusey should have felt it necessary to commit himself so decidedly in opposition to it; and we are not without hope, that on further consideration, he will not continue to entertain the same difficulties. We think that he makes a very mistaken assumption in asserting that "it is not meant that he should make" the declaration—that it is designed as a measure hostile to him. Had such been really the intention, the Declaration would, we conceive, have assumed another shape. It would not have dealt in general terms, but would have required the specific rejection of the principles of interpretation advanced in Tract XC., or in Mr. Ward's, or Mr. Oakley's pamphlets. The absence of any such language affords, we think, a reasonable presumption, which we ought, in charity, to make, that the proposed Declaration is a precautionary measure —a measure conceived essential for securing honest subscription to the Articles—and that it is not put forward in a spirit of persecution, or of hostility to Dr. Pusey.

Let us remember, that Messrs. Ward and Oakley have in published pamphlets, deliberately maintained that Roman Catholics are entitled to subscribe the Articles without relinquishing any of their doctrines; that the Articles were compiled on a Latitudinarian principle; that they are, in their obvious meaning, contradictory to the Liturgy, the latter alone representing Catholic principles, while the former are, in their obvious sense, "Protestant" or "heretical." When such views are put forth and received within the University, it really becomes, we think, a plain matter of duty, to protect the Church from subscriptions made by persons openly avowing themselves Roman Catholics, and who, notwithstanding such subscriptions, assert and plead for their right of maintaining the doctrines of Purgatory, Invocation of the Saints, the Papal Supremacy, the general orthodoxy of Romish doctrines and practices, and the schism and heresy of the English Church. The proposed Declaration would certainly impose a restraint on the open and unblushing advocacy of such views; and we think that no sound churchman will be disposed to object

to this

With reference to Dr. Pusey's objection, that "the Articles

cannot be (which the new test requires) certum atque indubitatum opinionum signum," because different interpretations have always existed in the Church, we could have wished that he had paid more attention to the actual words of the proposed statute. The words of the Declaration are not merely, as Dr. Pusey says, certum atque indubitatum opinionum sigmum, but opinionum mearum certum ac indubitatum signum. The meaning is plainly this: "that the Articles are to be subscribed in what the subscriber honestly believes to be the sense of the English Church, when they were published, and of the University also, which proposes them as a certain and undoubted sign of the subscriber's own opinions (not of the opinions of others, or of the Church at large)." The whole object, as we have said already, is apparently, to secure an honest, bond fide subscription, without intentional evasions, or forcing of the Articles from their acknowledged meaning and intention; and the measure will therefore, we suppose, be resisted by all who are opposed to such a subscription, however contradictory may be their sentiments on other points. We feel it right to support this statute; and we think that churchmen should not permit their unfavourable impressions of much that has emanated from the Hebdomadal Board of late years, to operate against a measure which appears to be honest, consistent, and moderate.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

ETC.

Kreuser on the Cathedral of Cologne.
 Tholuck's Sermons.
 Ainsworth's Travels.
 Pennington on the Greek Language.
 Professor Wallace on the True Age of the World.
 Philological Proofs of the Origin of the Human Race, by Johnes.
 Colloquies on Poetry.
 Halley on the Sacraments.
 Ewing on the Book of Job.
 Bickersteth on the Articles.
 Williams's Antiquities of the Cymry.
 Bates's College Lectures on Ecclesiastical History.
 Poole's History of England.
 Rowdler's Sermons.
 Pinder's Sermons.
 Wordsworth on Confirmation.
 Ogilby on the Church.
 Surin on the Spiritual Life.
 Neale's Shepperton Manor.
 Perran-Zabuloe, by Haslam.
 Tomlins's Poems.
 The Convict Ship, by Browning.
 Bishop Nixon on the Church Catechism.
 Tales from the German of La Motte Fouqué.
 I Promessi Sposi, by Manzoni.
 Nursery Rhymes.
 The Lawa Rule of Life to the Christian, by Bird.
 The Church Restorers, by Paley.
 The Village Church.
 Charges, Sermons, &c. Pamphlets and Miscellaneous Publications.

1.—Kölner Dombriefe oder Beiträge zur altchristlichen Kirchenbaukunst. (Letters on the Cathedral of Cologne, or Contributions to Primitive Christian Church Architecture.) Von J. Kreuser. Berlin, 1844. London: Williams and Norgate.

THE student of Christian architecture will find in this volume ample materials for increasing his antiquarian lore. The object of the author is to revive the spirit, which in the middle ages presided over the erection of ecclesiastical structures, with special reference to the projected restoration of the cathedral at Co-With this view he enters, with much research and ingenuity, into the history of Christian architecture, pointing out the presumed symbolical character of the arrangements and ornaments of churches; and after laying down the general principles of the art, by which Christian ideas were embodied in the structure of Christian temples, he guides his readers through the unfinished cathedral of Cologne, the original design of which he traces, and shows what is required to be done, in order to carry on its contemplated restoration in harmony with that design. A considerable portion of the work is occupied with the history of the erection of the cathedral, in which the author takes occasion to draw

an interesting picture of the character of the monastic institutions, as they were in times when the arts and sciences flourished, chiefly, if not exclusively, under their shelter. Separate chapters, or letters, are devoted to the history of the Gothic style of architecture, of the use of painting for adorning the interior of churches, and of the craft of masonry. The Appendix contains, among other documents illustrative of the subject treated of in the volume, an amusing explanation of that language of signs, by means of which the monks used to evade the severity of the silence imposed by the ancient monastic rule.

11.—Zeitpredigten, im akademischen Gotterdienste der Universität Halle gehalten. (Sermons for the Times, preached before the University of Halle.) Von Dr. A. Тнолиск. Halle, 1843. London: Williams and Norgate.

THE Sermons contained in this volume, the fourth of a general series of Sermons, published by the same author, are, as their title imports, chiefly of a practical nature. The University of Halle is one of the strongholds of rationalism, and, in opposition to its corrupting influence, Dr. Tholuck has endeavoured by these Sermons, addressed principally to the younger portion of the academical public, to inculcate sound views of the Christian faith, and principles of personal piety and holiness. The whole course is divided into four parts; the two first of which serve as a kind of introduction, treating of the rise and progress of faith in the heart of man, and of the danger of turning a deaf ear to the gracious invitations of God's mercy. From various allusions which occur in these earlier discourses, and from their tone, which is sentimental and poetizing, and forms a strong contrast with the more solemn and argumentative character of the remainder of the work, it would appear to have been the preacher's intention to win an audience which he had reason to fear was but little predisposed to give a hearing to the great truths of Christianity. The third part, which constitutes the main body of the volume, occupying twenty sermons out of thirty-one, treats of the means of grace generally, and in particular of the Bible, of the Church, of prayer, and of the sacraments. There is much, very much, that is not only sound, but truly excellent in the author's observations on these subjects. His view of the reality of sacramental grace, both in baptism and in the Lord's Supper, is highly interesting and ably supported, though it is perhaps deficient in clearness and articulate assertion of the proper and specific significance of those two great mysteries of the Gospel. On the subject of the Church we hardly expected to meet with

accurate or satisfactory opinions; the system adopted by Dr. Tholuck is that of universal comprehension of all sects and denominations of Christians who do not deny any of the articles of the Apostolic Creed. Of the sin of schism he seems scarcely to have an idea; and while on the one hand he fraternizes with the Baptist, and even with the Quaker, including both these sects in his notion of the "Catholic Church of Christ," he repudiates on the other hand the severe judgments which have been passed upon the Roman Church by the Protestant world.

"It has long been," he says, "the general opinion of the great body of evangelic Christians, that the pope at Rome is that Antichrist of whom Paul writes, that 'he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God.' But as long as this pope bends the knee before Him, whose vicar he pretends to be, as long as in common with the meanest brother of the laity he knows of no other sign of salvation, by which he may be saved, but the cross, so long the pope of Rome, too, remains a member of the universal Church of Christ, which has Christ for its foundation."

His view is, that as long as these remain the leading points of the Christian faith, as points of agreement held in common, no amount of difference in doctrine and discipline, however irreconcileable, no extent of practical separation and hostility, however inveterate, is to be taken into account as evidence against the common fellowship of all in the one great body of the Church. The most powerful of these Sermons are those contained in the concluding part, which under the title "Biblical Scenes for Passion and Easter Weeks," give a series of well-drawn sketches of Christian anthropology. The influence of Christianity upon the heart of man, and its result in hardening the wicked and the worldling, while it disciplines and sanctifies the godly, the heavenly-minded, in the midst of all the infirmities by which human nature is accompanied, is beautifully illustrated from the examples of Caiaphas, Judas Iscariot, Pilate, St. Peter, the Virgin Mary, and St. Thomas.

On the whole, these Sermons of Dr. Tholuck, notwithstanding their latitudinarianism in some points, are calculated to give a favourable impression of the present tone of theology among the evangelical divines of Germany; and few, who come with rightlyprepared minds, will rise from the perusal of them without feeling themselves humbler men and better Christians.

III.—Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks. By William F. Ainsworth, Surgeon to the late Euphrates Expedition. London: Parker.

The wonderful narrative of the retreat of the "Ten Thousand" preserved by Xenophon, is amongst the most valuable records of

the ancient geography of the various countries through which it was conducted. Mr. Ainsworth has enjoyed the advantage of personally exploring these interesting scenes: of a journey computed by the historian at 3465 miles altogether, the illustrator has only left about 600 miles unvisited. In addition to personal observation, the works of all the leading writers on this subject have been diligently consulted; and Mr. Ainsworth's pages afford ample proofs of industry and research. The appendix contains remarks on astronomical points connected with the expedition of Cyrus, a chronological table, &c. A map, compiled by the author from authentic documents, adds considerably to the utility of the work.

G. T. Pennington, M.A., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. London: Murray.

Mr. Pennington is of opinion, that the present time is favourable for an inquiry into the question of the pronunciation of Greek. We apprehend that this is not the case. There is a growing disinclination towards such subjects, and those who discuss them may reckon on one infallible result,—the payment of heavy bills to their publishers. Mr. Pennington is of opinion, that our present system of pronouncing Greek is very incorrect; and he would direct our attention to the modern Greek pronunciation, as more conformable to the genuine character of that noble language. On the whole, the work will, we doubt not, be very interesting to the limited class of scholars who are likely to peruse it; but, supposing Mr. Pennington's theories to be correct, we apprehend that any attempt to change the system universally adopted in our schools and universities, would be utterly hopeless.

v.—The True Age of the World. By Professor Wallace. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

The object of this work is to determine the date of the Creation, which, as the author observes, has acquired additional importance from the late discoveries of astronomers and geologists, and the recent investigations of writers on the Prophecies and the Millennium. The longer chronology of the Old Testament is advocated by Professor Wallace, who declares himself an ardent admirer of Mr. Cuninghame's writings on Chronology and Prophecy. A second volume is to appear, in which the astronomical and geological portion of the subject is to be discussed, and this may perhaps present more interest than what is now before us.

VI.—Philological Proofs of the Original Unity and Recent Origin of the Human Race, &c. By Arthur James Johnes, Esq. London: S. Clarke.

The recommendation of so excellent a judge as Dr. Prichard, which the author modestly cites in his dedication, would in itself be sufficient to draw attention to this volume. There can scarcely be a more important subject in every point of view; and, from what we have seen, it appears that the author, who evidently has derived great benefit from Dr. Prichard's researches, has produced a valuable and interesting work.

vii.—Colloquies, Desultory, but chiefly upon Poetry and Poets, &c. London: Orr and Co., and Houlston and Stoneman. Romsey: Lordan.

This volume is quite a literary curiosity in its way. "One individual has been composer, and compositor, and imprinter throughout . . . the pen has been a stranger to the prose part of its composition;" and, with the exception of acknowledged quotations, the author has "been unaided by a line of manuscript or other copy." We confess that this statement had not prepared us to expect much from the work, but we must in candour say, that it is a very extraordinary production, as the work of a printer, and that the author's abilities and attainments are such as not to require any such adventitious aids and appliances. Of his poetical creed we shall only say, that he is an affectionate admirer of our greatest living poet; and he seems to have imbibed from this exalted source the reverential feelings towards the Church of which his pages afford ample and pleasing evidence.

VIII.—An Inquiry into the Nature of the Symbolic Institutions of the Christian Religion, usually called the Sacraments. By ROBERT HALLEY, D.D. London: Jackson and Walford.

This is only the first volume of a work on the sacraments, and consists of more than 600 pages on baptism. The author is, we believe, an Independent; and much of his treatise is occupied in controversy with the Anabaptists. At the commencement, he shows the various senses in which the word "sacrament" is applied; and afterwards proceeds to prove that the English Church receives five or six sacraments. We can fully attest the author's dissenting zeal; and we doubt not that the excellence of his style, and the amount of information which he displays, will render his work popular amongst persons of his own communion.

IX.—Some Critical Observations on the Book of Job. By the Rev. William Ewing, Vicar of Donegal. London: J. W. Parker.

The design of this work is to disprove the opinion of the great antiquity of the Book of Job, which is generally prevalent. The author conceives it to be "the production of some Hebrew, who lived at a late period, probably the era of the captivity;" and he thinks its design was "to console those among the exiles in Babylon, who, though as individuals they retained their integrity and their fidelity to Jehovah, yet were involved in the general calamity." The author engages in controversy with Professor Lee on this subject, and appears to place too much reliance on the statements and arguments of Eichhorn and other German writers, who in questions of this kind are very unsatisfactory guides.

X.—Questions illustrating the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England; with Proofs from Scripture and the Primitive Church. By the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, M.A., Curate of Holy Cross and St. Giles, Shrewsbury. London: Rivingtons.

The plan of this little work includes the Articles in Latin as well as English, together with questions illustrating them from Scripture and the early Fathers. Occasional extracts from our best theologians are also introduced. The questions and answers are, in our opinion, excellent. They are brief, pointed, and well calculated to elicit the reasoning powers. On the whole, we have no hesitation in strongly recommending the work to those who are engaged in the office of instruction; and we are persuaded that even students for orders will derive some useful hints from this well-written and unexceptionable book.

XI.—The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry; or the Ancient British Church, its History, Doctrine, and Rites. By the Rev. John Williams, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Nerquis. London: Cleaver.

To say that Mr. Williams has produced an interesting and valuable work on the ecclesiastical history of Britain, would convey a very imperfect idea of the obligations under which he has placed all students of that most important subject. This author is evidently very warmly attached to the ancient Church and people with whom he is so closely connected; but this partiality has not, we are sure, consciously influenced his judgment; and the care and labour which he has bestowed on the national

records of Wales, combined with extensive research into all other authorities bearing on his subject, entitles him to the respect which will, we doubt not, be awarded to him. The work treats successively on Bardism and Druidism; the introduction and establishment of Christianity; the history of the Church, and of its submission to the see of Canterbury; the apostolical succession in Wales; its dioceses and parishes, monasteries, councils, heresies, communion, liturgies, rites, and doctrines. What we desiderate in this volume, as we do in others on the subject of Welch antiquities, is a critical examination of the antiquity and genuineness of the text of the Welch documents on which it is chiefly founded. It would seem, from the statements of Mr. Williams, that the Triads and other monuments of Bardic and Druidical antiquity were handed down by oral tradition till the fifteenth or sixteenth century; and though we do not doubt the profound antiquity of much which has thus come down, still we know too much of oral tradition to feel certain that interpolations may not have been introduced in these ancient remains during the course of ages; and if so, perhaps we cannot depend very implicitly on their statements in regard to the introduction of Christianity into Wales. For instance, though the Triads, in their present state, appear to confirm the story of a mission to Britain under Pope Eleutherius, we should rather hesitate in giving our full credence to such evidence; because there seems no very convincing reason against the supposition, that the statement in question may have been introduced into the Triads after the submission of Wales to England.

XII.—College Lectures on Ecclesiastical History. By the Rev. William Bates, M.A., Fellow, Lecturer, &c. of Christ's College, Cambridge. London: Parker.

The more immediate object of these Lectures would seem to be the instruction of candidates for the degree of B. A. at Cambridge, who, according to the plan of examination recently adopted in that University, will from and after January 1846 be examined in the history of the Christian Church as far as the Council of Nice, and of the English Reformation. Mr. Bates has not, however, restricted himself to these portions of ecclesiastical history, though his work is principally devoted to their illustration; and we feel bound to say, that he has produced a volume equally creditable to his own judgment and attainments, and valuable to the student for University honours or for holy orders. It seems to us, indeed, one of the best manuals with which we are acquainted; and the addition of a long series of examination

papers of the Universities of Cambridge, Dublin, and Durham, confers an additional value on this volume which students will not be slow to perceive and appreciate.

XIII.—A History of England, from the first Invasion of the Romans to the Accession of Queen Victoria. By the Rev. George Ayliffe Poole, M.A., Vicar of Welford. London: Burns.

The design of this work is thus stated by the author: "He is not aware of the existence of a single history of England, adapted in size and pretensions to the use of the upper classes in schools, in which any approach is made to sound ecclesiastical principles, or in which due reverence is shown to the Church of England, either before or after the Reformation, as a true and living member of the body of Christ." The present volume brings down the history to the end of the reign of Henry VIII. The abilities and sound principles of the writer are so well known, that we anticipate an extensive circulation for this useful compilation.

XIV.—Sermons on the Privileges, Responsibilities, and Duties of Members of the Gospel Covenant. Advent. Christmas. Epiphany. By the Rev. T. Bowdler, M.A. London: T.B. Sharpe.

The volume before us comprises twenty-three discourses, and its general tone and design will perhaps be best explained in the author's own words:—

"It is a painful consideration, which is forced upon any one who examines his own heart and conduct, or mixes with others, high or low, rich or poor, that the tone of sentiment and feeling, the style of language, principles of action and habits of life, which are too prevalent with us, are far from what should be found in those who are brought within the Gospel covenant; or, which is the same thing, into the Church of Christ. There is very generally a reference to worldly motives; and in respect of works of piety and charity, of self-denial, making sacrifices for the sake of Christ, and, in one word, bearing the cross after Him, a very inadequate sense of what manner of persons we ought to be. . . . Some, again, of the more earnest among us, seem to forget or neglect the true nature of the Church as the body of Christ, and shrink from the mention of it. . . . Hence, too, the undervaluing of our privileges as members of our own Church, and the adopting of a false position, both in respect of Romanism and Dissent. has led the author to employ a little leisure in putting together a few discourses, which are intended to be plain and practical, on the privileges of Christians, their responsibilities, and their duties."-Preface, pp. vii., viii.

From all that we have seen of these sermons, they appear to be well adapted to their object. Their doctrine is perfectly sound and orthodox; their tone is grave, simple, and affectionate. The inculcation of practical piety, and of dutifulness to the Church, is never lost sight of; and we cannot doubt that, supported as they are by the personal character of the respected author, they will be found an acceptable gift alike to the ministers of religion and to the closet of the private Christian.

XV.—Sermons on the Book of Common Prayer, &c. By the Rev. John Hothersall Pinder, M.A., Precentor of Wells, &c. (Second Edition.) London: Rivingtons.

Mr. Pinder, in a series of twenty-three sermons, carries us through the whole Book of Common Prayer, including the occasional offices, and the ordination services. We are glad to see that this pleasing, instructive, and unexceptionable work, has reached a second edition; and we are convinced that congregations would generally derive very great profit and interest from instructions similar to those of which Mr. Pinder has here furnished so excellent a specimen. At the present time, particularly, it would seem that there is an urgent call on the clergy to afford pulpit instructions on the subject of the Liturgy of the Church. We can safely recommend the work before us to their notice and attention.

XVI.—A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America.

By Samuel Wilberforce, M. A., Chaplain to H. R. H.

Prince Albert, and Archdeacon of Surrey. London: Burns.

This work forms the twenty-seventh volume of the "Englishman's Library," and its publication has been expected for some time with much interest. As we intend to enter more fully on this subject on a future occasion, we shall only at present recommend this volume to all who are desirous of acquiring information on the history and present condition of the American Church. The author appears to have spared no pains to ensure accuracy; and we need not add, that the materials are disposed and employed in the most interesting and effective way. This little volume will, we think, do more to excite the interest of English Churchmen towards their Transatlantic brethren, than any publication on the subject which has yet made its appearance.

xvii.—Sermons for the Seasons of Advent, Christmas, and the Epiphany. By the Rev. G. A. Gleig, M.A., &c. London: Nickisson.

These are eloquent and striking discourses, full of vivid pictures, and of all that kind of talent which Mr. Gleig's writings so abundantly display. We must select one or two passages in illustration from the first sermon.

"There are two matters connected with us which we can neither change nor set aside—death and the judgment. Death is ever before us, yet we heed it not. The bell tolls, or the drum beats, each warning the healthy in their well-furnished apartments, that all which was mortal of a fellow-creature is going to the grave. And the healthy hear the sound, and look from their windows on the procession below, and are saddened, it may be, for an instant. Yet see how entirely the vision has faded from their memory ere one half-hour is passed. There was music in that chamber when the coffin passed under it; it ceased for a moment, and the delicate player looked out, and felt her pulse beat strangely. She turned to the mirror, and lo! her cheek was pale. Poor child, it was a natural dread that came over her then; -nothing more,-the constitutional shrinking which the living feel when they come into the presence of the dead. And she laid her hand upon her heart, and it fluttered. She stood at the window till the procession turned the corner; the corner shut it from her gaze, and she breathed more freely. Was she sobered by all this? Alas! no. She sat her down again, not perhaps at once to her instrument, but somewhat apart, and thought. Her thoughts were gloomy, and glad was she when light steps sounded on the stairs."

This is highly graphic.—Now for another picture:

"The man of business bends him over his ledger, and scrutinizes with eagerness the figures that are written there. They are all so many tokens of money—of money lent or borrowed—put out at interest, or hazarded in trade; and his whole soul is occupied in calculating the returns which he may reasonably expect to derive from them. The postman's knock is at the door; his letters are handed in, and one sealed and edged with black he opens timidly. He learns that, only two days previously, the head of a house, with which his own is intimately connected, had died. 'How strange! I saw him not a fortnight ago, and then his health appeared at least as robust as my own. I wonder who will now take the chief management of the concern.'"

We apprehend that the style of these sermons will be admitted to be of a very peculiar and original character; and there will probably be strong differences as to the propriety of introducing allusions and scenery like those which we have quoted. It seems difficult indeed to draw the line, if the vulgar associations of business, and accomplishments, and amusements, are to be allowed to find place in sermons. If we are to hear of "instruments," and "ledgers," "postmen," "black-edged letters," and mercantile "concerns," we really should scarcely feel any surprise in hearing next of the "turtle" and "mulligatawny" of the epicure; the "light fantastic toe" of the opera-dancer, or the "swellmob."

On the whole, these sermons appear to us quite as much calculated to amuse as to edify; but we are fully aware that many persons will be disposed to controvert our judgment; and we are willing to allow that much sound and sterling matter is comprised in them. We should indeed be guilty of great injustice to Mr. Gleig, if we did not add, that those who may have regarded him merely as a novelist, or a popular writer, will be surprised to find him capable of entering on more serious subjects with the ability which these discourses exhibit.

XVIII.—Catechetical Questions, including Heads of Lectures preparatory to Confirmation. By Charles Wordsworth, M.A., Second Master of Winchester College, &c. (Second Edition.) London: Rivingtons.

WE are glad to see that a second edition of this useful manual has been called for. It comprises questions on holy baptism, confirmation, the renunciations and vows there repeated; including faith, which introduces the Creed, and obedience, including the Commandments. After this the means of grace are considered, and the whole is concluded by several offices and prayers referred to in the preceding pages. We have no doubt that it will be most valuable in preparation for Confirmation, and we have not found any sentiment or position in which we could not concur.

xix.—The Catholic Church in England and America. Three Lectures, &c. By John D. Ogilby, D.D., &c. New York: Appleton and Co.

THE name of Dr. Ogilby is well known at this side of the Atlantic as a distinguished scholar and divine, and the important appointment which he holds as "Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the General Theological Seminary" of the American Church, at once does credit to the discrimination which placed him there, while it affords a satisfactory ground for hope that the alumni of that seminary will continue to be distinguished for sound and enlightened views of the Church. This little work, which is appropriately dedicated to the excellent Bishop of New

Jersey, consists of three Lectures, which were prepared for delivery to a popular audience, and which treat successively on "the Church in England and America, Apostolic and Catholic—the causes of the English Reformation—its character and results." We must select the following passage from the preface:

"The running title 'the Catholic Church in England and America' may give some occasion to fear, and others opportunity to assert, that the author is disposed to abandon the position which the English Church and our own have been obliged to assume and maintain, of express opposition to the errors and pretensions of the papal communion. It is apprehended that none will cherish that fear, or venture upon such assertion, who will candidly read the Lectures. Why then, it may be asked, use a title which may give a handle to the fault-finder? Because the avowed object of the Lectures is to vindicate the claim of the Church in England and our own, to those characters of catholicity and apostolicity which the creeds ascribe to the one Church of Christ, and which must therefore pertain to any particular Church in union with that one body."—pp. 4, 5.

In pursuance of his design, the author ascertains the proper mode of determining what are true Churches, 1. by reference to Christ's ordinance respecting the constitution of the Church; 2. by exhibiting the apostolic mode of realizing this ordinance, on the principle of organization under episcopal government and succession. The apostolic descent of our Churches is there proved, and the objections of Romanists and sectarians met. The second Lecture treats very ably of the papal supremacy, and the causes of the English Reformation; and the third maintains that in that reformation no new Church was established, but the old was purified. In conclusion, the author reckons amongst the results of the English Reformation, the restraint laid on the papacy, the erection of the only effectual barrier against its progress and influence, and the probable restoration of universal visible unity to the Church of Christ. We have perused much of this work with unmingled pleasure and gratification, and we should be glad to see it presented to the English reader through the medium of a republication in this country, which it amply deserves.

XX.—The Foundations of the Spiritual Life, drawn from the Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ. By F. Surin. Translated from the French, and adapted to the use of the English Church. London: Burns.

The preface to this translation will perhaps attract more notice than the work itself, bearing, as it does, the signature of E. B. P.,

and being generally ascribed to Dr. Pusey. This preface, which extends to 61 pages, is replete, as may well be supposed, with devotional, spiritual, and practical matter; and it also comprises much which will be perused with interest, as exhibiting the views on many important matters now entertained by the amiable and learned author. We shall make a few extracts in illustration of these views.

With reference to the evangelical section of the Church, we have the following:

"It is.. meant to acknowledge a debt, to indicate the points of contact between the teaching of the last century, which broke through the stagnant state into which we were fast subsiding, and the fuller Catholic teaching; and to suggest that such as hold in earnestness the truths there inculcated, will find more sympathy in the larger system of Catholic truth, than in the stiffening form to which their predecessors found themselves opposed."—p. vi.

The saints whose characters are now held forth as our models are such as those mentioned in the subjoined extract:

"The love of humiliation and sufferings being found in all (saints), out of desire of conformity to our Lord (e. g. witness the saying of St. Theresa... or St. Catherine of Sienna... St. Philip Neri... a prayer also of the Ven. John of Avila). In part they have been special gifts; as temptations of the flesh were suddenly, at once, removed from St. Francis and St. Thomas Aquinas; St. Peter of Alcantara lost the power of distinguishing food; St. Thomas Aquinas often knew not what he had eaten; St. Catherine of Sienna lived for a length of time on no other food but the holy eucharist. 'Can I forget,' said St. Francis Borgia, 'that Christ drank gall for me on the cross?'"—p. xii.

Elsewhere we find "St. Dominic," "St. Francis of Assisium," and "St. Ignatius Loyola," reckoned amongst the saints (p. xix).

"St. Alphonsus Liguori gives this as one of the preparations of any mental prayer . . . (quoted by Mr. Ward, p. 350)."—p. xx.

"In this [Divine] light St. Ignatius looked upon himself as an ulcer continually discharging pus."—p. xxi.

On the "rosary" and "beads" we have the following remarks:

"We have not even attempted to replace that form of devotion ordinary in the Roman Church, whereby meditations on the chief mysteries of our Lord are combined with the use of his Divine Prayer... And now in our entire ignorance of its very nature, the name of 'the rosary' or 'beads' is associated only with ideas of superstition, even in minds which, if they knew it, would be shocked at their own thoughts. It is painful to think how much superstitious contempt of simple devo-

tions of the worship of child-like souls among the aged, is virtually involved in the habitual censures of it."—p. xxvi.

The following passages are deserving of notice:

"Many forms of the devotion upon the Passion, long practised by fervent Christians, would probably, at least on first acquaintance, startle us. . . . I fear the fuller carrying out of this devotion to Christ crucified, (such as we find universal on the Continent,) would seem a strange thing to many of us. . . . Detailed devotions with reference to each of his five most precious wounds, or to the seven sheddings of his atoning blood for us, either with reference to the seven deadly sins, or the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, or his seven wounds upon the cross . . . or the manifold repetition of his saving name, (as in the Litanies of the Passion,) have not been the product of our own practical system."—pp. xxvii., xxviii.

"Would that we could so melt stony hearts; or (which it is to be feared is at the root) that our own hearts were so kindled at the thoughts of the Passion, as those in the Continental Churches have so

often been!"-p. xxxviii.

With reference to Mr. Ward's book, and the *British Critic*, Dr. Pusey speaks in the following manner:

"The editor is glad to take this opportunity of expressing his sense of the considerateness of the article on Confession in the British Critic, (No. LXVI.) and of the great value of the practical hints and temperate and thoughtful cautions in Mr. Ward's recent book, in the chapters vi. vii. 'on our existing practical corruptions' and 'additional suggestions by way of remedy,' which are most seasonable to those who are in earnest about the amendment of the deep practical evils and sins of omission in our Church. Of course, in making such a statement, any one must include himself as the guiltiest. It does not become such an one as the editor to speak at all, and he has hitherto avoided it, having no office in the Church which any way entitles him to do so. Perhaps what has been said about himself (not in Mr. W.'s book) may excuse him now saying, that however there were in the British Critic statements which he could not go along with, or which at times (as he understood them) gave him pain, he could not but see that there was a moral depth about the writers of the articles which gave most offence, to which he had himself no claim; he could not but, on that ground, feel more sympathy with their writings generally than with those of others, with whom negatively, as to one extensive practice in the Romish Church, he was more agreed; he could not but respect them deeply as much superior to himself; and he felt satisfied that they were an important element in the present restoration of our Church, and an instrument in the hands of her Lord. . . . Especially we seem very mainly indebted to those writers for a more humble tone as to our own Church."-pp. lv., lvi.

We confess that we were not quite prepared for an expression

of so much sympathy with Mr. Ward and the British Critic; though the continual reference to Romish saints and books of devotion, the recommendation of Roman Catholic devotions, and the fact of a series of translations from Roman Catholic works, ought in some degree to have prepared us for it. We certainly cannot but deeply lament to find nothing but praise of Mr. Ward's writings. We think that, since the subject was noticed, some disclaimer of the sentiments of that most unsound and mischievous work, "The Ideal of a Christian Church," ought to have been given; and the absence of such disclaimer naturally leads to the inference that the work in question meets the approbation of Dr. Pusey in material points.

Of the translation which follows this preface, we can speak with commendation. The sentiments of the writer appear to be founded on those of the "Imitation of Jesus Christ," but there is an unpleasant amount of reference to the legends of Romish

saints.

XXI.—Shepperton Manor; a Tale of the Times of Bishop Andrewes. By the Rev. J. M. Neale, B.A., &c. London: Cleaver.

A VERY well told tale, in which the condition of the English Church in 1616 is faithfully pourtrayed. The persecutions endured by a recusant, and the conversion of his daughter to the Church of England, form the most interesting features of the work; and we are happy to observe that the tone of feeling in regard to the Church is cordial and respectful. Mr. Neale possesses considerable abilities as a writer, and we shall be glad to meet him again.

XXII.—Perran-Zabuloe; with an Account of the Past and Present State of the Oratory of St. Piran in the Sands, &c. By the Rev. W. Haslam, B.A., Resident Curate. London: Van Voorst.

The substance of this little work was, it appears, delivered at a meeting of the Cornwall Royal Institution, and it is published at the request of those who were present. Mr. Haslam establishes, with great probability, we think, that the Oratory of St. Piran was erected in the fifth century, and that it is consequently a relic of strictly *British* architecture. His argument rests to a considerable extent on the similarity between the style of this interesting relic and that of other structures in Ireland and elsewhere of known antiquity. On the whole, this little work does honour to the author's ingenuity and research.

XXIII.—Poems. By the Rev. RICHARD TOMLINS, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

This volume comprises a series of poems on Scriptural subjects, some translations from the Psalms, and a variety of poems of a miscellaneous nature. The versification is pleasing, and evinces an acquaintance with some of the best models; but we cannot assign a very high rank to the poetry, which is destitute of originality and force.

XXIV.—The Convict Ship. A Narrative of the Results of Scriptural Instruction and Moral Discipline, &c. By Colin Arnott Browning, M.D., &c. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

THE author of this volume was commissioned in 1842 to act as surgeon and superintendent on board the Earl Grey, a convict ship bound for the colony of Van Diemen's Land. The account which is here given of the exertions of the author for the education and conversion of the large body of convicts under his charge, is certainly most striking. The work of education commenced by the division of the prisoners into twenty-four schools; and the desire for knowledge inspired by the exhortations of the superintendent was met by instructions in all the various branches of religion, both doctrinal and moral, accompanied by daily morning and evening prayer, and sermons from the Rev. C. Davy's volumes. The result was, that a large proportion of the convicts appears to have become reformed, and to have openly professed themselves resolved to lead a Christian life. On the whole, though we may occasionally differ a little from the excellent author, we can recommend his work as a very instructive and even impressive narrative.

xxv.—Lectures, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical, on the Catechism of the Church of England. By Francis Russell Nixon, D.D., Lord Bishop of Tasmania. (Second Edition.) London: Wix.

We hail with delight the appearance of a second edition of the valuable work now lying before us; a work which,—if (as its right reverend author modestly says) it have "no pretensions to originality in its proper sense;" if it avoid "all parade of learning, all affectation of eloquence or of rhetoric,"—is, nevertheless, both learned and eloquent, and reads with all the freshness of an original composition ¹. The book is divided into the five obvious

¹ The author has, with most scrupulous fidelity, inserted in the margin the exact reference to the various authorities from whom he quotes; authorities extending from St. Clement down to the Bampton Lectures.

parts, of the Christian Covenant—the Christian's Creed—the Christian's Duty—the Christian's Prayer—the Christian Sacraments: these again are subdivided into fifty-three Lectures; making, in all, what may truly be called a Repertorium Theologicum Catholicum et Anglicanum.

Our limits will permit us to present the reader with but very few of the passages which we had marked for quotation. In treating of the words, "two [sacraments] only as generally

necessary for salvation," the bishop thus writes :-

"After our Church has thus declared, that she acknowledges but two sacraments in the proper or more restricted sense of the word, she next declares, that these are 'generally necessary to salvation;' meaning by that expression, that they are not to be confined to persons of a particular order, or suited only to particular circumstances, as is the case with some of the Romish sacraments; but that they are necessary for persons of all kinds; binding equally upon all Christians; that, without them, we can have no covenanted title to salvation: nay, more, that without them we cannot be saved, whenever there is the capacity and opportunity to receive them; whenever, in other words, God has not Himself placed an insuperable bar to our availing ourselves of these means of grace. Our Church speaks decidedly upon this point, as being persuaded that the fulness of that grace, which maketh wise unto salvation, can only, in the ordinary sense of the word, be sacramentally sought; and is, in the usual mode of God's dealings with his creatures, only sacramentally given."-p. 593.

In the forty-ninth lecture, the author touches on the subject of lay baptism. This subject is one on which learned men are much divided. The view which the bishop advocates is that of its non-validity; a view, we are bound to say, at variance with our own. After referring to the rubric prefixed to the office for Private Baptism, he proceeds:—"It would seem that she [the Church] recognizes no baptism as effectual, unless it be performed by lawful ministers." Now this we take to be illogical. If for "effectual," he had written regular, it would have been more correct. Looking at the practice of both the Eastern and Western Church, the whole canon law (still in force in the Church of England), and even some of our rubrics, we own that we think baptism administered by a layman irregular, yet effectual: Fieri non debuit, factum valet.

We cannot conclude this notice, without calling attention to what we conceive to be an original, simple, and satisfactory answer,—by means of the ingenious application of a text which would not occur to one, at first, as applicable,—to a question constantly put to every clergyman; viz. "what do we mean by renouncing the pomps and vanities of this wicked world?" After

refuting, in a masterly way, the assertion, that "each man's conscience must be the guide" as to how far conformity with the world is admissible, he proceeds,—

"We must seek a safer general guide than conscience; and, if we err not, one will be found in St. Paul's remarks to Timothy (1 Tim. iv. 4), 'Every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving.' Extend this maxim, apply it to the several means of enjoyment, either supposed or real, that the world presents to us. It will follow, that those pleasures, from the indulgence of which we cannot unreservedly arise and thank our Maker; those pursuits, which mar our devotions, and render us unwilling, or afraid, to come, with an open heart, before Him; cannot be innocent, cannot be safe occupations for one who knows that he must see his God face to face, and who hopes to abide, unreproved, the issue of that awful meeting."—Lect. iv. p. 34.

XXVI.—Wild Love, and other Tales, from the German of De la Motte Fouqué. London: Burns.

This little book will be a very acceptable gift to our younger readers. It comprises four beautiful tales from the German of La Motte Fouqué, entitled, "Rosaura and her Kinsfolk," "Wild Love," "The Oak of the Idols," and the "Field of Terror." These titles are attractive enough, and from what we have seen of the tales, they seem to be as wild, romantic, and supernatural, as German imagination can make them; while love, chivalry, and religion occupy the prominent place which they are generally assigned in popular tales of the kind. The translation seems very well executed, and the wood-cuts and decorations of the volume are in good taste.

MANZONI. A new Translation. 2 vols. London: Burns.

Mr. Burns has brought out recently several very pleasing translations from foreign works of reputation, and we have no doubt that the volumes now before us will not be the least popular of the series. The English reader will feel curious to peruse this celebrated work of Manzoni, which, in addition to its merits as a work of the imagination, is valuable as an exposition of the domestic habits and of the religious feelings of the Italians. We believe that this is the first complete translation of I Promessi Sposi which has made its appearance; and although it is in some places rather too literal, we can bear witness to the accuracy of all the parts which we have compared with the original.

xxvIII.—Nursery Rhymes, Tales, &c. London: Burns.

NEVER we believe did "Cock-a-doodle-doo," or "Goosey Goosey Gander," appear in so elegant a shape as they have now assumed, with large margins, profusely decorated with wood-cuts, titlepage printed in gold, and richly gilt binding. A hundred and sixty-eight Nursery Rhymes, not to speak of an appendix, form a repast which will be unceasingly grateful to the youngest part of the community. These rhymes are carefully selected with a view to the exclusion of every thing of an immoral tendency, and they are appropriately dedicated to the Royal children.

XXIX.—The Law a Rule of Life to the Christian, considered in Eleven Lectures on the Decalogue. By the Rev. C. S. BIRD. London: Cleaver.

A VERY useful and valuable series of Sermons on the Decalogue. Instructions of this kind, plain, simple, and elementary, are greatly needed in parochial ministrations.

XXX.—The Church Restorers: a Tale, &c. By F. A. Paley, M.A., Honorary Secretary to the Cambridge Camden Society. London: Van Voorst.

This tale, which narrates the vicissitudes of an ancient parish church, with its neighbouring castle and monastery, contains much instructive and amusing matter. The author quite identifies himself with the ages he describes, and we have accordingly some singular legends and some miracles wrought by the power of relics, &c.

xxxi.—The Village Church: a Poem. By the Author of the Phylactery. Education, and Parental Example: a Poem. By the Author of the Village Church. London: Hatchards.

THE first of these poems reminds us strongly, from its reflective tone and its beautiful images of domestic life, of Gray. We have here a series of descriptions of the vicar, curate, &c., executed with great taste and feeling. "Parental Example" is an able and successful imitation of the xivth Satire of Juvenal.

xxx11.—Charges, Sermons, &c.

WE have perused with pleasure a Charge delivered by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol at his Visitation in August and September, which is replete with practical information, and touches on the existing differences in a charitable spirit. An important

Charge by the Bishop of Australia is noticed in our "Foreign Intelligence." We are indebted to Archdeacon Robert Wilberforce for an excellent Charge, delivered at his Ordinary Visitation, which comprises some important matter in reference to devotion, both public and domestic. A Visitation Sermon, by the Rev. John Jebb, (J. W. Parker,) most admirably vindicates the Church of England against some of her undutiful children. We have to notice with commendation a Sermon, entitled "How can the Church evangelize the World?" by the Rev. T. Littlehales: Sermons on Regeneration, by the Rev. Henry Robinson, M.A.; and on our Social Condition, by the Rev. W. Drake. "Four Sermons," by the Rev. W. J. Irons, B.D. (Rivingtons), on the "earthly relationships" of our blessed Lord, are very able and interesting; and derive additional value from the Preface, in which some just criticisms are offered on the "Life of Christ" by Bonaventure, recently published. "A Course of Lectures" on the Prayer-book, by the Rev. F. Dusautov, is appearing periodically, which seems to be useful and practical.

Pamphlets and Miscellaneous Publications.

WE would earnestly invite the attention of our readers to Dr. Todd's "Remarks" on Mr. Wise's statements, in reference to "Academical Education in Ireland" (Dublin: Hodges and Smith). This tract proves that the endowments of the University of Dublin cannot, on any pretence of justice, be opened to Romanists; and the author justly remarks, that any such measure would be the prelude to similar attacks on the English Universities. A most interesting report of the visitation of the Irish College of St. Columba, Stackallen, by the Lord Primate of Ireland, has been recently published. We trust this excellent institution will be supported as it deserves. The Rev. J. Irvine, Vicar of Leigh, has published a Correspondence with the "Church Pastoral Aid Society," which presents the latter in a very unfavourable light, and ought, we think, to put incumbents on their guard as to connecting themselves with that Society. A pamphlet by the Rev. J. Hildyard, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Christ's College, Cambridge (Parker, London), on "the University system of Private Tuition," which the author considers injurious in an intellectual, moral, and financial point of view, is deserving of an attentive perusal. We apprehend that the system will not easily be put an end to.

À tract, entitled "A Comparison between the Communion Offices of the Church of England and the Scottish Episcopal Church" (Hatchards), attempts to prove that the latter teaches

the doctrine of Transubstantiation. We may as well here say, once for all, that those who accuse the Church of Scotland of holding such errors, at the same moment charge the English Church with sanctioning them; and those who separate from the Scottish Church separate also from the English, which is in full communion with her. There cannot, in our opinion, be a more palpable instance of schism than that of separating, on any pretence of conformity to the English Church, from the communion of the Apostolical Church in Scotland. The Rev. A. T. G. Manson has published a tract in favour of "the Validity of Lay Baptism" (Rivingtons), which seems to be learned and judicious. There can be no doubt that the Canon law fully recognizes the validity of Lav Baptism. "Heresy and Schism-What are they?" by the Rev. E. Strickland (Groombridge), appears to be a sound and useful tract. A new edition of Bishop Compton's "Episcopalia," with a Preface by the Rev. Dr. Cornish (J. H. Parker, Oxford), has recently appeared. "Consolations and Prayers for the time of Sickness," by the Rev. Plumpton Wilson, are deserving the attention of the clergy, and comprise much valuable matter. A second edition of "Prayers for Young Churchmen" (Exeter) has appeared. We strongly recommend this tract. The Rev. J. W. Donaldson, B.D., has published two pamphlets in reply to Professor Key (Deightons), in which he replies to the charges of that gentleman, who had accused him of plagiarism.

We have seen with great pleasure some numbers of a very well executed series of "The Churches of Yorkshire" (Green, Leeds). The plates are beautiful, and the letter-press is extremely well written. Mr. Halliwell, whose antiquarian knowledge is so well known, has given to the public the first part of a "Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words," which promises to be a valuable accession to our literature. "The British Churchman" (Smith, Elder, and Co.), a magazine established this year, appears

to be conducted on sound principles.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

ALGERIA.—Establishment of the Roman Catholic Church.—A most active system of missionary operations is carried on in the new province of Algeria. A colony of eighteen Jesuits is taking measures for monopolizing public education; already a diocesan theological seminary has been established under their direction, and a college on a large scale for general education is in progress of erection. Another colony of Trappists has set up an agricultural establishment at Staoueli, which is to serve as a model farm, and to promote, by the encouragement of husbandry, the colonization of Algeria.

AMERICA.—The American Church.—The General Convention of the Church was assembled at Philadelphia during the month of October. Its session was opened by the celebration of the Holy Communion. The principal subject which occupied its attention, was the controversy excited by the ordination of the late Mr. Carey, which had already been canvassed in the Diocesan Conventions of New York and Ohio. In the former, which was attended by one hundred and thirty clergymen, and three hundred laymen, and at which several bishops from other dioceses were present in the character of guests, a decided majority gave its support to Bishop Onderdonk against the accusations to which he had been subjected. In the convention of Ohio, on the contrary, the proceedings were of a character strongly adverse to the course pursued by the Bishop of New York, and the delegates for the General Convention were elected under special pledges to carry the The agitation was fomented by the matter before that body. publication of a letter from the Archbishop of Dublin to Professor McVickar of New York, intimating his intention to suspend intercommunion between the Archdiocese of Dublin and the American Church, unless the proceedings of the Bishop of New York were disavowed by the latter. In the General Convention, the subject was disposed of in the Lower House, after a week's debate, by the almost unanimous adoption of the following resolution: "That the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies consider the articles, liturgy, and offices of the Church, sufficient exponents of her sense of the essential doctrines of Holy Scripture, and that the canons of the Church afford ample means of discipline and correction for all who depart from her standard; and further, that the General Convention is not a suitable tribunal for the trial and censure of, and that this Church is not responsible for, the errors of individuals, whether they are members of this Church or

Among the canons passed by the Convention, one has reference to the trial, and another to the resignation of bishops. The latter provides that a resignation of the episcopal office can be made only to the House of Bishops, whose acceptance of it puts an end to the jurisdiction of the resigning bishop. Under this canon the Bishop of Pennsylvania gave in his resignation, accompanied by a further communication in the nature of a confession, in consequence of which his suspension from all the functions of his holy office was deemed necessary.

The efficient character of the Church is attested by the erection, on the occasion of this General Convention, of three new sees within the territory of the United States, viz. New Hampshire, Alabama, and Missouri, and of four missionary bishoprics, for the missions of the American Church in Texas, on the west coast of Africa, in the Turkish dominions, and in China. The missionary bishop for China is to be accompanied by ten presbyters and four schoolmistresses. appointment of a missionary bishop for the Turkish dominions is the result of the late visit of the Rev. H. Southgate to the Syrian churches, a narrative of which has lately been published. As a further indication of the spread of church principles in the American Church, it deserves to be noticed, that several of the episcopal and archidiaconal charges lately published in England, and Keble's edition of Hooker, have been reprinted; and that a church, to be called the church of the Holy Communion, is in progress of erection at New York, at the expense of a widow lady, acting upon the wishes of her deceased husband, which is to be entirely free, and in which the Church system is to be fully carried out, by daily morning and evening service, weekly communion, and sermons on all Holy-days as well as Sundays.

The Romish Church.—A new Romish See has been erected in the United States at Milwankee, for the territory of Wisconsin. Six Dominican Friars, eight other missionaries, and seventeen nuns from Germany, have sailed lately from Havre for the United States. The expenditure of the propaganda at Lyons for Romish missions to America amounted, during the past year, to more than one million francs. Eighteen Jesuit missionaries have arrived at Santa Fe de Bogota, and eight capuchin friars have been despatched as missionaries to the remnants of the Aboriginal population in the Brazilian empire. An envoy extraordinary has been sent to Rome from Mexico, for the purpose of negotiating the settlement of the affairs of the Romish Church

in that State.

Australia.—Visitation and Charge.—From a visitation journal just published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, it appears that the Bishop was engaged from June to August, 1843, in a visitation journey through the counties of Northumberland, Durham, Brisbane, Phillip, Wellington, Bathurst, and Cook; from September to December he spent in the districts of Port Phillip, at Geelong and Melbourne; and in January of the present year he visited the different parishes of the county of Cumberland. In May last he commenced the third triennial visitation of his diocese, by convening the clergy of the counties of Cumberland and Camden at Sydney. The

charge which he addressed to them, is a document of great importance with regard both to this particular diocese, and to the position of the Church generally at this critical period. As regards the latter, the Bishop enters at considerable length upon the leading points of the Tractarian controversy; he condemns, in language at once temperate and forcible, the Romanizing interpretation of our Articles, especially on the subject of purgatory; he repudiates tradition as co-ordinate with Scripture for determining the rule of faith, at the same time that he vindicates its legitimate use; and he shows the fallacy of the theory of development, by the adoption of which, he justly observes, that "the Roman Catholics seem evidently to yield to us the point of superior conformity with primitive Christianity." On the vexata quæstio of rubrical observance, the Bishop insists strongly on the "obligation of conscience" under which all clergymen are bound to obey the directions of the Book of Common Prayer; he recommends, indeed, the exercise of sound discretion in resuming any observances which may have fallen into disuse, but expressly adds, that it is "not his intention that such advantage should be taken of former laxity, as to convert that into the permanent rule, which has been only the tolerated, and not always justifiable, exception to it."

In reference to the particular concerns of his own diocese, the Bishop adverts to "the protest which, in the fulfilment of a most solemn duty, he had felt it necessary to issue, in opposition to the groundless pretension of the Bishop of Rome, to exercise spiritual jurisdiction within

this, his proper, lawful, and canonical diocese."

Touching the actual condition of his diocese, the Bishop complains in emphatic terms of the general supineness of the laity, in making provision for the spiritual wants of the country, and especially of the backwardness which the local government had shown, to aid or encourage measures for the extension of the Church, and of a sound Church Education. On the other hand, he speaks in high terms of gratitude and approbation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, by whose aid he has been enabled to send forth five clergymen into the districts beyond the boundaries, "where an absolute repudiation of Christianity has been the rule, with scarcely an exception." He announces his intention of subdividing the entire diocese into deaneries; and in the first instance instituting five deaneries, to be designated from the towns of Sydney, Maitland, Bathurst, Goulburn, and Melbourne.

Austria.—Struggles between Romanism and Protestantism.—Notwithstanding the efforts of the Austrian government to check the encroachments of the Roman Catholic priesthood upon the liberty of conscience, especially with regard to the issue of mixed marriages, the Protestants complain of oppression and indirect proselytism. They attribute the great number of changes from the Protestant to the Romish faith, of which the Romish papers boast, (the numbers being, according to official accounts, in the proportion of sixteen proselytes to the Romish

Church, to one who leaves the Roman for the Protestant Communion,) to the present state of the law, which enables the Roman Catholic clergy to refuse all the offices of their Church, and to act merely in the character of official witnesses of the marriage contract, in the case of all mixed marriages, while the Protestant ministers are inhibited from the performance of any religious ceremony whatever, in all cases of marriage where, one of the parties belonging to the Roman Communion, that Church has withheld her sanction. The consequence is, that as the idea of marriage by mere civil contract is abhorrent to the feelings of the people, Protestants, desirous to contract marriage with Roman Catholics, generally submit to the conditions which the priests attach to the religious celebration of it; which not only secures, in almost every instance, the baptism and education of the children in the Romish faith, but frequently leads to the ultimate apostasy of the Protestant party from his or her communion.

Movements in the Roman Catholic Church.—A movement has lately taken place in the northern districts of Bohemia, which has caused great alarm among the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church. The opinion is fast spreading among the laity of that communion, that a reform is needed, and the points principally insisted on are: - Communion in both kinds, abrogation of the compulsory celibate of priests, the use of the vulgar tongue in Divine service, the unrestricted circulation of the Bible, and the abolition of auricular confession. The fact that the parties who are foremost in this movement, disclaim all intention of separating themselves from the Church, and the titles of two tracts, extensively circulated by them, (one, "In the Name of the Triune God," the other, "Necessary and Wholesome Questions, with Brief Answers thereto from Holy Scripture,") clearly indicate, that this is not an outbreak of rationalism, but a truly religious movement. The Romish authorities have taken active measures to suppress it; and several persons have been arrested. What renders these transactions more important, is an almost simultaneous movement in the Tyrol, where a Romish priest of the Benedictine order, named Jäger, has declared open war against the Jesuits and their ultramontane doctrines, and has hitherto received, not only the warm support of public opinion, especially in the German part of the Tyrol, but also the countenance and protection of the local government. In the Italian parts of the Tyrol, the feelings of the people are much more favourable to the Jesuits, who there, as elsewhere, are making strenuous efforts to regain their former footing. Among other places they have lately returned to Venice, where, on the 31st of July last, being the feast of Ignatius Loyola, they took possession of their ancient house with great pomp and solemnity, and, according to the account of the Amico Cattolico di Milano, under the most lively demonstrations of joy and good-will on the part of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and of the people generally.

Belgium. - Popular movement against the Jesuits. - Even in this stronghold of Romanism, where the thirtieth anniversary of the return of Pope Pius VII, to his capital was celebrated with unusual pomp in May last, and where a prayer, compiled by the Episcopate for the reconciliation of England to the see of Rome, has just been published, indications are not wanting of the inwardly tottering condition of the Roman Church. For several days during the month of September the town of Verviers has been in a state of agitation bordering on riot, in consequence of the cry, " à bas les Jésuites," raised by the liberal party. The immediate occasion for the outbreak was afforded by a decision of the Municipal Council to commit the charge of an orphan asylum in the town to three of the fraternity, called Frères de la Doctrine Chrétienne. This caused a demonstration, apparently of the freethinking part of the community; and exaggerated reports as to the number of Jesuits expected, and the imposition of new taxes to defray the expenses of their establishments, having been circulated, a commotion ensued, which the local authorities seem to have favoured. proclamation was issued, assuring the populace that no Jesuits would be permitted to settle in the town, and peace was restored. The acts of the town magistrates being, however, in open contradiction to the Belgian constitution, which secures perfect freedom to all religious persuasions and communities, a royal ordinance has since been published annulling their proceedings. It is stated that the feeling manifested in Verviers is spreading further, and from the violence displayed on both sides, it is very improbable that matters will be allowed to rest as they are. The Romish party have for some time past taken active measures for arresting the spread of Protestant doctrines among the lower classes, and, in one instance, a number of workmen have been discharged from a colliery, simply on the ground of their having placed themselves under the instruction of Protestant missionaries, and refused to return into the bosom of the Romish Church. It is a singular fact, that here too, as elsewhere, the language of the people seems to have a connexion with their religious predilections. The use of the Flemish language in all public proceedings having lately been advocated by a numerous and increasing party, the ultramontane press denounces the proposal as an insidious attempt to promote the interests of Protestantism.

China.—Toleration of Christianity.—Accounts from Trieste state that an imperial edict has been published, which strictly enjoins the Mandarins to abstain, for the future, from all measures of persecution against Christian Missionaries.

Denmark.—Encouragement of the Clerical profession.—With a view to stimulate young candidates for the ministry to greater exertion in the prosecution of their studies, a foundation has been established in the University of Kiel, under the title of Stipendium Harmsianum, in honour of the celebrated Dr. Cl. Harms. The necessary funds having been collected by private subscription, have been vested in certain trustees,

who are from year to year to make grants of not less than 320, nor exceeding 640 rix-dollars, to young divines of distinguished qualifications and limited means, for the purpose of enabling them either to prolong their academic career, or to extend their theological knowledge by travel. Another measure has recently been determined on, which has for its object to raise the character of the Danish missionaries in Greenland. Hitherto the men employed on this service were all of the lowest grade of proficiency; they had to engage themselves for sixteen years, the first six of which they were not permitted to marry; their annual stipend amounting to 300 rix-dollars (about 70l.) with board and lodging. In future, the engagement is to be obligatory for eight years only, the stipend is to be doubled, and no restriction is to be imposed upon them as to marriage. By this means it is hoped that a superior class of men will be obtained for the colonial service.

FRANCE.—The Diocesan Seminaries.—The conflict which has arisen between the Church and the University on the subject of education, appears to have directed the attention of the French Bishops to their own clerical training institutions, and will thus probably produce a happy effect upon the rising generation of the French clergy. The newlyconsecrated Bishop of Gap has made it one of the first acts of his administration, on entering upon his diocese, to reform both the grand and the petit Séminaire, and has, in a circular letter to his clergy, explained his views on the subject. He will not, he says, relax his efforts "until he shall see clerical education pushed to such a height, that the competition of their opponents shall be forced to confess itself vanquished;" and for this purpose he proposes not only to carry the present studies to a higher point of proficiency, but to extend the sphere of those studies, and to make them adequate to the wants of the age. In the same spirit the Bishop of Evreux has himself taken the professorship of Scripture and Canon law in the grand Séminaire of his diocese, and has instituted a weekly assembly of the students, over which he presides in person, and at which they are called upon, at a few moments' notice, to discourse upon a given subject, with a view to give them facility in extemporaneous preaching. The Bishop of Rodez has in his seminary erected a chair of agriculture, for the purpose of qualifying the priests to aid their parishioners with their counsel, in the cultivation Among the Séminaires which take the lead in extending their operations, that of Aire, in the diocese of Arras, merits attention, as there is a plan on foot to make it a training establishment for Scotch Romanists. Four young Scotchmen, destined for the priesthood, were lately conveyed to it by the "Vicar Apostolic" of Glasgow.

The increase of Religious Congregations.—The municipal authorities of several places, among them those of Paris, have taken umbrage at the recent establishment of numerous congregations of religionists, especially of females, under a variety of names, and for a variety of objects, chiefly of a charitable nature; and have accordingly passed votes of censure, and ordered measures to be taken for superintending,

and, if necessary, suppressing them. In defence of these associations, particularly that of the Ursuline nuns, the Archbishop of Paris has

addressed an apologetic epistle to the municipal council.

Traffic in Holy things.—A curious kind of speculation in masses for the dead has lately been brought to light in the Journal des Débats. It appears that the clerical editors of a theological work, entitled Cours Complets, buy up masses in every direction, i. e. take the cash for them in Paris, and then get the masses read by priests in the country, who being too poor to purchase the Cours Complets, pay for the books in this This nefarious method of trafficking in the repose of departed souls, has been discovered by means of a letter, which seems to have fallen into wrong hands, and in which the Paris editors transmit to a clergyman at Troyes, along with fifty volumes of the Cours Complets, value 250 francs, the sum of 100 masses at 75 centimes, and 175 masses at one franc each, total 250 francs; which masses they say, "we accord you ipso facto, ad intentionem dantium, commencing with those who are most pressed before God." The Ami de la Religion acknowledges the highly censurable character of the transaction, and endeavours to exonerate the Church from the blame of it, by referring to a prohibition against this kind of traffic, issued by the late Archbishop, M. De Quelen. The fact itself, however, remains undeniable; and has been brought still more prominently under the notice of the public, in consequence of a prosecution lately instituted before the Court of Assizes at Reims, against the printers and publishers of some Protestant controversial tracts, two of which were entitled La Religion d'Argent, and Encore la Religion d'Argent. In the course of the proceedings, which terminated in the acquittal of the accused, the counsel for the defendants took occasion to adduce various proofs that the Church of Rome laid herself open to the accusations brought against her in the tracts. In addition to the above case, he mentioned the almost incredible, but well-authenticated profaneness of a lottery of masses for the dead. The tickets of this remarkable scheme run as follows:-" Lottery of charity for the completion of the chapel of a poor congregation at St. Flour. 50 centimes the ticket. -No. -- . The drawing will take place at the end of March, at St. Flour, in the Archiepiscopal palace." A printed notice accompanies the ticket, to the following effect:-"The Carmelites of St. Flour undertake on behalf of their benefactors: 1. To have every year six masses read, three for the living, and three for the dead. 2. To hold four general communions on the four principal feasts of the holy Virgin. 3. To have the benediction of the holy Sacrament twice performed. 4. To say prayers twice a day for the same purpose. whole in perpetuity." Another instance of the venality of the Romish Church was adduced upon the authority of the Bien Social, a journal conducted by the Abbé Clavel, Canon of the Cathedral of Sens, in which there appeared, last summer, a most severe attack upon the Archbishop of Paris, on account of the heavy fees demanded in his Chancery from the poor priests on all occasions; but especially on account of the annual impost of sixty-two francs for every license to read mass in a

private house. These licenses, it appears, are exceedingly numerous in Paris, and produce a handsome revenue; as well as the public collections in the Churches, and the numerous dispensations of all sorts,

which are to be had for money at the Archiepiscopal palace.

Spread of Protestantism.—A strong movement in opposition to the Roman Catholic Church, and in favour of Protestantism, is taking place in the dioceses of Verdun, Châlons, Limoges, Poitiers, La Rochelle, Bordeaux, and Fréius. In the last-named diocese, in which ten parishes have almost unanimously renounced Romanism, a Romish priest, the Abbé Roize, is among the converts, and takes an active part in preaching among his former parishioners. In the diocese of La Rochelle, the number of parishes which desire to be placed under Protestant pastors. is stated at twenty-five. In the diocese of Limoges, the principal agent in producing these changes is M. Roussel, a Protestant minister, who has established a congregation at Limoges, and brought the entire population of Villefavard over to Protestantism, and against whom a prosecution has been directed on account of "language injurious to a religion recognized by the State." In the diocese of Bordeaux, the proprietor of an estate, who, with a number of his servants and tenants, had separated himself from the Roman Church, procured the services of a Protestant minister from the nearest consistory, and had divine service periodically celebrated at his château; when the local authorities interfered, and being unable to prohibit the assembly altogether, affixed to the door a list of the names of twenty-six Protestants, declaring, at the same time, their intention to proceed against any one who, not being included in the list, should nevertheless attend divine service there. The affair has created a considerable sensation in the neighbourhood, and is to be brought before a superior tribunal. That Protestantism is, on the whole, progressing in France, is evident from a statistical statement made in the course of the debates in the Chambers during the last session. From this it appears, that at the close of the empire, in the year 1815, the number of Protestant ministers in France was 464; in the year 1830, it amounted to 527; and in the year 1843, to 677: the sum charged in the budget for their support was, under the empire, 306,000 francs; during the restoration it rose to 675,000 francs; and in the year 1843, it had reached the sum of 1,219,000 francs. The number of Protestant congregations without church or minister was stated at 111 at that time, but has probably much increased since.

Condition of the people.—Official accounts recently published give a melancholy account of the state of the French population. Pauperism and crime have increased enormously. Since 1790 the population has risen from twenty-five to thirty-four millions. At that period the number of paupers was three millions, or little more than one-eighth, it is now eight millions, or nearly one-fourth, of the entire population. The progress of crime is still more fearful, having increased at the rate of fifty-four per cent. in the short period from 1836 to 1842. In the former year, the number of convicts in the prisons of the provinces was 7100; in the latter year, 10,938. Juvenile delinquency increases at a

still higher ratio; the number of criminals under sixteen years of age being 313 in 1836; and 1289, more than four times that number, in 1842. The same returns exhibit the low state of popular education. Out of 14,732 persons committed in the year 1842, there were 7070 who could neither read nor write, and 226 only had received a superior education.

GERMANY.—Pastoral Conferences.—The German theological journals contain interesting accounts of pastoral conferences held during the course of the summer and autumn at Stettin and Trieglaff in Pomerania, at Ravensberg in Westphalia, at Gnadau in Prussian Saxony, at Schwäbisch Hall in Würtemberg, and at Göttingen. Besides the missionary question, which is always discussed in the first instance, these conferences having arisen out of the annual missionary meetings, the following practical subjects have been under consideration: - The means of increasing the efficiency of the pastoral office, such as domestic visits, prayer-meetings, the co-operation of the laity, &c.; the restoration of Church discipline, and the power of excommunication; the course to be pursued with regard to mixed marriages; the better observance of the Lord's Day; and the part to be taken by the clergy in the temperance movement. The last-named point came under discussion at most of the conferences, and opinions were much divided, but, on the whole, unfavourable to any participation in the movement by the clergy, partly from a dread of the self-righteous spirit likely to grow up in temperance associations, and partly from a feeling that, the Christian Church being, ipso facto, a temperance society, it seems derogatory to her character to separate the cause of temperance from her general spiritual discipline. At all the conferences, however, the discussion turned principally upon what may be called the questions of the day in the theological world of Protestant Germany. The recent outbreak of rationalism at Köthen was made the subject of animadversion, and the authority of Scripture as the absolute rule of faith was much insisted on. The consideration of the attitude which the Protestant Churches ought to assume in regard to the Roman Church, and of the best means of arresting the tide of her proselytism, led to the acknowledgment of the necessity of a more general and more accurate exposition of Christian doctrine, especially in catechetical instruction. The duty of the Church, in reference to the growing pauperism of the times, was fully canvassed, especially at the Ravensberg conference, and the proposal of reviving the diaconate as a spiritual office, by the side of the presbyterate (to which the ministerial office in Germany is confined), was strongly and ably urged. But the most engrossing subjects were the authority of the symbolical books, and the liturgical question. As regards the former, though the general tone of the debates was decidedly orthodox, yet no satisfactory result was arrived at. It was admitted that the symbolical books of the different Protestant communions were not free from errors, and thence it was argued, that subscription to them could not involve an obligation

to believe every thing contained in them, but only a promise to submit to the authority of the Church, and to teach nothing against them; or else, if a conscientious conviction should render this course impracticable, to withdraw from the ministry. The liturgical question has received quite a new impulse in consequence of the theses propounded by Professor Schmieder at the spring conference at Gnadau. which have excited universal attention, and become the subject of continued discussion in the journals and at the conferences. rationalistic party are of course altogether opposed to the views of Professor Schmieder; and among the more orthodox there are many who, while advocating the use of fixed liturgical forms as a safeguard against unsoundness, are, nevertheless, jealous of seeing the sermon, which, in their opinion, is the principal ingredient of public worship, thrown into the background by a preponderance of devotional forms and sacramental offices. One point appears to be very generally admitted, that the Liturgy, introduced into Prussia as the standard formulary of the Evangelic Union, has neither effected that unity of doctrine which was anticipated from its use, nor is it felt by any party to be a satisfactory form of worship. It is rather considered as an interim measure, which may operate beneficially during the present transition state of German Protestantism, and pave the way for something better.

Large Number of Clergy Widows.—The efforts lately made to establish associations for the support of widows of clergymen, have brought to light the singularly disproportionate number of these widows in Germany. In the Duchy of Brunswick, where out of 255 clergymen 223 are married, 18 single, and 14 widowers, there are no less than 100 clergymen's widows. This is attributed partly to the fact that the candidates for the ministerial office, having mostly attained the age of forty before they obtain a cure and are enabled to settle in life, generally marry persons much younger than themselves; and partly to the pre-

valence of second marriages among the clergy. The Protestant Church in Bavaria.—Notwithstanding occasional acts of personal liberality, such as grants for the erection of Protestant Churches and the like, on the part of the king of Bavaria towards his Protestant subjects, great dissatisfaction continues to prevail among the There are various grievances of which they complain, such as the difficulty of obtaining leave for the celebration of Protestant worship in new places, the obstruction of public liberality for the promotion of Protestant objects, the disadvantageous position in which Protestants are placed in all the questions arising out of mixed marriages, the encouragement which is given to Romish proselytism in various ways, and especially in the case of Protestant orphans during their minority: but the chief topic of complaint is the compulsory adoration of the host. The exemption of Protestant soldiers from attendance at Roman Catholic worship on ordinary occasions, decreed by a royal ordinance of the 28th of March last, has but partially remedied the evil, as in all cases when the soldiery are marched out for public parade or the preservation of order, the kneeling of Protestant soldiers at the passing or elevation of the host is still enforced. The ordinance in question was probably the

result of an address from the Chamber of Deputies, which was carried after a long and animated debate. That debate, however, bore other and less peaceable fruit, in the shape of a smart controversy between Professor Döllinger of Munich, the editor of Möhler's Essays, and Professor Harless of Erlangen, one of the deputies and leading speakers on the question in the Chamber. Professor Thiersch of Munich, the celebrated philologist, has also entered the lists on behalf of the Protestant Church; to say nothing of a host of writers of lesser note, who have exercised their pens on the occasion. This controversy, and the severity of the sentence pronounced against Pastor Redenbacher, who, though not incarcerated while his appeal is pending, continues yet under suspension, tended to produce considerable excitement among the Protestants, which has at last found a vent by the assembling of the General Synods of the Protestant Church in Bavaria Proper, at Baircuth in August, and at Anspach in September last. The irritation was increased by an apprehension, that attempts would be made to interfere with the freedom of discussion in the Synods, in consequence of which several deputies were instructed by their constituents to leave the assembly, if they found such to be the case. The royal commissioners on their part used every effort to turn the question aside, and would not allow any petition addressed to the Synods to be taken into consideration without their previous approbation. Sixty-three petitions, addressed to the Synod of Anspach, were thus suppressed by an act of arbitrary power. The result is, that the latter Synod, before separating, addressed to the king of Bavaria a respectful but firm and spirited remonstrance 1, claiming for the Protestants of Bavaria the free exercise of their constitutional rights. The reception which this address will meet with at the hands of the king and his government, is a matter of considerable interest and anxiety, not in Bavaria only, but generally throughout Germany; as it will have great weight in determining the attitude, in which Romanism and Protestantism will hereafter stand towards each other in that country.

The Roman Catholic Church and the Jews.—If the Protestants of Bavaria have reason to complain of the encroachments of a Romanist government, no such charge can certainly be brought by the Jewish community. To them the Bavarian authorities in Church and State show the most singular favour. On a vacancy occurring lately in the office of Chief Rabbi at Aschaffenburg, it was officially signified as "His Majesty's pleasure that no candidates should be admitted to the office, except such as adhered faithfully to the genuine Mosaic doctrines and ceremonial statutes." A still more curious specimen of Roman Catholic patronage to Judaism, is a visit lately paid to a Jewish synagogue by the Bishop of Spires. Having been received, during the late visitation of his diocese, in a most flattering manner by the civil authorities of Ingenheim, the population of which consists of Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Israelites, the Bishop returned the compliment, not

¹ This document is given in full in the Churchman's Newspaper of Dec. 10, and is well worth an attentive perusal.

only by expressing his gratification at the good understanding which he saw subsisting between those different communions, but by proceeding, after the close of the service at the Romish Church, in state to the synagogue. The place was splendidly lighted up, the Bishop was welcomed at the door by the Chief Rabbi in a complimentary speech, and on his entrance the words "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord; we have blessed you out of the house of the Lord," (Ps. cxviii. 26) were chanted in Hebrew. This act of mingled profaneness and liberalism was responded to by an allocution from the Bishop, in which, after bestowing appropriate praise upon the beauties of Hebrew poetry, he eulogized the Jewish liturgy, exhorted the children of the Jewish school to cleave to the religion of their fathers, and again expressed his delight at the brotherly harmony which reigned between the members of the most opposite religious communities.

General Rabbinical Synod.—One of the most interesting phenomena of this eventful year, is the convention of a General Synod of Jewish Rabbins in Germany, which it is intended to convene annually, inviting to its sittings Rabbins from all parts of the world, and at which a large number of French Rabbins are expected to be present next year. The first impulse to this extraordinary movement was given by Dr. Philippson, Chief Rabbi of Magdeburg, and editor of the Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums, who suggested it in that paper at the beginning of the year, inviting communications on the subject. sufficient number of Rabbins having intimated their approbation of the plan, arrangements were made for holding the first synod at Brunswick, where it was accordingly opened on the 12th of June, and continued to sit till the 19th. The synod was opened by Dr. Herzfeld, the Chief Rabbi of Brunswick. The first words spoken in the assembly were the following words of prayer: "O God, Thou Holy One of Israel, to Thee first do I offer the thanksgiving of a heart deeply moved, for that Thou hast granted me to live to see the long and ardently cherished desire of my soul accomplished. Verily with mine eyes I behold an assembly of our wise men, לרעת מה יעשה ישראל, asking itself, 'What shall Israel do?' But it is not from human wisdom that the answer to this question must proceed, but from Thy Spirit, Thou God of spirits. The word which Thou shalt put into their mouth, that word shall they speak. When two are sitting together discoursing of the divine doctrine, שכינה שרויה ביניהם Thy seat is between them, for it is written: 'They that fear the Lord, speak one to another, and the Lord heareth it, and writeth it in a book of remembrance . Here are standing, looking up to Thee, bearing Thee in their hearts, so many Heads of Israel, gathered together from far countries, to labour for Thy kingdom in the midst of us; and Thou dost not disdain to found it and to uphold it by the feeble hand of man. Be Thou therefore with them, O God of our fathers, and cause Thou to descend upon them

4 Mal. iii. 16.

^{2 &}quot;To know what Israel shall do." We give these passages as they were pronounced in Hebrew, in the original prayer.

^{3 &}quot;The Shechinah, or Divine Presence, dwelleth between them."

לרות חכמה ובינה רות עצה וגבורה רות דעת ויראת ה⁵, the spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the spirit of counsel and of might, the spirit of Thy knowledge and of Thy fear, that men may know, that Thou hast not departed from Israel, even as Thou hast promised that Thy word shall not depart out of his mouth, nor out of the mouth of his children and children's children, for ever and ever. Thy word never falls idly to the ground, let it be fulfilled upon us. Amen."

After this prayer, Dr. Herzfeld opened the synod with a brief speech. The business consisted necessarily, in the first instance, in the choice of officers and the drawing up of statutes. A proposal to hold the sittings with closed doors was rejected by a majority of eighteen against four; but although the public are to be freely admitted, none but rabbins, vicerabbins, and authorized preachers of the synagogue will have a right to speak or vote, even candidates for the ministry being excluded from any active participation in the deliberations. The object of these annual synods was thus defined: "to take counsel together as to the best means of preserving and developing Judaism, and quickening the religious sense of the nation." The statutes being settled, the synod proceeded to the discussion of several questions touching the Jewish oath, the liturgy of the synagogue, and the relation of the Jewish community to the civil power of the several countries in which it is settled. In reference to the last-named point, the synod adopted with slight modifications the answers given by the great Sanhedrin assembled at Paris, to the twelve questions proposed to it by Napoleon in the year 1809. The sum of these answers is: 1. polygamy is not permitted to the Jews; 2. divorce is lawful according to the Jewish law; but reference must be had to the matrimonial laws of the states to which the Jews may be subject; 3. the marriage of a Jew with a woman professing the Christian or any other monotheistic religion, is not forbidden, provided the laws of the state permit the education of the children in the religion of Israel; 4. the Jews acknowledge the people among whom they dwell, as their brethren; 5. their social obligations towards that people are the same as towards one another; 6. the Jews acknowledge the land in which they are born and settled, as their fatherland, and own allegiance to its laws; 7. the mode of electing rabbins is not determined, unless it should be determined by the law of the country; 8. the rabbins have no power or jurisdiction over the Jews, except such as the state and the community may accord them; 9. where there are no laws on the subject, their authority rests entirely on custom; 10. no kind of trade is forbidden to the Jews by their law; 11 and 12. usury is unlawful and disgraceful, whether practised towards Jews, or towards persons of another nation.

The most interesting feature, however, of the whole proceeding was the nomination of committees for preparing the following subjects for discussion in the ensuing year: 1. A complete revision of the Jewish law of marriage; 2. A reform of the liturgy at present in use in the synagogue; under which head two important questions will arise,

⁵ Is. xi. 2, rendered literally in the prayer itself.

whether the vulgar tongue should be substituted for the Hebrew in divine service, and whether the doctrine of the Messiah should be retained in the prayers: 3. Regulations as to the observance of the Sabbath; 4. The establishment of a system of registration in connexion with the rite of circumcision.

From the statements of Dr. Philippson in the Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums, it appears that the old orthodox and conservative party was not represented in the synod; a small minority belonged to the party which is not indisposed for reform, as far as it is possible consistently with talmudistic orthodoxy; the great majority belonged to the movement party, which, starting away from all rabbinical traditions, proceeds upon theoretical grounds, a kind of Judaic rationalism; the first-named, or old orthodox party, has already manifested strong opposition to these synods, but the reply made to them is, that they ought to give their attendance, and so counterbalance adverse tendencies. Whether they will do so, time will show.

Restoration of the Cathedral of Constance.—Measures are in progress for the restoration of this cathedral, celebrated in history as the scene of the Council of Constance, which, while it received the abdication of one, and decreed the deposition of two popes, lighted up the first flame of the reformation in Germany, by the condemnation and death of John Huss.

Holland.—Religious Statistics.—The last census gives the population of the kingdom of the Netherlands at 2,860,450. Of this number 1,701,275 are Protestants, divided into 1453 parishes; the number of Roman Catholics amounts to 1,100,616; the rest being dissenters of various classes, and Jews.

India.—The Bishop of Madras and the Romish Mission.—A complaint having been brought before the Government of Madras by Dr. Fennelly, the head of the Romish mission, against one of the hospital chaplains, for alleged unwarrantable attacks upon the peculiar opinions of the Roman Catholic patients, accompanied by a request that the hospital chaplains may be authoritatively limited "to the preaching of what is more suited to hospital patients, a good moral discourse," the Bishop has addressed a circular to the chaplains of his diocese, in which, while he deprecates controversial preaching in hospitals, he exhorts them to persevere in a faithful declaration of "the grand saving truths of the Gospel," and not to preach "any thing any where, and more especially at a death-bed, but Jesus Christ and Him crucified, the Way, the Truth, the Resurrection, and the Life."

Missions supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

—The Bishop of Madras has addressed a pastoral letter to the missionary clergy maintained in his diocese by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in which, pleading the noble efforts lately made by that ancient Society, he calls upon the clergy to redouble their zeal, to retrench unnecessary expenses connected with the mission, to act themselves in a self-denying spirit, and to require a faithful performance

of their duty on the part of the Society's agents placed under their directions. Lastly, he urges upon them the necessity of local appeals in furtherance of their work, so as to diminish the demands now made upon the funds of the Society at home.

PRUSSIA.—Lying Wonders of Relic Worship.—The town of Trèves, in Rhenish Prussia, has lately been the scene of an exhibition more incredibly disgraceful to the Romish Church, and more indicative of her determination to revive the worst superstitions and abuses of her mediæval system, than could well have been imagined. After considerable preparation and previous announcements in the public prints, Dr. Arnold, the Bishop of Trèves, proceeded on the 10th of August, being the feast of St. Helena, to expose publicly in the cathedral a relic, said to be the seamless coat of our Lord, on which the soldiers cast lots 6, in the presence of all the clergy of the cathedral and town, the civil and military authorities, the college, the schools, and the trades, who all attended the ceremony in procession with flags and banners. On the following day, the soldiers of the garrison, with their officers (many of them Protestants) at their head, were marshalled in the cathedral to pay their devotion. After this the exhibition was thrown open to the faithful generally, the time of admission being limited for those of the diocese, to four weeks, while those of other dioceses were admitted until

6 The story is, that this coat was sold by the soldier to whose lot it fell, to the disciples of Christ, and secretly preserved in some Christian family during the first three centuries of persecution; that the Empress Helena got possession of it at the same time with the true cross, the nails of the passion, and other relics, and presented it to St. Agricius, whom she sent as bishop to Trèves in the year 327. There it remained shut up within an altar, until it was discovered in the year 1196, by Archbishop Felix, who for the first time exhibited it publicly. The only evidence for all this is a life of St. Agricius, written about the time of this discovery. It then remained locked up again till the 16th century, in the course of which it was shown no less than seven times; in the following century it was exhibited but once, in 1655, at the close of the thirty years' war, when it attracted an immense concourse of pilgrims. It was again made a show of twice in the 18th century, not, however, till one of its guardians, an elector of Trèves, had, in the year 1715, "to the great offence of the Son of God," expressed a strong doubt of its genuineness. During the revolutionary wars, it was taken for safety into the interior of Germany, but restored in the year 1810, when the last public exhibition of it took place. So far the chroniclers of the Sainte Robe at Trèves. But, unfortunately for this story, there are several rival relics of the same kind: one in the church of St. John Lateran, at Rome; one at San Salvador in Spain; one, which was formerly in the cathedral of Bremen, in the monastery of Loccum, in the diocese of Minden; one at Thiers, in Auvergne; and one more, the most celebrated of all, and the most dangerous rival of the one at Trèves, in the church, formerly the priory, of Argenteuil, near Paris. This last-named "holy garment" was exhibited there with great pomp in August last, and deposited in a splendid new chest manufactured for the purpose. The historiographer of the Sainte Robe of Argenteuil hesitates not to affirm, that the garment at Trèves cannot at any rate be the seamless coat on which the soldiers cast lots, because that is, without the shadow of a doubt, at Argenteuil. He admits that it might have been an outer garment worn over it; but thinks it far more probable that it is the pontifical robe of St. James, the first bishop of Jerusalem. The curious in such matters will find abundant information on the subject in the Histoire de la Robe de notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ, published at Metz; and in La Sainte Robe de notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ, recherches religieuses et historiques sur cette relique et sur le pélerinage d'Argenteuil, par M. L. F. Guérin, published at Paris, both in the course of the present year.

the 6th of October, on which day the exhibition finally closed. From the very first, crowds of pilgrims began to pour into Trèves, the number of those who visited it during the seven weeks, being variously estimated from 300,000 to 2,000,000. The descriptions given of the different processions passing through the towns on the road, and arriving day after day at Trèves, carry the reader back to the Middle Ages; the only circumstance to remind him that the scene is laid in the nineteenth century, is the arrival of some of them by the steamboats which ply on the Moselle. The pilgrims arrived mostly in large bodies, of several hundreds and even thousands, marching in processions. some parochial, others diocesan, the clergy at their head, with crucifixes and banners, chanting hymns in honour of the Passion, and of the Virgin Mary. Some of them were several days on their journey, coming from places no less than 200 miles distant; these had waggons in their train, to relieve the feebler pilgrims on the march. Particularly distinguished were, the procession from Sarre-Louis, which consisted of three hundred young girls dressed in white, preceded by a band of music, and followed by a large body of miners; the procession from Gunsdorf, whose members all carried lighted wax-tapers, in commemoration of a large body of pilgrims from the same place, who were drowned on their way to Trèves in the year 1720; and the processions from eleven dioceses whose bishops, with a large body of cathedral and diocesan clergy, placed themselves at their head. Among these were the bishops of Spires, and of Münster, the coadjutor of Cologne, the bishops of Metz, Nancy, and Verdun, and the vicars apostolic of Luxemburg and Amsterdam. On their arrival in Trèves, these bodies were met by processions, formed by the cathedral and parochial clergy, attended by young girls in white, with garlands and wreaths of flowers; and as each body of pilgrims entered the nave of the cathedral, they struck up the chants composed for the occasion. This continued incessantly for seven weeks, the cathedral being opened at five in the morning, and closed at eight, sometimes as late as ten, at night, Before the relic stood a capacious basin, to receive the offerings of the pilgrims, which, notwithstanding the poverty of a great number of them, belonging to the lowest grade of society, amounted to the sum of 500,000 This amount was to be divided between the treasury of the cathedral, the town of Trèves, and the fund for the completion of the cathedral of Cologne. The citizens of Trèves too, had their private share in the spoil; all the shops of the town were converted into shops for the sale of rosaries, medallions, and prints of the holy garment on paper and on satin, for which latter purpose bales of satin had to be sent for from Paris; these objects were taken to the cathedral by the pilgrims, and brought into contact with the relic as they passed before All the houses of the town were converted into lodging-houses, the streets and squares into places of refreshment; the small town, which contains about 16,000 inhabitants, accommodating from day to day about double that number of pilgrims. It is asserted that many Protestants joined in the processions; among them men of high rank

and public station. Nor is this at all improbable, considering the official countenance given to the whole affair by the Prussian government. Not only was there at the opening of the exhibition, and during the whole course of it, a great display of public functionaries in attendance upon the ceremony, but when the relic was replaced in the triple iron-chest from which it had been taken, together with a record of the whole proceedings, for the purpose of being immured again in the wall of the cathedral, there were among the sixteen seals affixed to it, those of the government officers, as well as those of the town, the bishop, the chapter, and other authorities concerned; thus handing down to posterity this monstrous imposture, with the seal of a Protestant

government literally set upon it.

The éclat of the whole transaction was greatly increased by the alleged miraculous cure (among other miracles of minor note) of the young Countess Johanna von Droste-Vischering, great-niece of the suspended Archbishop of Cologne, and niece of the Bishop of Münster. This young lady, who is nineteen years of age, had been suffering for the last three or four years from a paralytic affection in her left leg, for which, among many other fruitless remedies, she had used the baths of Kreuznach for two years. In compliance with her ardent desire, so says the legend, she was brought, in a coach, from Kreuznach to Trèves, where she arrived on Friday the 30th of August, and having made her way with great difficulty upon crutches up the cathedral, remained a considerable time in silent prayer before the relic; when, having thrice touched it, she suddenly felt her palsied limb restored, and after giving vent to her feelings by a flood of tears, and casting all her jewels, and whatever of value she had about her, into the offertory basin, left the Cathedral, leaning on the arm of her grandmother, a servant carrying her crutches after her. This scene took place in the presence of an immense multitude, collected in the Cathedral at the time, many of whom have since attested the fact on oath before the public authorities. On the following day she returned, and deposited her crutches on one of the altars of the Church, and having once more paid her adoration to the holy garment, quitted Trèves for her residence at Münster. Thus far the legend. A report, however, soon got into circulation, that the young Countess had had a relapse, and was a greater sufferer than before, from the effect of the excitement she had undergone, and the efforts she had made, on the occasion; and the public prints contain advices from Kreuznach, according to which she has resumed the use of the baths there, and been provided, by her medical attendants, with a new pair of crutches. In reply to these statements a letter has been addressed to the journals by her uncle, the Baron of Landsberg-Velen, in which, however, he does not commit himself farther than to affirm, that "she still has the use of her leg, as much as she had it on the day when she quitted Trèves." Whatever may be the true solution of this miraculous tale, the most lucid comment upon it is, probably, that made by the Ami de la Religion, who describes it as "a new ray of glory in the already splendid crown of that confessor of the faith, the excellent Archbishop of Cologne."

How far the whole exhibition will answer the object which its promoters had in view, remains to be seen. Indications have already appeared, which render it far from improbable, that it may produce a reaction. Several of the parish priests of the diocese of Trèves itself openly discountenanced it, and positively refused to accompany their flocks on this pilgrimage. The better portion of the Roman Catholic clergy speak of it with regret, and even with disgust; and a priest in Silesia, named John Ronge 7, has, in the public prints, addressed to the Bishop of Trèves a remonstrance couched in terms of great severity and not unjust indignation. After recounting the various objections to the adoration of relics, which the Holy Scriptures and the past history of the Church furnish, and with which, he tells Dr. Arnold, that he, as a Christian Bishop, ought to be acquainted, he thus continues: "And yet, even supposing you did not know all this, supposing you had, in this exhibition of the holy tunic, nothing in view but the weal of Christendom, you would still have two sins upon your conscience, of which you could not purge yourself. First, it is unpardonable in you, if the garment in question really possesses a supernatural virtue, to have deprived suffering humanity of such a benefit until the year 1844. And secondly, it is unpardonable in you to have received the offerings of those thousands of pilgrims. How can you, as a Bishop, justify your taking money from the starving poverty of our people? Have you not seen, but a few years ago, wretched crowds pushed by want to riot and a desperate death? Be not deceived by the concourse of hundreds of thousands, but believe me, that while hundreds of thousands of German pilgrims, full of-devotion, shall I call it?-march upon Trèves, millions more groan with irritation and bitterness at the indignity of such a spectacle. This irritation exists not only in this or that class, in this or that party, it exists everywhere and in all, even in the very heart of the Catholic Clergy; and the judgment will come more quickly than you think. History, which has already taken up her graver, hands over your name, Arnold, to the contempt of the present and of future ages, and stigmatizes you as the Tetzel of the nineteenth century.

"And you, my countrymen, whether you dwell near Trèves, or far from it, unite your efforts to prevent such an insult being any longer offered to the German name. You have influence of various kinds; use it all for the purpose of finally breaking the tyrannical yoke of the Romish hierarchy. For it is not at Trèves only, that the modern traffic in indulgences is carried on; you know it well, that east and west, north and south, rosaries, masses, birth, and death, are made objects of speculation, and the spirit of darkness gains ground more and more. Up then, both Catholics and Protestants! our honour, our liberty, our welfare, are at stake. Are not the shades of your ancestors

⁷ It is true, that Mr. Ronge was suspended from his functions at the beginning of last year; but, according to the testimony of his opponents themselves, the only charge brought against him, was a leaning towards Protestant opinions. The latest advices state that Mr. Ronge, having been called upon to retract his letter to the Bishop of Trèves, and having refused to do so, has been degraded from the priesthood, and excommunicated, by the chapter of Breslau.

who overthrew the capitol, trembling with anger to see the castle of St. Angelo lord it over Germany? Suffer not the laurels of such men as Huss, Hutten, and Luther to be basely stained. Give you expression to their thoughts, turn their wishes into deeds.

"Lastly, you my brethren in office, who really wish and seek the good of your parishes, the honour, liberty, and welfare of the German people; be silent no longer. You would be traitors to religion, traitors to your fatherland, traitors to your holy calling, if you yet remained mute, if you hesitated any longer to give utterance to your most cherished convictions. Approve yourselves the true successors of Him who sacrificed all for truth, for light, for freedom; show that you have inherited, not his coat, but his Spirit."

Russia.—The Roman Catholic Church in Russian Poland.—It is becoming more and more evident, that there is a settled determination in the mind of the Russian Autocrat, gradually to demolish the Roman Catholic establishment in the western provinces of his empire, and to substitute the Græco-Russian Church in its place. Greek Churches are being erected in all the more important towns; in some instances the Romish clergy are compelled to share their churches with those of the Greek rite, or have them altogether taken away. Intimidation, or actual force, is employed against the more active clergy, and other organs, of the Romish communion; an instance of which occurred lately in the deportation of the Sisters of Charity from Wilna to the Prussian frontier. The bishopricks and other high offices of the Roman Catholic Church are filled up with men devoted to the Russian Government, and favourable to the accomplishment of its plans. The late confiscation of the church property of Poland, whereby all the clergy were made dependent upon the state for their support, affords great facilities for the execution of these projects. The influence of the papal court is altogether unavailing to arrest them. It may retain its hold over the minds of some of the older prelates, as in the case of the Bishop of Chelm, who, in a pastoral letter of the 1st of March last, recalled, with many expressions of repentance, his ordinance of the 12th of August, 1841, (in which he had enjoined conformity to the Greek rite,) and expressed his determination to continue in allegiance to the Roman see. Or it may refuse, as it has recently done in the case of the bishop elect of Kalish, canonical institution to the prelates nominated by the emperor. But all these attempts invariably end in the defeat of papal authority by the strong arm of Russian despotism; and as the great mass of the population in Poland is in a state of profound ignorance and abject servility, it is difficult to see what is to prevent, in the course of another generation or two, the utter extirpation of the Romish Church in that country.

Sweden.—Position of the Lutheran Church.—The recent debates in the Swedish diet indicate an unfavourable state of feeling on the part of some of the people towards the hierarchy of the Swedish Church. In the two lower chambers, the representatives of the burghers and the peasants, it was proposed to abolish all the bishopricks throughout the

kingdom, with the exception of the two sees of Upsala and Lund, to which universities are annexed. The consistory of Stockholm has caused proceedings to be instituted against Mr. Studach, the vicar apostolic of the Romish mission in Sweden; the grounds of accusation against him being, not only that he received the abjuration of the painter Nilsson, but that he has lately published a Roman Catholic Catechism, a Prayer-book, and an explanation of the Gospels, in the Swedish language. The consistory has also endeavoured to obtain from the diet a law to oblige the Romish clergy in Sweden to render to this consistory an account, retrospectively for ten years, and hereafter from year to year, of the state of their flocks, and of the persons who have embraced, or might hereafter desire to embrace, their creed. This design, however, was entertained only in the clerical chamber; in the three other chambers, of the nobility, the burghers, and peasants, it was unanimously rejected. Mr. Studach has published a pamphlet in which he pleads, as Romanists are wont to do, whenever they are in the minority or under a disadvantage, for equality of rights and absolute freedom of conscience.

SWITZERLAND.—Increased irritation between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants.—The spirit of hostility, in which for some time past the Roman Catholics and the Protestants of Switzerland have regarded each other, is daily gathering strength; in some instances open riot and bloodshed have ensued, and quite recently the troops of the four cantons of Lucerne, of Berne, of Zürich, and of Freiburg, have been called out, in the expectation that the disorders, which had broken out in the canton of Lucerne, would require the interference of the military from other cantons. On both sides numerous grievances are alleged, and incident upon incident occurs to add fuel to the flame. The principal grievance of the Protestants, and that which appears to have had the largest share in producing the present troubles, is the project, entertained by the ecclesiastical authorities in several cantons in which the Roman Catholics preponderate, to call in the Jesuits, and commit to them the charge of public education. The Bishop of Coire has intimated his intention of doing this, as far as the Roman Catholic population of the Grisons is concerned, in consequence of the differences which have arisen between him and the cantonal government. In the Great Council of the canton of Lucerne the introduction of the Jesuits, for the purpose of placing the schools under their charge, was determined on by a majority of seventy votes against twenty-four. Considering the federal importance of the canton of Lucerne, and the fact that it is a German canton, situated in the very heart of Switzerland, this decision has spread great alarm among the Protestants. In the general Diet a proposal was made by the representative of the canton of Aargau, for the intervention of the federal legislature, with a view to the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Swiss territory; but this proposal was lost, as had been expected, by a large majority, on the ground of its trenching upon the sovereign rights of the different cantons. It cannot be Ll VOL. II.—NO. IV.—DEC. 1844.

denied, that where the Jesuits have already gained a firm footing, as at Freiburg and in the Valais, the exercise of their influence has been such as to warrant the apprehensions entertained respecting their designs, not by Protestants only, but by many Roman Catholics. In the last-named canton, they so far prevailed in the deliberations of the Great Council, consequent upon the riots which took place last summer in the lower Valais, as to prohibit entirely the celebration of Protestant worship, even in private houses. The article of the new cantonal constitution bearing upon this point, originally stood thus: "La religion catholique, apostolique, et romaine, est la religion de l'état, elle seule a un culte public." The word "public" was subsequently expunged, and the Protestants of the canton, to the number of about 300, thus deprived

of the right of worship.

To these great grievances other minor causes of excitement have been added. In the valley of the Rhine below Coire there is a Protestant village, named Felsberg, which has for some time been threatened with destruction by the expected fall of a part of Mount Calanda, and the cantonal government had made arrangements for the transfer of its inhabitants to the village of Ems, on the opposite side of the valley. The population of Ems, however, which consists wholly of Roman Catholics, refused to receive them, because they did not wish to convert their parish into one of mixed confession; which is represented by the Protestants as a monstrous act of inhumanity. Another cause of great public irritation is the case of Dr. Fred. Hurter, who had for many years presided over the Protestant consistory of Schaffhausen, and who, having last summer abjured Protestantism at Rome, is giving great offence by his publications on the subject of his change of reli-Among the stories with which the papers are filled, one which has produced a great sensation, is the mysterious disappearance of Frère Gaillard from Geneva. This person, one of the brotherhood of the Frères de la doctrine Chrétienne, being stationed at Geneva, abjured the Romish faith, under the influence of the Protestant pastors of that place, and shortly after disappeared. The Roman Catholic vicar at Geneva has published a statement to the effect, that having repented of his apostasy, he went by his advice to the Archbishop of Chambery for the purpose of being reconciled to his Church, and that from thence he returned to his native place Lyons, where he is said to be residing. The Protestant prints challenge the correctness of this story, which, they say, it would be easy to prove, if it were true, and give another version of the transaction, according to which Frère Gaillard was carried off by main force to Turin, and thence to the prisons of the inquisition at Rome.

While these and similar complaints are preferred by the Protestant party, the Romanists have their grievances too. Among them are, the continued refusal of the Diet to interfere for the restoration of the confiscated monasteries in the canton of Aargau; the spoliation of the see of Coire by the cantonal government, which, on the bishop's refusal to join in a scheme of mixed education, took forcible possession of the convent of St. Lucia, which forms part of the property of the see, and converted it into a cantonal college; the attempt of the Protest-

ant government of Berne, to impose a board of Protestant examiners upon the Roman Catholic school of Porrentruy; and above all, the forcible expulsion from Geneva of the Roman Catholic curé, Mons. Marilley, in consequence of a dispute which arose on the last vacancy, respecting the right of nomination, between the cantonal government and the Bishop of Lausanne (resident at Freiburg), who presented and instituted Mons. Marilley. So much do the Roman Catholics consider themselves the aggrieved party, that the bishops have joined in a strong remonstrance to the Diet, on the subject of the injustice and oppression committed against their Church in different parts of the country.

Meanwhile there can be no doubt, that the Roman Church is really gaining ground in Switzerland. No opportunity is lost to assert her rights, and to make those who attack her, repent their temerity. libellous pamphlet having appeared at Berne, under the title, "Bull of excommunication of His Holiness Gregory XVI. against Young Switzerland in the Canton de Valais," the papal nuncio demanded satisfaction, and the authors were visited with fine and imprisonment. The civil authorities of the canton of Soleure having interfered in the nomination of two canons to the cathedral, the canons elect were at once interdicted and forced to relinquish their stalls. Romish churches. aided by foreign funds, are springing up everywhere, even in the strongholds of Protestantism. A new church was lately consecrated by the Bishop of Lausanne, at Morges, in the Protestant Canton de Vaud, on which occasion a petition, signed by eighty-five Protestants, was presented to him, soliciting his intercession with the Bishop of Sion, to procure toleration for the Protestants of the Valais. At Zurich too, the Roman Catholic worship has, after an interval of three centuries, been restored on the 21st of October last, by the reconsecration of the ancient Church of St. Augustine in that city, by the Bishop of Coire. The church was fitted up in a most costly manner, the kings of France and of Bavaria being among the contributors to the fund raised for this purpose; and a large concourse of people attended the ceremony.

A still more striking proof of the increase of Roman ascendancy is the recent erection of the ancient abbey of St. Gall into a new episcopal see. The population of the canton consisting chiefly of Protestants, the abbey, and the Romish population which remained attached to it at the reformation, had been incorporated, first in the diocese of Constance, and afterwards in that of Coire. Attempts had for years been made to constitute it into a diocese; and for the last ten years it had been placed under separate ecclesiastic government by the appointment of a vicar apostolic. The great impediment to the creation of the see was the want of funds, which have at length been guaranteed by the cantonal government; and a concordate was accordingly signed on the 30th of October last at Lucerne, by the plenipotentiaries of St. Gall and the papal nuncio, for the conclusion of this affair, which, according to the remark of Count Horrer, in an account written by him of the history of these transactions, "deserves, as an important and long-dis-

puted victory, to be inscribed in the annals of the Church."

Foreign Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,—At page 154 of your last number, a passage occurs respecting Ceylon, on which, as a government chaplain of that island, I am desirous of making some observations. It implies, that since the annexation of that colony to the British Empire, no care has been taken for the maintenance of religion; and since (although under many disadvantages) the case is much otherwise, justice appears to require some explanation.

The following answer of a Cingalese boatman to Dr. Buchanan, is quoted "as a sample" of the religious state of India. When asked what religion the English professed, he answered, "he did not know; the Portuguese were Christians, so were the Dutch, but for the English, he did not know of what religion they were, or whether they had

any."

All who know any thing about "Cingalese boatmen," will be aware that information derived from them on ecclesiastical matters, is likely to be most vague and uncertain. Besides the ignorance and subtlety of this class, who visit ships chiefly for the purpose of barter with the sailors, it is quite natural to suppose, even if one of the most intelligent of these men were referred to, that great confusion would exist in his mind, from recollecting that the Portuguese, who first had authority in the island, were Roman Catholics; and the Dutch, who succeeded them, were specially called Protestants: and what he probably meant was, that neither of these forms of religion, but one different in some way, and less rigidly enforced on the natives, now prevailed; for the English did not, as the two former, compel the Cingalese to follow the religion of their masters.

But ever since Ceylon has been in the hands of the British Government, a religious establishment, adapted as far as possible to the civil and military services of the island, and the few European settlers, has been maintained at the cost of about 7000l. per annum; besides which, the whole expenses attendant on Divine service are a public charge, and in addition, since the erection of Indian Bishoprics, the sum of 1000l. is presented to the bishop at every visitation, with a further grant of 300l. for charitable purposes.

Under authority from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, considerable sums have also been given to some of the Missionary institutions. Schools are maintained wholly at the expense of Government; and it is but justice to add, that neglect or unwillingness to provide any thing conducive to the improvement of the natives, is not

chargeable on the executive of the island, or on the orders sent by Her Majesty's Government from home.

The chief, if not the sole, cause of existing disorders and deficiencies must be attributed to the want of a resident bishop, now happily on

the eve of being supplied.

Ceylon, notwithstanding it is supposed to have been visited by St. Thomas, and possibly by St. Bartholomew, and Pantænus of Alexandria,—and always (I believe) to have had among its population some professing the Christian faith,—owns the sway of Bhuddism. The Dutch, whose government of the island was severe and arbitrary in the extreme 1, conceived the design of imposing on the inhabitants what

they told them was the "Protestant" faith.

To render the profession of Christianity universal, a law was enacted, making it impossible for any native to hold lands, or inherit property, except on the registration of his baptism; and to carry into effect this measure, school-houses were built, and some of the more intelligent or influential natives were appointed catechists, or proponents, whose business it was to administer this rite, and register it, without having themselves any other qualification than the orders of government; or requiring any fitness on the part of the native recipient but an imperfect repetition of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, with hardly an idea of any doctrine which these formularies contain.

In Le Bas' Life of Middleton, it is said, "the districts had been divided by the Dutch into 240 churchships, or parishes; in each of which one Protestant school was erected, and attached to the Church:" from which an inference is drawn, that in each of these parishes the Dutch had erected a church and school. The churches actually built by the Dutch did not, I believe, in number exceed five or six, and these were not designed for the natives; between whom and their European masters the most contemptuous and servile distinctions were maintained.

These churches, at least such as I have seen, are plain but substantial buildings, at present used at more than one of the out-stations by English congregations; and a small remnant of adherents to the Dutch Reformed Church, to whom the government has sedulously preserved their immunities, has, in one instance at least, prevented the appropriation of the edifice to the exclusive worship of the Church of England.

The number of school-houses erected by the Dutch has been overstated, even if every small shed of mud and sticks, covered with a thatch of cocoa-nut leaves, were included: but the fault of the British government has not been in the omission to follow up the Christianizing methods of the Dutch, but rather in following them too closely. It is only within a few years, that at the earnest request of some of the clergy, a law has been made, abolishing the necessity of this pseudo

¹ The cutting of a cinnamon stick was punishable with death; and most, if not all, their public works were the product of forced labour.

baptism in order to preserve the right of inheritance, for it was generally unaccompanied with any change of religion whatever; the title on which such converts valued themselves being that of Bhuddist Christians! and many of the Bhuddist priests themselves having received

this sort of baptism.

The difficulty which this practice has thrown in the way of real conversions to Christianity is inconceivable. The distinction between Christians and worshippers of Bhuddu has been well-nigh obliterated; and in the absence of a sufficient local ecclesiastical authority, capable of entering minutely into these peculiarities, the missionaries have had to deplore the greatest uncertainty (even among their most hopeful converts) of entire freedom from idolatrous practices. The government catechists themselves have not escaped the imputation; and it has been as a remnant of the old Dutch system, that such persons, neither in holy orders, nor pretended holy orders of any kind, have, under the authority of the Queen's visitor, been suffered to administer, or pretend to administer, almost indiscriminately to the natives, both the Christian sacraments.

"On the British government" surely "lies" no "sin" for "suffering this system of Christianity to expire," if, indeed, it be yet altogether defunct; and that there remained some years ago "only a single school, and not a single church," is a mistake. There are, at all events, more churches than formerly; two of the Church of England at Colombo, besides that erected by the Dutch, and one of the Church Missionary Institution; one built by the Dutch, and kept in repair at frequent and great expense by government, at Pointe de Galle; one at Matura, another at Jaffna; one at Trincomalee, and a new one (to which the government have largely contributed) in an advanced state at Kandy. Another is probably by this time commenced at Numera Ellia; and schools abound in every direction, wholly supported by the government, as the Ceylon almanack for 1843 will show.

The great want of a resident bishop being now about to be supplied, a new era is likely to commence for the religious prospects of the island, and if the government, seeing the inefficiency of our Church, owing to the incompleteness of her system, have adopted some generalizing and injudicious methods, to the prejudice of that unity which might have prevailed, it is certainly not chargeable with want of liberality, or withholding assistance towards the instruction and conversion of the natives, or with the destruction of schools. The great evil is still the want of discipline; and if this, with a kind and gentle, but constraining hand, should be in any measure remedied, even the name of Christian, where it is nothing more, may, by judicious management, afford a means of spreading that vital influence, without which it has hitherto been scarcely any thing but a profanation.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
J. Wenham, M.A.,
Second Government Chaplain of Ceylon.

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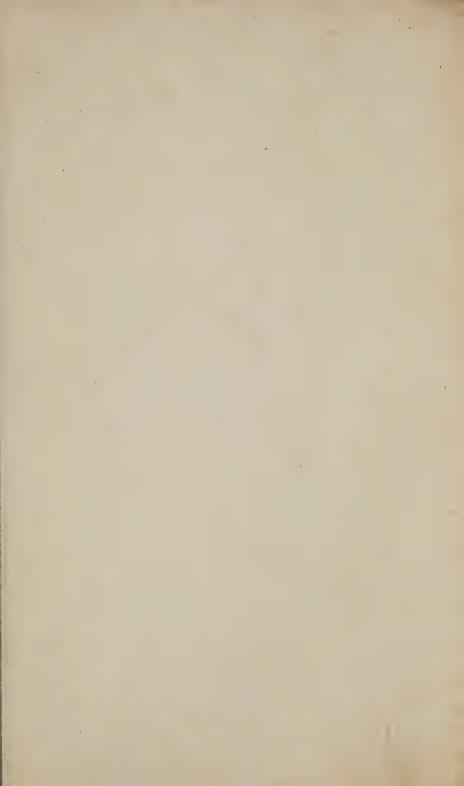
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